

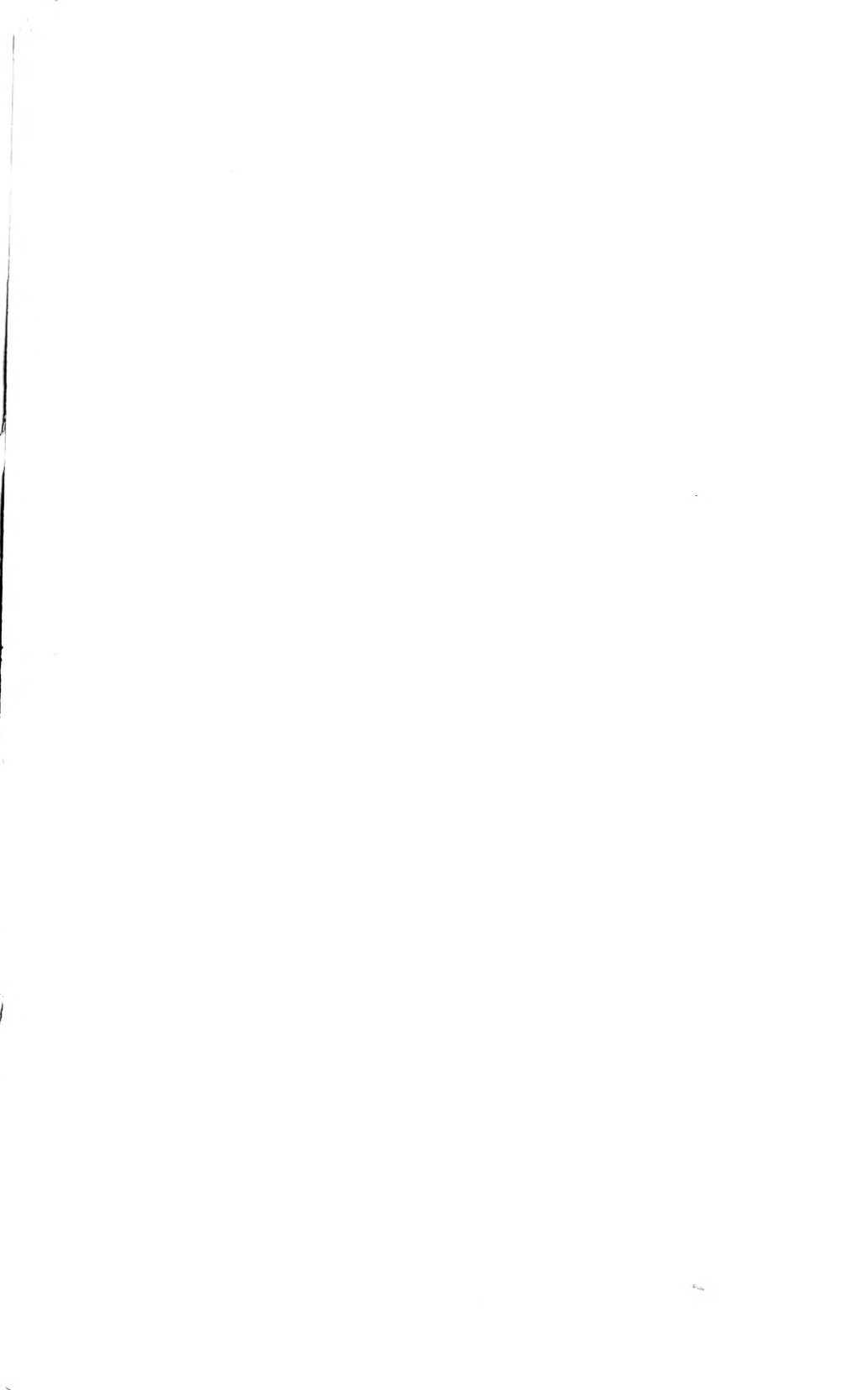




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THE  
LIFE AND TIMES  
OF  
MARTIN VAN BUREN:  
THE  
Correspondence of his Friends, Family and Pupils;  
TOGETHER WITH  
BRIEF NOTICES, SKETCHES, AND ANECDOTES,

ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE PUBLIC CAREER OF

JAMES KNOX POLK,  
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BY WILLIAM L. MACKENZIE.

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Governments, like Clocks, go from the motion Men give them; and as Governments are made and moved by Men, so by them they are ruined too. Wherefore Governments rather depend upon Men than Men upon Governments. Let MEN be good and the Government cannot be bad. If it be ill, they will cure it. But if Men be bad, they will endeavor to warp and spoil it to their turn.  
*Preface to the Constitution of Pennsylvania, by William Penn.*

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1846.

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# THE LIFE AND TIMES

OF

## MARTIN VAN BUREN.

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### CHAPTER I.

*Dedication. The State Convention at Albany. Checks on Legislation. Conventions prevent wars. Republics should be pacific. Cheap Postage an important Educational measure. The adder's stone. Administration of Justice in the U. S.*

THIS volume, like its predecessor, the *Lives of Butler and Hoyt*, is respectfully inscribed to the Electors of the Convention, which is to assemble in June next, for the revision of the Constitution of the State of New York. The unanimity with which that great measure has been supported at the polls, affords ground for good hope that the delegates about to be elected will be united and zealous in their endeavours for perfecting those cherished Institutions, formed upon popular integrity and intelligence, which the array of facts in these pages, under the title of the *Life and Times of Martin Van Buren*, too clearly proves to have failed, in many respects,\* to secure to the people the practical advantages of those equal civil and religious rights, which they nominally confer, under any administration. The Constitution of 1821, was, in some respects, like those which failed in France, the work of factions; some of the leaders in each, striving so to remodel the instrument as would best conduce to the great object in view, the attainment of power and its many advantages by themselves and their followers; but I trust that it is yet reserved to the new world to convince the old, that men can continue peaceably and happily to subsist under the regime of rational liberty and legal equality, with equal and exalted justice

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\*The correspondence of Edmund Burke, lately published, shows what he thought of popular movements, how they must be directed, and what would be the fate of the people of England, Ireland and Scotland, if no men could be found both able and willing to bear the heat and burden of the day. The history of Mr. Van Buren and his unworthy confederates will show, what sordid selfishness and an ambition without patriotism and love of virtue, can achieve, when united with plausible manners, great perseverance, skill in the management of parties, and the tact to amuse them with false issues. Mr Burke wishes to counteract this activity of a few for evil by showing what may be done by the union of great minds for the advancement of the general good. He says:—"To bring the people to a feeling, to such a feeling, I mean, as tends to amendment or alteration of system, there must be plan and management. All direction of public humor and opinion must originate in a few. Perhaps a good deal of that humor and opinion must be owing to such direction. Events supply materials: times furnish dispositions; but conduct alone can bring them to bear to any useful purpose. I never yet knew an instance of any general temper in the nation that might not have been traced to some particular persons. If things are left to themselves, it is my clear opinion that a nation may slide down fair and softly from the highest point of grandeur and prosperity to the lowest state of imbecility and meanness, without any one's marking a particular period in this declension, without asking a question about it, or in the least speculating on any of the innumerable acts which have stolen in this silent and insensible revolution. Every event so prepares the subsequent, that when it arrives it produces no surprise, nor any extraordinary alarm. I am certain that if pains, great and immediate pains, are not taken to prevent it, such must be the fate of this country."

dispensed to all. "The rational foundation of all government—the origin of a right to govern and a correlative duty to obey—is neither original contract, proprietary right, nor prescription—it is expediency—the general benefit of the community."

I hear the people of the United States spoken of, by judges, legislators, executives, and authors, by those in, and those in expectation of office, as being wise, enlightened, and capable of acting for their own interests; and as they are empowered to choose presidents, governors, congressmen, senators, sheriffs, &c., their ability to discriminate, to refuse the evil and choose the good, is *condemned*. If, then, brother electors, you are capable of choosing the best men, how much more so the best measures! Would it not be well worth the enquiry, whether laws of a general character, and affecting every body, ought not to be subjected to the votes of the constituencies before they take effect? Would not that be a more republican check on such wholesale wickedness as the life of Van Buren discloses in legislative halls? The veto of a Jackson, a Tyler, or a Van Buren, may be right—so may that of a Bouck, a Marcy, a Porter, a Throop, or a Wright—but is it not anti-republican? The governor of this *state* and the president of the United States have monarchical power—they can resist—veto—and often do resist the will of the community as expressed by a majority.

In the oligarchy of Venice, the doge was only a member of a council—he could not oppose the will of the majority; but under the monarchical part of our system, the governor or president, surrounded by power, patronage and place, in aid of influencing a re-election or choice of succession, can oppose a measure which the people may require—this opposition cannot be got rid of by the vote of a majority of their representatives—it can only be overcome by a vote of two to one, while the immense patronage of the courts of Washington or Albany, and often of both of them united for one object, is available to prevent that vote.

I have been a close observer of the workings of legislative bodies—was long an active member—and have ever been a warm admirer of the representative system. To instruct the delegate, where the law is passed without the veto power of those bound to obey it, is perhaps essential, but the check is imperfect and inefficient. To send a representative to hear and argue and reason and then make up his mind, and while doing this to instruct him to vote and argue in this way, or that; to oblige him to reason and vote, it may be against the dictates of his judgment and conscience; to place the determination ahead of the discussion; to have one set of men who do not hear the arguments, decide, tho' hundreds of miles distant, that which another set of men have been specially appointed to enquire into and conclude upon, after full investigation, is perhaps not the best way to arrive at the truth.

If you can select a governor, brother electors, are you not also capable of judging of the fitness of a bill agreed upon by your representatives, whether it is for the public interest that it should become a law? A few men may be, and as these pages will show, often have been corrupted, and have deeply wounded your feelings and trampled on your rights. The great body of the people are manly, pure, honest, sincere, and have but one interest—the public welfare. Consider, then, my friends, whether the veto power in legislation would not be safer in your hands than in those of any president or governor whom the efforts of party leaders, in times of excitement, may elevate to power. I do not say it would be, but surely this is the time for giving to the question a careful consideration. Such a change would effectually check hasty and improvident legislation—there would be no need to tie the citizens of each county down to the choice of representatives residing in the same county as themselves—that question might be safely left to their own discretion. Neither need they



to be restricted from choosing an honest minister of the gospel.\* Acquaintance with the law of God is as safe a qualification for a republican legislator as an intimacy with R. H. Morris's unknown feudal usages practised at midnight on Pearce's household a few weeks before the defeat of Martin Van Buren, in the fall of 1840. The idea of submitting questions as to measures or rules of action, to the opinion of the people in their localities, is not new, but has been often acted on. De Witt Clinton, Chancellor Kent, and the other members of the Council of Revision, in 1821, wished the amendments to the constitution that might be made in Convention, to be submitted, one by one, separately, to the people—and they were right.

I look to national and state conventions, elected by an awakened people, as the best means of averting wars. Once I would have risked war to free Canada—now I would not risk it to gain territory anywhere. When in Canada, I had less time for study and reflection than within the last four years; and altho' I don't like the cowardice that skulks in a corner, or drops on its knees, nor a system that aims at governing by dollars and lies, to which war is preferable, for there, in the groans of expiring humanity, man may learn to speak a natural and true language; yet would I do much to avoid bloodshed. Is not a duel a national war in miniature? Did Aaron Burr's superior skill and practice in firing at a mark, by means of which he murdered General Hamilton, prove that he was right in sending the challenge, or that in the matter in dispute he had justice on his side? Surely not. And do not national wars, after ruining, killing, maiming, and butchering vast multitudes on both sides, *usually* terminate in favor of the Aaron Burr like power which is strongest and most skilful, or involve other nations in the struggle, and not seldom bolster up a bad cause, at the expense of the quiet of the world? Well said Horace Walpole, "I had rather be a worm than a vulture."

"If I could avoid, by any sacrifice whatever, (said the Duke of Wellington on a memorable occasion,) even one month of civil war in the country to which I was attached, I would sacrifice my life in order to do it. I say that there is nothing which destroys property and prosperity, and demoralizes character, to the degree that civil war does; by it the hand of man is raised against his neighbor, against his brother and against his father; servant betrays master, and the whole scene ends in confusion and disorder." And what would a war between two peoples speaking one language, having one common origin, believing in one God, professing the same christianity, be, if not a civil war? How are the hundred millions of happy, benevolent, joyous creatures who will soon fill this country to be held together under the flag of the free? Only by acting justly, honestly and faithfully towards each other, and towards the world, and "to brutes resigning carnage."

"We were the proprietors of this paper sometime before the commencement of the war of 1812, and were the advocates of that war, [say Gales and Seaton, in the National Intelligencer,] believing its declaration and prosecution necessary. We were young at the time, it is true." Now they are old, they present us with a picture of slaughter and devastation from which the mind recoils with horror. "At the conclusion of a ten years' war, how are we recompensed for the "death of multitudes and the expense of millions but by contemplating the sudden "glories of paymasters and agents, contractors and commissaries, whose equipages shine like meteors, and whose palaces rise like exhalations?" After Napoleon's *glorious* victory at Austerlitz, Baron Larry, the emperor's friend and surgeon, cut off 1400 human limbs, and then the knife fell from his exhausted hands. France had made Napoleon dictator—after the piece of Amiens, the money, the armies, the press, and the people were in his hands. He had sworn

\* I have no desire to see pastors of congregations sent to legislatures.

to be true to, and defend a republic, yet he employed all his influence to obtain the absolute and hereditary property of a power of which he had received but the temporary administration. No journalist dared to dispute his will—he annexed the Texas, the Canada, the Oregon, and the Mexico,\* Cuba and California of Europe to his country—forgot right in the power of his might, and where is he, and where is his empire? Perhaps the Code Napoleon, soon, I trust, to be surpassed in utility by the codes civil, penal, and of procedure, in N. Y., is the proudest, best, and most enduring monument of his name.

Who is there that now fails to acknowledge the disinterestedness, patriotism, stern democracy, and accurate means of knowledge possessed by Col. Wm. Duane, the friend of Jefferson? Hear his account of the war of 1812—I quote the *Aurora* of August 17, 1816.

"The last war may be fairly considered, as it regards every thing—but the patience, hardihood and valor, of the line and the militia—one of the *worst* conducted, the *most* imbecile, inconsistent, and confused in its designs, that the world ever saw. The system of loans was a most villainous systematic cheat, for which *every man* who was concerned, ought to be recorded in a register of infamy. Imposture, perhaps, never ran such an uninterrupted career as for seven years past in the general government and that of Pennsylvania."




I might have begun my narrative of Van Buren's Life and Times, without another word of introduction. Every leaf shows that such a work is required. But there are some who say that a part of my materials were improperly obtained—that I have published papers which ought to have been kept secret—violated confidence reposed in me—done things not warranted by law, custom and the proper usages of society. Of those who say this, there may be those who, not knowing the whole truth, do me great injustice, as there undoubtedly are others who, shutting their eyes against every explanation, desire to cover me with obloquy, however unmerited. To the former of these two classes, I here present that explanation which, in my former volume or pamphlet, would have been partial and premature.

One of the best educational improvements of the age, in the diffusion of a cheap literature, is not overlooked when this book is presented in the lightest and cheapest form, to be circulated thro' the Union at small expence, by mail and private conveyance, as containing truths to the people of deep and lasting import. Honor to those bold and manly spirits in Congress who stood up for cheap postage, the spread of useful knowledge, the instruction of the millions! We pay vast sums yearly for armies and navies, fortifications and the implements of bloodshed. Blessed be the day, see it who may, in which the diffusion of intelligence, with a spirit of mutual forbearance and good will, strengthened by the wants of each rendering them dependant on all, shall unite mankind in the bonds of universal brotherhood. Cheap postage will survive, but wars shall cease—the world will become "the United States," America eye foremost in the glorious work; the various climates, soils, products and diversi-

\*Would not the purification of our glorious system by conventions and wise reforms, be a surer road to that national greatness which we seek, than the road to battle? Nations, like individuals, get excited, abandon a peaceful and prosperous commerce, and expend on war the millions which, if laid out on rail roads and canals, would have been an unspeakable blessing. Just hearken for a moment to Dr. Durben of the methodist church, or the battle of Waterloo:

"The People on both sides thought themselves fighting for liberty; the French, to retain it under a rule of their own choice; the aggregate masses of the allies, to dethrone the man whom they considered the only barrier to constitutional freedom in Europe. But how unfortunate the position held by England on that day. The *freemen* of England fought to maintain the despotisms of the continent—to deprive a brave people of the free choice of their rulers—to restore the representative of a worn out dynasty to a throne for which he was unfit, and from which he had fled before the Man of the People. The Protestants of England fought to recover the powers of the Pope, to end the sway of the Jesuits. But if the masses were deceived, the leaders were not. The allied sovereigns with the second overthrow of Napoleon. They conquered. They hoped the war of principles would end victory which his countrymen and their allies gained at Waterloo, and say, 'That battle and its results seemed to me to put back the clock of the world six degrees.'"

fied seasons, each contributing their part of the means of comfort, content and felicity to a renovated millennial world, in which "the harsh dull drum shall cease, and man be happy yet."

Like the word of God, against which it has been wickedly objected that there are many indecent relations in it, there are none in this book that have not been necessary for their exposure and the execration of wickedness; and by their merited punishment in the contempt and indignation of the public, a due correction will be administered,  LIKE THE RECORDS OF THE DIVINE WARNINGS,  OR JUDGMENTS AGAINST SINNERS, EVER CONNECTED WITH THE  ACCOUNT OF THEIR SINS. The sun is not to be blamed as the author or that stench which arises when he shines upon putrid substances. The surgeon is forgiven the wounds of a necessary amputation. The sickness from medicines is a happy token of returning health.

If there is a sense of REAL religion remaining with any one among those that are here exposed, amidst the profession that has been made by some, public indignation, the law of God, call for sackcloth and ashes, repentance and restitution. Let such a penitent as Benjamin F. Butler imitate Zaccheus the publican, the patron saint of custom-house officers, and say "Behold Lord, the half of my goods I give unto the poor; and if I have taken any thing from any man by false accusation, I restore him fourfold!"

The greatest of all modern political writers has wittily observed, with respect to an important measure brought into the British Parliament by the present head of the ministry of that nation, that, as the poison of the serpent is said to be counteracted by a stone that grows in its head, so the corruptions of that government have received a salutary check and shall eventually be destroyed by the operation of that bill which compelled the Bank of England to return to specie payments, the work of one whose family and himself have risen into power and consequence by the operation of the fictitious paper-money system of 1812, of which he has been the unconscious instrument of destruction, in the hope, as some say, of giving it strength.

The sagacious Scots have gone yet a little further in their ideas concerning the counteraction of poisons. It is a traditional belief among them, that, at certain times, all the adders of the moors, assemble to form, from their slime, an incrustation called an "adder's stone," which receives its crowning beauty from the king of the adders passing through it and leaving on it the trace of all his shining glories. Happy is the shepherd, that at a safe distance beholding the operation, waits till all is finished, and then courageously steps in and secures the prize. He is henceforth held in the highest respect, as possessing an infallible antidote against a deadly poison. But he does not gain the prize without considerable risk, being pursued by all the venomous brood, and obliged to seek his safety in flight. If he does not throw some one of his garments to the adders, to occupy their attention and divert their rage, they cease not their pursuit till they recover their lost treasure, or obtain the body of their plunderer.

Thro' zeal for social and political reform and improvement, I have been involved for the last eight years, in difficulties too well known to need recapitulation—but would rather endure adversity than enjoy the unmerited honors which traitors to liberty may now be wearing. During an involuntary exile, I made this land my residence, and being acquainted in a good degree with its early history and the excellence of its political institutions, it grieved me to find that complaints not less general than just and true, had been made against their administration. That to which my attention was turned when a stranger, could not fail still to attract it, according to my love of freedom and desire to promote the common welfare, when I became a citizen. When this second book, as the fruit of my labors, is before the public, it will be acknowledged that I have not

been altogether unsuccessful in my attempts to expose abuses and the authors, in the hope that the people's representatives in Convention will discover and apply a remedy. While in the employment of the state in the Custom House of New York, I obtained possession in a way the most honorable, as all must acknowledge, with pure motives, and by means the most innocent, of that which, I trust, will prove AN ADDER'S STONE.

But the serpents that were employed in its formation, with more pertinacity than the adders of my native moors, have not been content with the cloak that I threw to them, the necessary covering of a former work. It was to be expected that the whole brood would hiss and rage, as they had not raged and hissed for many a day before; yet I scarcely thought that one of them would have ventured to follow me, even into the sanctuary of American justice, the high court of equity—but, from some recent decisions there, many seem to expect that I shall be given up to the chilling, slimy folds of the reptile tribe, to share the fate of another Laocöön, who was strangled before the altar by serpents, while warning the Trojans against the wiles of the Greeks.

Electors of Delegates to a free Convention, the proceedings of which may deeply affect the welfare of the world, what an important trust yours is! That the fountains of justice are corrupted, that reform is wanted, all admit. "It is time (says the Courier and Enquirer) for the community to take this matter in hand." "Judging from the history of various parts of the country for some years past (continues Col. Webb) it is our opinion that with \$20,000 a man might commit any half dozen crimes that can be named, short of murder, and even that, if he happen to have pretty influential friends, and to be within reach of pretty convenient judges." "True, every word of it, (says the Herald.) The list of criminals who have escaped by means of wealth and influence during the last six years, would astonish every body. What has become of the Virginia professor? Where is Levis the forger? Where is Dabney? Robinson, Jewell, White, all escaped." "Men who are opposed to the banking interest (says O'Sullivan, the new made Regent of the University,) may indeed be elected to congress, or to a state legislature, but seldom without a severe struggle; and, after they are elected, they are exposed to dangers of corruption, as great as any the members of the British Parliament were exposed to in the days of Sir Robert Walpole. In the courts of justice they have perhaps a more decided ascendancy than in the legislative halls; for most of the judges are members of this privileged order; and the governors of many states are mere instruments for the promotion of their purposes." The Globe, while Van Buren's organ, spake of "judges, who in too many instances, show that the boasted independence of the judiciary is only an independence of common sense and common justice." Polly Bodine was accused of a murder the most foul—her friends were wealthy—she had a first trial and a second—a third was set on foot, and because some judge or other had "*laid down a rule in Burr's case,*" 40 years since, 6000 tradesmen were taken from their avocations, a heavy expense entailed on the county of N. Y., and the case put off by Judge Edmonds, thus wearying out witnesses and mocking at right, on the plea that among these 6,000 men, twelve could not be found who were not unduly biased and unfit to try the cause upon their oaths! Is it not time that scenes like this, discreditable to the age and to our institutions, should cease? If the law is a science, it is capable of being scientifically and practically arranged; and if it is not, the freedom of our institutions is an idle dream. Corrupt the fountains of justice to any people, and what need they care for forms of Government?

It is threescore years since Jefferson wrote "The times will alter—our rulers will become corrupt—our people careless. The time for fixing every essential right on a legal basis, is while our rulers are honest and ourselves united. From

the close of this (the old) war we shall be going down hill. It will not be necessary to resort every moment to the people for support—they will be forgotten, therefore, and their rights disregarded.” Is it not so now? The woe, wretchedness, insolvency, poverty, pain and anguish, of hundreds of thousands of our fellow citizens and their families, whom the gambling spirit of the age has ruined within the last seven years, is a warning voice, telling the democracy to come to the rescue of all that is valuable in their loved institutions. Far spread must be that demoralization which in a land of abundant natural resources could exhibit in one city and district, one hundred and twenty millions of dollars, the debts of insolvents and bankrupts, blotted out as it were with a sponge. This volume describes Van Buren and his band, the great first cause of this accumulated misery—it appeals to facts—it unveils the past. To your wisdom and unanimity it is that the generous and the just must look for a remedy, in the councils of the delegates of a moral, virtuous and enlightened community.

Could the people of N. Y. state have read the insulting commentaries of the admirers of European systems on the Somers tragedy, and the unusual features developed in the evidence given before a court martial, in presence of which a captain of the U. S. Navy, hesitated not to avow, that when about to launch three of his fellow men into eternity without that trial of their alledged offences which our laws seem to guaranty, he had told one of them “that for those who had money and friends in America there was no punishment for the worst of crimes”—could they have seen the deep and severe regret everywhere displayed by the friends of progress abroad, while perusing details which indicated a condition of society less favorable than they had fondly hoped could exist here, they would rejoice at witnessing, as they have, the vast majority who united to rebuke Van Buren’s doubts by calling together the convention of 1846. That body will, I trust, lay its heavy hand on the knaves mentioned by Jefferson, who “set out with stealing the people’s good opinion, and then steal from them the right of withdrawing it, by contriving laws and associations against the power of the people themselves.”

The letters of Van Buren, father and son—of Butler, husband and wife—of the Livingstons, Hoyts, Allens, Lawrence, Cambreleng and many others, cannot fail to be read with profit. I would fain hope they may prove an adder’s stone in this community, aiding somewhat in preventing the baneful influence of Van Burenism from continuing to overshadow the state and union, thro’ its special organization of all that is cunning, pharasaical, greedy and heartless in this Republic.

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## CHAPTER II.

*Matthew Henry and Samuel Young on the duty of citizens and christians in discovering secret wickedness. The author’s position. Robert Tyler. Governor Van Ness. The Van Buren, Hoyt and Butler Correspondence. Proceedings about it. Steps taken by Messrs. Van Ness, Bogardus, Goldson, Coryell and others. Copies shown to the President of the U. S. and Secretary Walker. Action of the Government. Van Ness loses, Coddington misses, and Lawrence gains a Lucrative Office. Polk’s Bank Committee of 1834. Recorder Morris on the Bench and in the Post Office. Secretary Forward and the 17 Measurers. Ingham Coryell persecuted for daring to be honest. Disreputable conduct of S. P. Goldson.*

MATTHEW HENRY’S Commentary on the Bible is a work of sterling merit—full of interesting and useful information, and of fine thoughts clothed in language which has the eloquence of simplicity and truth to recommend it.

In the 59th chapter and 4th verse of Isaiah, we find the text—"None calleth for justice, nor any pleadeth for truth"—and Mr. Henry has made an excellent comment on it, and so applicable to the course I have taken with Mr. Van Buren and his associates in public life, thro' this and former publications, that I copy it, as follows :

"No methods are taken to redress grievances and reform abuses ; NONE CALLS FOR JUSTICE, none complains of the violations of the sacred laws of justice, nor seeks to right those that suffer wrong or to get the laws put in execution against vice and profaneness, and those lewd practices which are the shame, and threaten to be the bane of the nation. When justice is not done, there is blame to be laid not only upon the magistrates that should administer justice, BUT UPON THE PEOPLE THAT SHOULD CALL FOR IT: PRIVATE PERSONS OUGHT TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE PUBLIC GOOD BY DISCOVERING SECRET WICKEDNESS AND GIVING THOSE AN OPPORTUNITY TO PUNISH IT THAT HAVE IT IN THE POWER OF THEIR HANDS ; *but it is ill with a State when princes rule ill, and the people love to have it so.* Truth is opposed, and there is not any that pleads for it, *not any that has the conscience and courage to appear in defence of an honest cause, and confront a prosperous fraud and wrong.*"

My lives of Hoyt and Butler, had, I believe, an immense circulation—and I find them referred to, now and then, in the Senate of N. Y. Yet is it not mortifying to see how much more astonishment is there expressed that I should have published such statements as are in that book, than that such statements could be published ?

Col. Samuel Young, in reply to a reference to my book, by Mr. Wright, Feb. 4th, 1846, spoke of it as "a book SURREPTITIOUSLY obtained and SURREPTITIOUSLY printed, and which he (Wright) now thinks it honorable to quote from, for the purpose of injuring SUCH A MAN as Benj. F. Butler." The Colonel's code of morals were not quite so much Butlerized in 1825. He had then no desire to screen successful knavery and honor the delinquents.

During the discussion of the state road bill, that year, (I quote the Alb'y D'y Advertiser,) General Root censured the Canal Commissioners, and hinted that the people's money had been squandered on their favorites. Col. Young replied, that "if the General knew of any dishonest conduct on the part of the Commissioners, and kept it a secret, HE WAS A TRAITOR TO THE PUBLIC FOR NOT HAVING EXPOSED THEM TO THE WORLD." The General's rejoinder was very appropriate, but my object, in referring to these conversations now, is to show how anxious Samuel Young is in 1846, to uphold the dishonest president of Jacob Barker's Sandy Hill bank, and to censure me for having followed his excellent advice to Erastus Root in 1825.

I now proceed to show, that the book which has given so much uneasiness to bad politicians, was neither surreptitiously obtained nor surreptitiously printed. The materials came into my hands, with the consent of Mr. Van Ness, Collector of the port of New York, Mr. Bogardus, his Assistant Collector, Mr. Goldson, his Keeper of the Records, Mr. Walker, Secretary of the Treasury, and Mr. Polk, President of the United States. The importance of the subject will justify me in publishing, at this stage of the proceedings, a clear and distinct narrative of the main facts.

In 1842 and 1843 I was actuary or agent for the corporation known as the Mechanics' Institute, City Hall, New York, where my services received an unanimous vote of thanks. I might have continued, with the approbation of all parties, but resigned in the fall of 1843. Certain leading citizens of foreign birth applied to Mr. Robert Tyler, son of the then President, to provide me with a situation in the custom house—this they did without my knowledge or sugges-

tion. Mr. Tyler being at Howard's hotel, sent Mr. Sweeny of Philadelphia to ask me to call upon him. I did so, and he enquired whether I would accept an Inspector's place (\$100 a year.) My reply was that I would. Next day he told me to wait on Collector Curtis, who would place me in office, and I did so, accompanied by a director of the Institute. Mr. Curtis was very polite—said I would have the place, but that the warrant or papers had to go to Mr. Spencer at Washington. Difficulties were raised afterwards, arising out of my very peculiar position with reference to England, but I believe the President and his sons were sincere in their wish to oblige my friends. The following note is a proof of that :

"W. L. Mackenzie, Esq.—My Dear Sir : I have just had an opportunity to read your letter of the 22d April. I am always glad to hear from you, altho' I find it impossible to be a very punctual correspondent. Colonel Graham [then P. M.] is expected here to day, and I shall urge your appointment upon him. If any accident should detain him in N. Y., take this letter to him, and tell him from me, that there is no man in New York I had rather see him provide for by an appointment in the city post office than Wm. L. Mackenzie. My own feelings would be highly gratified at your success. Very truly yours, Philadelphia, April 25th. ROBERT TYLER."

Altho' the note was of no use, the kindness of heart displayed by the youthful writer, to a person who was poor and an exile, and had no political influence or weight, was very gratifying indeed—and when Mr. Van Ness became collector, I was nominated as an inspector, but, as Mr. Spencer had objected, his successor took the same view—and on reflection, I cannot venture to assert that it was not the more discreet course. I was then placed in the Record office, which had that name given it in burlesque, I presume, for it was the most confused collection of papers on a mammoth scale I had ever beheld during the half century of my existence, nor did I hesitate to write a note to the collector in which I frankly told him so.

In 1840, Mr. Van Ness wrote me from Burlington, Vermont, a very complimentary letter with reference to a newspaper I was then publishing at Rochester. He wrote a second from N. York, and enclosed a year's subscription. Being requested by the President's brother-in-law, and son (with his father's approbation,) he showed no unwillingness to give me a situation. For some 9 or 10 months, three clerks were employed in beginning to arrange the *Records*, of whom I was one ; and as I found many remarkable documents from time to time which were no records, I copied whatever of such interested or amused me. Six months before I left, Webber, the chief clerk, had privately informed the authorities that I was copying papers ; and in March, 1845, I drew Mr. Bogardus's attention to some of Hoyt's and his correspondents' stray productions, by sending or giving them to him. I also asked Henry Ogden, the old cashier, to mention to Mr. Hoyt that many curious papers of his were turning up. Mr. Ogden said that he had told him this twice, but that Hoyt replied that he had left nothing that he cared for.

When particular papers or books were wanted, we had some 200 or 300 trunks to search, all of them the property of the United States, and some of them open, others locked—some with keys and some without—some with an assortment of all things, pious and impious, official and unofficial, from 1789 to 1844, and others exhibiting some efforts to attain method and order. I said then, and I now repeat, that the confusion visible everywhere was in keeping with the accounts of Hoyt and Swartwout—it could not have been the result of accident.

I must speak plain—how could it be avoided ? "To reform and not chastise would be impossible—the wisest precepts would be of little use unless there were examples to enforce them. To attack vices in the abstract without aim-

ing at persons, would be safe fighting indeed, but it would be fighting with shadows."

Mr. Bogardus, with consent of the Treasury, had thousands of pigeon holes made, to hold papers as fast as we could sort and arrange them. He gave his orders to Samuel P. Goldson, a political friend whom he had introduced from the 8th ward, as the keeper—they were very intimate, and Goldson considering Bogardus as his patron, did nothing without consulting him. On the 15th of May, Goldson told me that Bogardus had ordered him to break open, examine the contents and remove to garret, the Custom House Trunk marked 'J. & L. Hoyt's Law Papers.' I suggested to him, Mr. Coryell, the other clerk, being present, not to break it open, but to let the men carry it to the garret, for we had the carpenters at work, and many loose papers. He replied that his orders were positive—took a large screw driver, called Mr. Stansbury, a carpenter to help him, and they broke the screw driver twice, but opened the box. I had had an idea that the papers of all Hoyt's remarkable custom house law suits with the merchants were in that box, the contents of which were immediately thrown upon the floor among other miscellaneous documents, and afterwards carried in baskets to the attic. That box contained a part of the letters of the Van Burens and Benj. Butler, but it is evident from Hoyt's affidavit to the chancery bill, that he knew very little about it. The box was not Hoyt's—Hoyt was on record as having embezzled \$220,000—the papers were in possession of the government, but not being official, for the words 'Law Papers' were a blind, we might have burnt them or swept them out. He had told Ogden he didn't want them, or to that effect; and if he had wanted them, I should have done my best to thwart him after I ascertained their character. I knew that Goldson would tell Bogardus instantly what sort of law papers we had got at, if indeed he did not know before he ordered the box to be opened and examined, and it is presumed he did not, for, as he says in his letter, the box was doubtless ordered to be opened as many others had been, that we might look in it for some important papers then required by the authorities, for which we had vainly sought elsewhere.

In presence of Ingham Coryell, and with the full and entire approval of Goldson, the keeper, I began to copy as many of these papers as were of a public character and fit for the public eye; and as a gentleman whom I had known for many years, and who had held lucrative and important trusts under the U. S., was about to leave for Washington, I called on him, shewed him the copies I had taken, gave him many duplicates, and requested him first to show them to Mr. Van Ness, and then carry them to Washington, and let the President see them, as they concerned the public welfare. Another of the clerks appears to have informed him about them, and desired him to tell the Collector that I was copying them, with the keeper's consent; and that altho' he had remonstrated, I was also allowed to take such of them away to be copied as I thought fit. The Collector was very fully informed on these points by this gentleman, and sent for me, but was engaged when I called. About this time I was told privately and also saw the notice in the Morning News, that President Polk had promised General Dix that Coddington, being recommended by him, Cambreleng, Butler, Van Buren, and the rest of the faithful, was to have the Collectorship, and that Governor Van Ness, who had tried hard to elect Mr. Polk, was to be thrown overboard without ceremony. I told the gentleman who carried the papers to Washington, to mention to Mr. Polk where they were from,\*

\*Mr. Polk's committee to search the U. S. Bank, 1834, F. Thomas, Chairman, demanded of the bank the private letters of members of congress to the bank president, or any bank officer, and all unanswered letters from M. C's. during the previous two years, whether about a new charter or the private transactions of such M. C's. with the bank—and tho' not a secret committee, they demanded the books of the bank, not merely to inspect them, but to do so in secret, taking them out of the hands of the directors, and they asserted their right to carry them where they



and how, and requested that there should be no concealment as to what I was doing—and he did so.

Mr. Hoyt has had hosts of witnesses before three successive city grand juries to get me indicted on account of these documents—but in vain. We shall see whether I merited the abuse and slanders that have been heaped upon me. I think not. I did everything fairly and above board, and even sacrificed the petty office I held, with my income, time and means, and also borrowed money, that I might be enabled to lay useful truths before the people previous to the era of a convention. A mercenary soul, situated as I was, would only have considered how much money he could alarm the guilty hypocrites into paying for the destruction of the evidences of their shame and dishonor, thus placed within his control.

On the 1st or 2nd of June, I received the following note from the gentleman to whom I had given many copies to be shewn to the President. It was franked "Comptroller's Office, J. W. M'Culloh," and had the Washington postmark of the 31st of May.

"Washington, 30th May, 1845. My dear sir; I received your letter explanatory of the reference in one of J. V's [John V. Buren's] letters to Hoyt, and thank you for the information it gives. The discovery of these letters seems to be providential, AND IS DULY APPRECIATED IN THE RIGHT QUARTER. All will go well. I will be glad to hear from you, and on any occasion, in which I can serve you, write to me without reserve. You will find me ready to render you any aid in my power. Yours Truly."

pleased. They actually issued their general warrant to compel the production of all the letters that had been written to the bank or on private or public business with it, for themselves and others, within two years, intending to search the same with the view of instituting a criminal prosecution against the writers or receivers. All this Mr. Polk approved of—yet even the chancellor will compel no man to produce his books and papers in order that it may be seen whether they furnish evidence on which to ground a criminal prosecution. "It is a compulsory process," said Mr. Everett, late minister to England, "to compel the good people of the U. S. to produce their books and papers, and submit them to general search in proof of crimes, not charged but suspected; to be enforced by attachment, imprisonment, and infinite distress: a search of books, a search of letters, and an examination on oath of the persons implicated, touching the matters whereof they are suspected. In what does such a warrant differ from those issued under the 1st Charles and the 2nd James, for which, among other things, Scroggs was impeached?"

Recorder Morris, now P. M. of N. Y., selected by Mr. Polk and his cabinet on account of his principles from among 400,000 citizens, held that the end justified the means in the case of Glentworth; descended from the bench of his criminal court, joined the mayor, and the two started off to the quiet dwelling of a private citizen after the midnight hour—told him he had in his possession a sealed package of papers the property of a party then absent—and compelled him to give it up under a threat that they would then search his bed room, study, closets, chests and drawers, and take it by force. They had no warrant—no oath, general or special—no sheriff was present, nor a deputy—no not even a constable. Pierce was not sworn as to his knowledge of the contents of the packet, or asked whether it contained the evidence of Glentworth's guilt. Judge Morris' real object was to find aid towards the election of his party leader, Van Buren—his immediate purpose was to prove the probable guilt of persons against whom no charge whatever had come before him as a judge, by means of papers which even District Attorney Whiting and B. F. Butler had not chosen to keep when they had them; these papers, too, the property of a man whom their friend Judge Edmonds had privately warned to go away, after he had taken them home and perused them.

Messrs. Morris and Varian said that they did all this officially; and when Governor Seward asked Morris what authority he had for his midnight march to Pearce's, he replied that much of the Common Law in force here had never been printed any where; that Lawyers knew the unwritten parts of the law; and that these parts would be found to sanction his expedition to Pierce's after private papers. Attorney General Hall flatly denied that the folks of New York live under a code of unknown laws, never yet set in type, or written with a pen. "The extraordinary doctrine of the Recorder, (said he) that some portions of the Common Law have never been reduced to writing, and are not to be found in any book, is equally novel and untenable. Lord Camden says, 'the names and rights of public magistrates, their power and forms of proceeding, as they are settled by law, have been long since written, and are to be found in books and records.'" If Mr. Morris is right, common law is like dog law. Pompey offends me and gets whipt. He remembers the whipping and avoids the offence. A man does a meritorious act—is brought before Judge Morris and punished for it, by virtue of laws, which Morris tells him that nobody but Lawyers ever heard of, and which many of them declare to have no existence. If judges and lawyers cannot agree as to whether, in 1845, the laws of N. Y. state are or are not written, how then can they agree as to what the laws are? Yet this is the man whom President Polk has selected to take care that the seals of the letters of the people of N. Y. and their correspondents be not violated for political or party purposes! Is it not in character with his maiden choice of B. F. Butler? If 40 British ministers have stooped to the petty larceny policy of the people of N. Y., and the confounding principle with precedent, and moral law with legal custom—if all the 40, including Peel, Wellington, Canning, Goderich, Melbourne, Palmerston, Russell, Graham, and Aberdeen, and all the lord lieutenants of Ireland, have, each in his turn, caused letters passing thro' the postoffice to be secretly opened, read, and resealed by stealth, with counterfeit seals—and they do not deny it—what may not be expected from as convenient a postmaster as Morris, who adheres to a code of law unknown to his countrymen, including it is presumed the British practice to which I have had reference? In the case of Hoyt, the documents were in government boxes, and Hoyt an embezzler of the revenue, who had escaped the penalty of the sub-treasury act by a quibble—they were mixed up with hundreds of tons of official records—were unsealed, indecent, unbecoming, and left in the custom house because too polluted to enter a private mansion.

When I afterwards saw the writer, he informed me that Mr. Polk had perused the letters, and been informed where and in what manner they were found; and that the effect they produced on his mind was such as to induce him to depart from his original purpose as expressed to General Dix. He said that he would not give the office to Mr. Coddington, but would appoint a man of his own. I have seen a pretty accurate statement of this interview in the *National Intelligencer*, written by its N. Y. correspondent, M. L. Davis, who did not get any of his facts from me. Ritchie did not contradict Davis's statement, nor make any remarks upon it. I sometimes think that it was by way of an offset to these anti-Van Buren movements in May and June, that *The Union* abused me so outrageously when my book appeared last September.

Horace Walpole repeats a saying of his father, Sir Robert, "that but few men should ever be Ministers, for it lets them see too much of the badness of mankind." Mr. Van Ness was, I thought, a kind-hearted man, and all the Vermonsters I had met with, spoke well of him, after he had been their governor. I would have been glad, if he had kept his ground, but he was less fitted to deal with the host of crafty place hunters who surrounded him than Lawrence, whose cold, phlegmatic, calculating temperament, and mind turned toward stockjobbing and lucre, will remain undisturbed, where Van Ness would almost shed tears of pity. I have been in the anti-chambers of Kings and Governors—and have witnessed the levees of the Colonial Rulers of forty colonies, in Downing street; but never on earth saw anything so formidable, yet humiliating to human nature, in the way of besieging power for place, as in the Custom House of N. Y.

On the 3rd of June last, a friend wrote me in confidence from Washington, that Van Ness was superceded, and Lawrence, the choice of the President, and I wrote my resignation the same day and sent it in. The Collector sent for me twice that month, and bade me stay on account of my straitened circumstances and large family. I declined, my mind being fully made up that I had a duty to perform, effectually to uncloak the knaves who figure in part of this correspondence. Nor was it any great sacrifice, for I had the smallest income of any clerk in the C. H. Webber and Everett were removed for their political opinions, with about ten minutes' official notice, and I was ordered to instruct Goldson and Coryell, their successors, in their duties, which I did. We had precisely the same work to do, yet I was paid \$200 less than the one, and \$300 less than the other. The treasury regulation seems to be purely political, and Committees of Congress, named by their party Speakers, are altogether a delusion. Seventeen men, called Measurers, get \$1500 a year each, for doing worse than nothing. Secretary Forward proposed to abolish them, but his whig cabinet was air built, and it soon vanished. The N. Y. Custom House is the most powerful piece of political machinery for neutralizing opinion and controlling elections, to suit the few, that I ever saw or heard of in any country. De Witt Clinton's celebrated warning on that head, is indeed a truth.

It is a curious fact that neither Bogardus nor Collector Van Ness, ever spoke a word to me about the Hoyt correspondence while I was in office. During every spare moment, from the 15th of May till July 1st, I copied from these relics of Van Burenism, at my desk and dwelling house, with the keeper's approbation, and, as it appears, that of his superiors also, whom he and Coryell had carefully and properly consulted. Had they objected, I must have desisted. The power of dismissal or censure remained in Messrs. Polk, Walker, and Van Ness, or either of them, but no one said a word. They doubtless knew that it would have been highly criminal to conceal such unequivocal proofs of turpitude from an abused people. Mr. Walker examined the letters with great care, and both he and the President were glad that so much concealed villainy had come to light. So far from being displeased, President Polk

promptly acted on my information, being justly indignant at Coddington's attempt to head General Jackson, as shewn in page 214, No. 179 of correspondence.\*

\*Talk of violating private confidence! It was in prosecution of my public duties to the state that providence furnished me with such full means for the exposure of its enemies. While "Salus populi, suprema lex," remains the law of God and man, a rule to regulate our conduct towards our neighbors, and the practice according to which has been approved by posterity in the case of every blessed reformer who has left his toil on earth for his reward in heaven, what could I have been, but one of the worst of traitors, if I had spared those enemies that were delivered into my hands?

Let then Jesse Hoyt, the tool of these plotters, let their hirelings the poor newspaper hacks, Ritchie and Heiss of the Union, Blair and Rives of the Globe, Noah of the Sun, Bennett of the Herald, O'Sullivan of the News, French & Cassidy of the Atlas, Croswell of the Argus, the Solomons of the two Posts, here and in Boston, the Troy Budget, and Senator Mack, with other more obscure drudges, the bearers of official burthens, on whose galled shoulders their masters have often ridden into power over the necks of a betrayed and insulted people; let them all rejoice in the partial victory which they have obtained, thro' W. T. McCoun, in hindering the circulation of my former book for a time. Let the sacrifices which they have already made in the temple of mammon suffice, in getting a neighbor, in some cases, to burn a copy for which he may have paid, but retaining their own like the flesh which the heathens took from the altars of their gods to sell in the shambles. Let every covetous christian purchase it and every Jew, as hallowed at that shrine where they all mutually and lovingly worship every Saturday and Sabbath. The fear of losing his office, when Lawrence came in, must have been the motive that induced Goldson to tell, and persist in a falsehood, in this matter. When I had stated in the Tribune how I came by the letters, Goldson replied as follows:

"Mr Mackenzie says:—'With the consent of Mr. Goldson, the keeper, I publicly copied, whenever I had spare time, such of those letters as I thought the public ought to see (omitting private passages,) and (as Mr. Goldson and Mr. Coryell will no doubt testify, if called on by the Court of Chancery) I took home (with the keeper's consent) various letters, to copy them in the evenings. This course continued for nearly a month from May 15.' To this statement, and every part of it, I give an unqualified denial. He never asked my consent. If he copied the papers referred to 'publicly,' as he says, it was without my knowledge. If he took them home, it was without my knowledge."

As reference was made by Goldson to the third clerk, Coryell, I also appealed to him, and here is his answer, dated Nov. 12, 1845.

"W. L. Mackenzie, Esq.—Sir: In reply to yours of to-day, I feel bound, under the circumstances, to say that I have read in the Tribune your statement and Mr Goldson's reply, and THAT UPON THE UNPLEASANT ISSUE THUS MADE BETWEEN YOU, YOU ARE CORRECT. Resp'y yours. INGHAM CORYELL."

Mr. Coryell is well connected, and came to N. Y. highly recommended by the governor and many leading men of the democratic party in Pennsylvania. Goldson, on the 14th, wrote in the Tribune, "I repeat that the statement of Mackenzie is in every particular false—false both in fact and spirit." Rumor has it that he swore to the same effect before several grand juries. Again, on the 18th, Goldson wrote, that "certain gov't papers were wanting, and the keys to sundry gov't cases and boxes, in which it was supposed they were deposited, were lost. Mr. Bogardus ordered these gov't boxes and cases broken open and the papers arranged. One of them was found to contain hundreds of letters addressed to Mr. Hoyt." He goes on to say, that he got a new lock and key; and that, with his consent, neither Coryell nor myself opened that box afterwards; but if this had been true a part of these remarkable disclosures had never appeared.

As Goldson and Coryell are both retained by Lawrence in the same department, to this hour, with the consent of Mr. Polk and Mr. Walker, I copy Coryell's statement of Nov. 25th, from the Tribune, as follows:

"Mackenzie, Goldson and I were the only clerks in the room; Goldson was the senior and gave Mackenzie permission to copy the letters; *I believed, but did not know, that he intended to publish them*, and told Goldson that he did wrong in giving him the permission. Instead of aiding him to copy them, as Goldson charges, I, through a friend, told the Collector that Mr. Mackenzie was taking copies, and that he, the Collector, ought to enquire into the matter. Mr. Van Ness sent Mr. Bogardus, who is the personal friend of Mr. Goldson, to make the inquiry. He did inquire, and he reported that it was all right; and so far from fearing that he would lose his place for permitting him to copy the letters, Goldson, after he knew that Mackenzie was about to leave the office, excused him from other duties, that he might make extracts from papers in the office, which Mackenzie has used in his book. I refer to the published letters of Mr. Van Ness and Mr. Bogardus, to prove that my statement as to them is true, and knowing these facts to be so, Goldson now says that *he could not but know that he should lose his place, his livelihood, and alienate every friend he possessed by the conduct charged upon him*. Now I reply that he did not then think so; Mr. Van Ness and Mr. Bogardus were then his friends, they knew that he was the senior clerk in charge of the papers; they knew that Mackenzie was copying these letters with Goldson's permission or connivance, and took no steps to prevent it, and Goldson knew this."

On seeing this, Bogardus gave Coryell the lie in the most plain terms, in the Tribune of the 28th of Nov.—saying that his statement was "an unblushing and malicious falsehood." Messrs. Polk, Lawrence and Walker continue to avail themselves of his services also!!

But the calm and intrepid youth kept his ground ably and fearlessly; and I trust that his love of truth, and contempt of office and \$1000 a year, if to be dishonestly held, will yet be honored by the approbation of the noble hearted and virtuous among his countrymen. On the 29th, he stated in the Tribune that the moment I began to copy the Hoyt correspondence he requested a gentleman of great respectability to mention the fact to Mr. Van Ness, who did so—and he refers to Mr. Van Ness's letter of Sept. 25, where he states that he had been informed that I had found some important private correspondence of Hoyt among the archives, and had caused Bogardus to make a private examination, who reported that the papers were of no apparent consequence—and to Bogardus's published card, where he says that the documents were of no consequence, and not worth taking away. Bogardus went to Goldson, who had laughed heartily at Butler's mock piety, and Van Buren's cursing and gambling, but he never opened his lips to me, nor did Goldson ever mention to me that there had been a search or an enquiry. Coryell's last epistle closed the correspondence in these words:

"I am made to appear as the partisan of Mackenzie who, by the publication of his book, has arrayed against him an influence powerful in this community. My accusers have enlisted themselves as the tools and instruments of those who are laboring to arraign Mackenzie for felony, of which they know him to be innocent, by way of protecting themselves. I am not his partisan—I had no agency in the publication of his book—I have no interest in sustaining him. On the contrary I am well aware that what I have said in his favor will provoke against me the ill will of men whom I have no wish to offend, but Goldson and Bogardus have placed me in a situation where I am compelled to speak the truth or else do as they have done, *bear false witness against Mackenzie*."

\* \* \* \* \* Mackenzie's book is an exposure of men who have held important financial and political posts; men having great weight and influence in society and with the Government. Among those assailed is the present

## CHAPTER III.

*The Author's Apology for publishing the Butler and Van Buren Correspondence. Constitutional Reforms urgently required. Governor Wright and the Anti-Renters. L. D. Stamm. Jesse Hoyt's extraordinary Chancery Bill and Vice-Chancellor McCoun's still more extraordinary decision about it. Benjamin F. Butler's profession of Piety. Mrs. Butler, a Politician. Van Buren's vacillating Policy. What may be considered Literary Property in these times.*

With such opportunities as I had of making these disclosures ; suffering as I have suffered in the cause of liberty ; what an incurious creature must I have been, what a simpleton, not to have opened my eyes to that which was so plainly spread before my view ; what a traitor if, when I possessed it, I had courted or received the reward of silence ; if I had kept silence ! No ! trusting in the coming emancipation of the human race from all the former restraints of misrule and oppression ; already seeing in the words of the ancient heathen poet in accordance with the prophecies of scripture, "a new order of things beginning ;" already seeing a long continuance of peace among the most civilized nations, and the progress of the arts rendering the former advantages for war worthless ; either tending to secure a continuance of peace or to end war in one hasty general struggle ; seeing even many of the creatures that were placed in subjection to man, and whose necessary attention to them in some measure humanized mankind, rendered unnecessary, supplanted ; seeing all things preparing for the greater happiness of mankind in a universal reign of love, should I not do what I could to wipe off the reproach of this land, as failing in the experiment of self-government, through the remnants of ancient fraud that still remain amidst that glorious progress which we once seemed destined to make in the career of improvement among the nations ; the last but the best form of government far outstripping them all !

How must the heart of every sincere patriot be sad to see the Declaration of Independence nullified in so many cases, if not in every state, by the state Constitution, in what is it not disregarded in the practical working of it ! Who would not grieve to see, amidst the late troubles of one of our smaller States, instead of the great political parties in the others suggesting aught as an effective remedy, fomenting the quarrel and triumphing in its progress, for the sake of political effect, without any measure for the full establishment of those equal rights to which the whole nation is pledged in the sight of God to one another, before the world ! Who would not grieve at the success with which the guilty often escape through the meshes of law in this State, and the innocent are overwhelmed ; to see a governor proclaim the injustice of certain usurpations, advise their abandonment, but yet hold out the terrors of the law against their violators ; to see men condemned for murder that are said to have taken the life of one that came to oppose them and execute an unjust law ! To see such things, and here find so many felons go "unwhipt of justice," assisted in their crime and their escape from its due punishment through that imported, foreign, feudal legislation, and those relics of ancient fraud which seemed to have been swept away in the spring-tide flood of the revolution ; yet here, carried back and settling down upon our shores in every ebb and flow of the change of parties and pre-

Collector, whose appointment has changed the relations between Messrs. Goldson, Bogardus and Mackenzie. Before this, Mr. Goldson gave Mackenzie permission to copy the letters, and Mr. Bogardus could find "nothing of importance in the matter," but now none louder than they in denouncing Mackenzie. Denunciation is not enough ; they, or one of them, at least, have gone before the grand jury for the purpose of having him indicted for a felony. Why is this ? Is it not manifest that that which was of "no importance" under Mr. Van Ness, in their estimation, has become a felony under Mr. Lawrence ? And is it not equally manifest that all this zeal against Mackenzie originates in a base and grovelling desire to ciliate the Collector at the expense of truth and honor ! I do not stop to enquire what are the collector (Lawrence's) opinions or wishes. I dare be honest and speak the truth, let it please or offend whom it may. I hope I am done with Mr. Bogardus.

INGHAM CORYELL."

tended reforms in the framing of constitutions and the revising of laws; if not ready to wish for the abrogation of human laws, and with a trial of a jury of our peers, the palladium of liberty, in a court where only the enlightened consciences of good men and their sense of honesty should be allowed to affect the decision in pronouncing sentence according to the evidence; how must I have been excited to do at least what was put in my power, to afford a demonstration of the truth of sacred writ, "that the love of money is the root of all evil," and to call upon the people of this state, in prospect of holding a convention, to reform and perfect its constitution; and of all the states; to establish more checks, and henceforth allow of no office holder but by their direct suffrage, of no nomination but with your full knowledge—and to permit no one elected to legislate in any pecuniary matters regarding his own pay or whatever else may conduce to his own personal and exclusive advantage; but to enjoy his salary according to the appointment of the people, in his election! Such are the principles in which I have had the happiness to be indoctrinated; \* principles that I know not if they are fully carried out in practice among any society of men but the Seceders of Scotland, a church strongly attached to Democracy in clerical government, and which I may call my mother church, having been born and baptized in it.

Whatever motives of disappointed ambition, whatever motives of self-seeking and hope of future favor may be imputed to the author, he is conscious to himself of the rectitude of his conduct, and, that, in due time, it will be approved by every sincere lover of his country's welfare, by every one that reckons himself bound to guard the republic against injury. If it had been revenge that had prompted him, he might have had that long ago in matters that more nearly related himself; but, when he considered himself able to serve the public, he overlooked personal injuries, and instead of being the opponent of the party, the worst part of which reckon themselves chiefly aggrieved by this publication, he became its advocate and pleaded its claims to State and National power as far as he was then deceived, and, as far as he reckoned its proposals preferable to those of the party that then defeated it.

Laboring for the good of whatever land it has been his lot under providence to inhabit, amidst the ill-treatment which he has received for the want of success in a cause at least equal to that for which our revolutionary ancestors of this nation, are justly honored; marked and proscribed with a price set upon his head, equal to that at which some of the most illustrious of them were valued by the same government; the last among all the survivors of that ill fated struggle, that has not obtained a pardon and an allowance to return to his unforfeited rights and property; were he to be crushed now by such an attempt as Hoyt, Butler, Van Buren, and their supporters have made, how would tyrants rejoice and the lovers of rational liberty lament, reckoning the refuge of the oppressed, the dungeon of the free!

Is it to be supposed that I should destroy my fair fame, lay aside every principle of honor, sacrifice a life-long reputation, and disregarding all consequences,

\* When the question of a state convention was first spoken of, I was in the Mechanics' Institute, here, and wrote many articles in its favour, tho' not over my own signature. Levi D. Slamm, a trusted editor of the Democracy, or perhaps of their artful and selfish leaders, has, during the last three years, bestowed much abuse upon me, and done me all the injury he could with the people. Himself the son of a German father and an Irish mother, he descended to denounce me as "a foreign renegade" thro' his press. Let his private sentiments, published by his consent, stand as a reply to the slanders of his journal.

"William L. Mackenzie, Esq.—Dear Sir: I thank you for your attention. The article you allude to never came to my possession, else I should certainly have published it. Be assured that the fears you intimate do me injustice. Innately a Democrat, I can never forego the utterance of truth from any motive of policy or expediency. A pressure of business—the warm interest I have taken in municipal reform, as the columns of the Diebeun will show, the various subjects which arise every day requiring some record of opinion—and the little assistance I have in the conduct of my journal, is MY EXCUSE FOR NOT ENTERING POSITIVELY INTO THE CONTEMPLATED CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM QUESTION. Your friend. LEVI D. SLAMM."

"June 26, 1843."

like "a madman . . . firebrands, arrows and death," not caring though the greatest and noblest temple of human liberty ever erected, should be burned up, if I should obtain a name? Far from it! An admirer of the glorious principles of the Declaration of Independence; hoping to find the practical effect of such liberty here, as a Knox had established for the Church in my native land, and a Buchanan pleaded for the state; the practical working of the true political principles which a Locke furnished to the immortal author of the *full draught of the Declaration of Independence*; hearing this government praised by every lover of liberty; living under oppressions myself; admiring everything good, and carefully endeavoring to excuse everything evil in the working of the republican system; engaged at last, as is well known, in a desperate, (though for the time,) an unsuccessful, attempt to transplant the same institutions into a neighboring region; was I not accurately to mark its workings according to my opportunities; and when made to feel its evils so bitterly as I have experienced in my own person; was I to content myself as an idle drone in the Custom House, sucking the honey of the public hive? Far from it! I endeavored to improve the opportunities which were there furnished, and the leisure which the present arrangement of the public service allowed, for the benefit of the public; and here is the result of a part of my labors.

But, in an attempt to cloak up again the villainy and fraud which has been exposed, here we have a defaulter to the public, an embezzler of the revenue, that should have been glad to have retired from view into the shades of those jungles which it is now becoming fashionable for public men to court, after a certain period of office, where they may live like wild beasts that drag their victims to their dens, to devour them and fatten upon them at leisure; there he should have sought to spend, after "a youth of labor, an age of ease" with his guilty companions, instead of darkening a court of justice with his presence, or deafening it with his complaints. But, "Oh! shame, where is thy blush!" his claim is allowed, sanctioned; and letters by the lovers of stock-gambling and betting on elections—on the best mode of intriguing for office, and how that office should be used, not for the public weal, but to subserve the basest and most wicked personal and party purposes—of the easiest way of robbing the widow and the orphan by an artificial and corrupt upholding of a rotten bankrupt Banking Institution—letters composed of language and epithets the most blasphemous, the demoralizing tendency of which cannot for an instant be doubted, even by the most liberal reader—these are adjudged worthy of the protecting mantle of an EQUITY court, as literary property, and the booksellers enjoined not to sell nor permit the public to read the Lives of Jesse Hoyt and Benjamin Butler.\*

\* Leaving for a time, Mr. V. Buren's ready tool, let us cast a look at the principals, the chief conspirators among their accomplices in guilt. See one filing for a time a high legal station, in which he must tremble at the blast of public indignation, when the confined wind of the Custom House, that Edus Manufactory of public opinion, has been let out at the proper quarter, no longer belched forth from the throats of its greasy demagogues! See him with a carriage beyond most of the traders in politics, early making a profession of religion: not waiting till retirement from office to be trammelled by the restraints of sect, but all the time using his religious profession as a cloak, pretending "to be devoted to the world, but following the mammon of unrighteousness with a step as steady as time and an appetite as keen as death."

If there are certain pictures so ludicrous, according to the description of the poet, to see which, when admitted, must furnish a subject for unrestrainable laughter; how could it be thought that I could restrain my indignation when the opportunity was afforded me of perusing the evidence which such a man furnished against himself? Then see his nearest relation in life, his other self, a woman, of whose sex it has been said, that "retirement is the greatest glory; and, that one famous, is infamous;" how has she courted notoriety to herself among the accomplices of her male, by her share in this family compact of corrupt politicians! Who could withhold from her the gratification of enjoying that loving association which she has courted, of furnishing another proof of the old adage "No plot without a woman;" of attracting the admiring multitude to the charms of the heroine of the piece, a tragedy to the public, hitherto a comedy to them?

It has been said that the name of the Devil himself ought to be mentioned with reverence, as we are not to speak evil of dignities. Such a principle must be supposed to lead to some restraint in speaking of one that once, though unworthily, filled the highest station of honor in this land. But surely this should not hinder his being allowed to speak for himself. In the word of God we have many records of the sayings of the devil as well as of wicked men. The author of this book owes that character nothing; I mean not the devil but the other. Or if he owes him anything, he is glad of the opportunity of discharging the obligation, of paying in this a second instalment.

Could that be property to any one which had not only been abandoned but could be of no use to him when recovered? In my book, the letters that are claimed have their fitting place; separated from the context, they must be regarded as the sweepings, dross and rubbish of literature, utterly worthless. Literary property no more could they be than the certificate which some skillful physician gives to a pauper cured of the diseases produced by vice, to be exhibited along with his scars to excite the sympathy of every one that passes by. In such frequent cases of moral disease in the body politic, when the just retribution shall overtake the workers of evil, pity may perhaps relent and hearken to the cry of misery, and regard the sight of wounds worse than those of Lazarus, which even a dog would disdain to lick, and give a cent to the modern representatives of fallen greatness, as one of old begged, saying, while exhibiting his torn purple, "*Daobolem, pauperi Belisario.*"

These letters could only be useful for such a purpose, or to be published by their author as a confession in anticipation of the horrors of a dying hour, or the just judgment of God: not without a precedent in the annals of Infidels and Christians, of Rousseau and Augustine. But they are sought for no such purposes, with no such intentions. A generous penitent would rejoice in anticipating his labor, in another's doing for him that which he had been too careless in doing for himself; that which his conscience must have urged, though the modesty of his nature might have shrunk from the performance.

Then how vain the pretence of claiming this property for others! Is there any one, the most degraded of the multitude that figure in this book, that would claim his labors here as literary property, or allow them to be used as such, *if it could be prevented?* NOT ONE. What earnest solicitation do we find in certain cases that the letters may be burned, and what assurances that the same favor has been granted to the productions of him from whom this is asked! If this were literary property it must have changed its nature in a wonderful manner, appearing to amazing advantage in the editor's publication contrasted with the author's manuscript. What a grace and brilliancy the setting must have lent these paste diamonds and glass jewels of literature!

Low as others are in the scale of sensibility, besides Hoyt the claimant, it cannot be supposed that they are altogether destitute of feeling on this subject. It is related by natural historians that a certain animal, a sort of prototype of those beings that wallow in the mire of political corruption, has been known to become so insensible in its fatness, that the mice have been allowed to burrow and nestle in its back. But here, though "learning," in the language of Burke, "may have been cast into the street and trodden under the hoofs of a swinish multitude," in all the ignorance and disregard of the propriety of speech, as well as of decency of manners, we must interpret the clamour with which we are assailed and deafened, as a claim of literary property urged here, as the grunting of the herd, in the feeling and anticipation of their well filled troughs being emptied, and themselves sent as commoners at large, through the streets, instead of preserving their present accommodation, in the well built pens of the public's providing.

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It is now well seen that it was the miserable, vacillating policy of that wretched statesman, the weathercock of popular opinion, that led to many of the disasters that overwhelmed the good cause in which I was engaged. How did he allow countenance to be given it as long as it seemed prosperous, and how did he command the rigours of the law to be strained against the unfortunate, when it became adverse; bold as a lion against the humble lovers of liberty, gentle as a dove to the proud supporters of oppression. Contrast his conduct towards Texas and Canada, Britain and Mexico! With respect to myself, my imprisonment was procured, at what expense of oaths and justice! as a sacrifice to satisfy the clamours of \* \* \* \* \*; then reluctantly my release was granted lest a longer confinement should injure his interests in an indignant community; but, not without requiring 100,000 petitioners to ask the favor of relaxing the hold of cruelty, to furnish a pretence for doing what was right, to afford an excuse against a party that he feared might reproach him with mercy! Great politician! let prosperity award thee a niche in the temple of fame by the side of him of whom it is recorded, that "he could not take a pinch of snuff without a stratagem!"

Amidst all the obstructions that have been put in my way, myself unheard in many parts, and nothing but calumnies preceding as an advertisement of my book, I know that I shall yet be regarded; that in some way I shall gain a public audience, and secure the approbation of the people in my honest effort "to do the state some service." Not-despairing, but assured of ultimate success to my righteous cause, with the most earnest wishes and most ardent hopes for it here, trusting to such a decision as most recommends itself to your own consciences in the prospect of death and at the bar of God, that shall be echoed in the grateful approbation of the people; in the consciousness of no ill desert, and the justice of my cause, notwithstanding a former decision, of the character of which, and its author, Vice Chancellor McCoun, the public have already formed their opinion; and shall soon pronounce their sentence; I appeal to you, and to the whole people; to you as the representatives of their justice and equity, like the ancient Roman, who, when he had put down plots and punished treason, was refused by a tribune to be allowed to make a recapitulation of his services, but in taking his oath of office customary on resignation, swore that he had saved the republic, and all the people assented with a shout.\*

#### CHAPTER IV.

*Van Buren's birth, parentage, and family connexions. His education and early pursuits. He studies law—opens a law office—marries. W. P. Van Ness. Aaron Burr. Death of Mrs. Van Buren. John, Abraham, Smith T., and Martin Van Buren, Jr.*

ABRAHAM VAN BUREN was the owner of a small farm in Kinderhook, Columbia county, New York; and kept a tavern, or public house, first, in a little log

\*Suppose a clerk finds among his employer's papers a well digested plan, by persons high in his master's confidence, to defraud him—with other plans, showing that he has been already defrauded by those persons; and suppose this Clerk to remain silent, and allow the guilty individuals to go on and do much more mischief, when, had he warned his employer, they would have been checked in time—would not his conduct be faithless, and reprehensible? Would he not be as bad as the knaves whose villainy he had thus cloaked?

Such was my case. I did not seek the confidence of Hoyt, Butler, Van Buren, &c. I received none of it. I betrayed no secrets, for I was entrusted with none. But while in a public office belonging to the United States, I found the evidence of knavery, duplicity, fraud, and dishonesty, by which my employers had deeply suffered, and were likely to suffer much more; and that fraud and knavery I hastened publicly to expose, and lay before the highest authority in the land, as I was in honor bound to do. I also laid it before the people in the form of a public book, to which I attached my name as the compiler—skulking from no responsibility, but courting enquiry. I took no profit or advantage by the publication, because, though an exile for the love I bear to freedom, and poor, I earned the reward of an informer for hire.

I borrowed one hundred dollars, after leaving the Custom House, for which I gave my note. This sum enabled me to complete the book. Twenty-five dollars paid the whole expenses of my journey to Boston, where I boarded at 4 Boudoin street, until Mr. A. J. Wright, a highly respectable printer there, had set up the manuscript. I think I had two copies of his edition, and have had some 6 or 8 of the other printed here—and this is all the connexion, profit, loss, or interference in any way which I had or have with the Lives of Hoyt and Butler, either direct, or indirectly. Of the sales, costs, profits or losses, I know no more than the public—and as to the assertion that I had the work published with a fictitious publisher's name, it is equally false with other slanders. I was introduced to Mr. Cook in Boston by the printer to the city—I saw him at Mr. Wright's before I left—and I borrowed \$7 from him to pay my expenses to N. Y. which I repaid here. While in the Custom House, no man was more careful not to divulge ought relative to merchants' entries or invoices, or the official papers of the department. Who can say to the contrary?

I found the proofs of Butler & Co.'s knavery in the people's possession—in a public building of theirs, which had cost them a million of dollars. Had I concealed these proofs, future misconduct would have been justly laid at my door. Do not those who blame me for publishing the truth in this case, seek to screen public and private knavery in all time coming, by threatening faithful servants if they do not save rogues harmless?

I had not agreed to be the depository of dishonest secrets, when I accepted a clerkship in a public office. I had never stepped out of my own department to seek secrets of any kind. To have concealed the letters would have been to agree that the fountain of public justice should remain impure. I had made no such contract. The letters were open. They were mixed up with the public documents—I could not help reading them. They had no business there, nor had Mr. Butler any business to make the young Patron tipsy, keep his good money and send him back with that which was bad.

Were the men who exposed the traitorous correspondence found in Major Andre's boots, blameable? "It is dreadful to read such withering exposures of political profligacy, such shocking exhibitions of venality, chicanery, hypocrisy and fraud," says the Commercial Advertiser. I had charged Hoyt, Van Buren, Butler, and their allies, years before, with very bad conduct, through the press. When I find some of the proofs in a public office, and given in charge of no one, I am blamed for circulating them! "There are those made manifest in these pages, who might gladly invoke the mountains to fall on and cover them." So says the Courier & Enquirer; and if I have done wrong in unloaking the sinners, let it warn others having like villainy to conceal not to employ me. Because had men conspire in secret against the Republic, am I to be compelled, in violation of my oath of fidelity, to conceal their misconduct, or be insulted for giving the country warning?



building where his eldest son, the seventh president of the United States, was born, and afterwards in a frame dwelling which he erected on or near the spot which his shanty had originally occupied in the centre of the town. Mr. Van Buren was quiet, peaceful and good natured, but very illiterate—governor George Clinton appointed him a captain of militia shortly after the peace of 1783, but he soon resigned his commission, having very little taste for warlike display, and no knowledge of military tactics. His politics were of the right sort for a tavern-keeper in a neighborhood inhabited by democrats and federalists—they were of the neutral sort. He married when rather advanced in years, Mary Goes, otherwise Hoes, a widow lady with three children, (whose first husband's name was Van Alen,) a polite, well-bred, managing woman, very fond of politics; and as active and ambitious as her partner in life's cares was still, contented, dull and harmless. They were very poor, but Mr. B. F. Butler, whose father kept a store and tavern in the same township, mentions that Mrs. Van Buren was "distinguished for her amiable disposition, her exemplary piety, and more than ordinary sagacity." She lived to see one of her sons a member of Congress, and another of them a state senator and attorney general of New York.

Abraham Van Buren, his wife, and her former husband, Mr. Van Alen, were all of Dutch descent—Butler says that her maiden name, Goes, "will be recognized as a name of distinction by those who are familiar with the history of the Netherlands," which I am not.

Martin, the eldest son of Abraham Van Buren and his wife, Mary Goes, or Hoes, was born in the village of Kinderhook, on the 5th of December, 1782—his younger brothers are Lawrence, a farmer, also of Kinderhook, and Abraham now, I believe postmaster there, but formerly a lawyer at Hudson. There were also two sisters, one of whom married Mr. Barent Hoes.

The early life of Martin Van Buren was passed in his father's tavern. He received his education at the village school; and even that was cut short before he had completed his fourteenth year. In 1796, he was sent to the office of Mr. Francis Sylvester, a lawyer of his native village, to acquire the art or practice of an attorney, and as he had not had the advantages of a collegiate education, the statute required him to study the technical, diffuse, and tedious forms of English legal practice for seven long years, previous to an examination as to his qualifications to be admitted to act as an attorney in the law courts, and several years more before attaining the rank of a counsellor at law.

After remaining several years with Sylvester, Van Buren was taken into the law office of William P. Van Ness, at New York. Mr. Van Ness was from Columbia county, the steady friend and associate of Aaron Burr, and an astute caustic, well-informed politician. He wrote a powerful pamphlet against De Witt Clinton and Ambrose Spencer, under the signature of "Aristides;" and Van Buren has been often accused of betraying to Judge Spencer or Mr. Clinton the author's name. This charge is doubtless unjust, though M. M. Noah reiterated it publicly after the judge had unequivocally pronounced it false.

Through Mr. Van Ness, and, probably at his father's tavern, when he was on visits at General Van Ness's, Van Buren became acquainted with Vice-President Burr, who (says Holland or rather Butler,) was led "to treat him with marked attention, and to make every reasonable effort to secure his favorable regard." In November, 1803, at the age of nearly twenty-one, Van Buren was admitted as an attorney of the Supreme Court, New York, and began business at Kinderhook under the firm of Van Buren & Miller; his law partner being a son of Stephen Miller, and both of them what was called 'republicans.'

Van Buren, soon after this, paid his addresses to Miss Hannah Hoes—Miss Hannah's brother, Barent, was courting one of Van Buren's sisters at the same time. Both marriages took place. Mrs. Van Buren is described as having been a kind, amiable, sweet-tempered woman, and the connexion was a happy one while it lasted. Van Buren proved himself an affectionate husband—was strongly attached to his wife—sincerely lamented her death, which took place in 1818, of consumption; and has remained a widower for the last twenty-eight years.

Of their family of four sons, the most remarkable is John Van Buren, now Attorney General of N. Y. State, who married a daughter of Judge James Vanderpoel of Kinderhook, and is now a widower. James M. French, of the Albany Atlas, married her sister. Wright and Van Buren's friends tried to elect his partner, Cassidy, State Printer, and thus keep that lucrative branch of the *revenue* in the family or among its dependants. The eldest son, Abraham Van Buren, married a daughter of Colonel Singleton, a wealthy planter of South Carolina, and is a brother-in-law of Senator McDuffie. Andrew Stevenson of Va. is the lady's uncle. The third son, Smith Thompson Van Buren, married a daughter of the late William James, a rich citizen of Albany. Her sister is the wife of Robert E. Temple, a son of Judge Temple of Vermont, whom Gov'r. Wright has appointed to the office of Adjutant General of the Militia. The fourth son is Martin Van Buren, so named after his father.

## CHAPTER V.

*Van Buren's early habits. The importance to Society of a judicious Education. James I. Van Alen. State of Parties in N. Y. Clinton and Spencer. The Embargo of 1807-8. The Surrogates of Columbia county. Van Buren's course as a partisan. Aristides.*

MARTIN VAN BUREN the elder, was a shrewd, cunning, clever boy—very fond of betting, gambling and card playing—a first rate pleader for a small fee, in cases tried before a justice of the peace—very persevering in such branches of study as he found to be particularly useful—good at trading horses and making bargains—and endeavored to give some consideration to that branch of the science of morals called politics at a very early age, at the tavern. Dr. Holland mentions, that during Van Buren's boyhood, Kinderhook was a litigious, quarrelsome place, where "party politics raged violently, and frequently disturbed the peaceful relations of neighbors whose real interests were not in conflict with each other." and "the theatre of incessant litigation and judicial combat, especially in the local courts." A gentleman who remembers him from his infancy, tells me that his common conversation in early life far more resembled the style of his son John's epistles to Jesse Hoyt, than those of his student Benjamin Butler, dated from Sandy Hill.

How important is useful knowledge, not only to the person taught, but to the community, to his country, and the world! With young Van Buren's talents, energetic character, and ambition to raise himself to riches and distinction, what advantages might not his country have derived from his exertions, had his education been judicious and liberal—had he received that instruction which forms the mind, elevates the soul, directs the judgment, gives a zest to the finest feelings of humanity, enables native talent and genius to enlist under the banners of virtue, and sends forth into society men of patriotism and love of truth, whose souls are filled with generous anticipations of improving the condition and increasing the social comforts of mankind! Jefferson, Clinton and Lafayette, tho' reared in affluence, struggled through life to increase the public stock

of useful knowledge, and knock off the fetters which bind the millions; and they died poor—wealth and high station have been Mr. Van Buren's great aim—he has been President of the Republic, his children are married into rich families, and, he himself is the owner of large possessions, and covered with honors and distinction. He enjoys the comfort of a temporary retirement from public life in one of his country seats, once the family mansion of General Van Ness, a lovely spot within view of his birth place, and near to the banks of the Hudson and the base of the lofty Catskill. Education, such as he received at the village school, in the tavern of his father, among the petty quarrels and cases of crime tried before the country squires, among noisy and brawling politicians, gamblers, and horse jockies of Kinderhook and its environs, and in the office of a well meaning country attorney, tied down to the apocryphal practice of English law, laid the foundation of his fortunes; and we shall enquire, in succeeding chapters how far his elevation to power has been a benefit or an injury to his country.

Van Buren had been licensed to practise as an attorney in the state courts in Nov. 1803—next year he was admitted to practise as attorney and counsellor in the supreme court. Sometime in 1805 or 1806 he entered into a law partnership with his half-brother James I. Van Alen, who was much older than himself, had been educated for the law, was in good practice, and in May 1806, elected a member of the tenth congress, which met in December, 1807. Mr. Butler, and Dr. Holland describe Van Alen as a high toned *federalist*! while the Hudson Bee, and the Republican Watch Tower (May 9, 1806) name him as a *republican*, opposing the ex-chancellor, R. R. Livingston, and what they call the *federal* influence. "In spite of the almost all-pervading and all-potent influence of the *Merchants' Bank* and the intrigues of Governor Lewis's party (says the Bee,) the *republicans* of this county have presented a sound and unvarying body." Who could understand from this that Van Alen had been the federal candidate?

In 1800, the great federal party in the state of N. Y. were overthrown by the united efforts of the Clintons, Livingstons and Aaron Burr; Burr was afterwards temporarily prostrated by the Clintons and Livingstons, and more effectually by his duel with Colonel Hamilton—shortly after this the Clintons quarreled with the Livingstons and overcame them. Van Buren took sides with the Clintons and W. H. Crawford of Georgia, against Jefferson's embargo act. Soon after its passage by congress, De Witt Clinton presided at a public meeting in the City of New York, by which it was condemned; and Cheetham, in *The American Citizen*, the Clintonian paper, steadily denounced it. The Clinton and Spencer party influence made Daniel D. Tompkins, who was a member of congress for that city, Governor of the state; and having a majority in the Assembly of the state, elected in Feb. 1803, Benjamin Coe, P. C. Adams, John Veeder, and Nathan Smith, as a council of appointment, to remove political opponents from office and choose friends to fill vacancies. This council forthwith appointed De Witt Clinton to the mayoralty of New York, Sylvanus Miller to be surrogate there, and Joseph C. Yates a judge of the Supreme Court. Van Buren's reward was the office of surrogate of Columbia County.

In the course of the year, (1803,) Clinton and Crawford, changed their minds in favor of the embargo, having given the question a more careful consideration.

In 1810, a federal council came into power at Albany, but, tho' (as Hammond tells us) sheriffs and surrogates "were generally made to feel its power," Van Buren held on quietly. James I. Van Alen, his half-brother, was the surrogate before him—making laws at Washington, and performing judicial duties, tho' the deputy of a deputy, on the banks of the Hudson—Van Buren got

his place, March 20, 1808—and in 1813, when he was safely seated in the Senate, the federalists restored the surrogate's office to Van Allen. In the struggles of faction, brothers of the same family, and law-partners of the same firm, often took opposite sides, and, like V. B. and V. A. played into each other's hands. It was said not long since of the brothers Wetmore of New York, that, like two buckets in a well, when one was down the other was up; one of them at least was sure to be in the majority of the hour and in office. There are many such cases. By reference to page 190, note first, it will be seen that, tho' Van Allen, the federalist, did not hold on continually, his brother, Martin, the democrat, hastened to put him back into the surrogate's in 1821, throwing in the office of assistant county judge, with its emoluments, for his further accommodation; both of which places, I believe, he held on to, besides his legal practice, till the day of his death.

M. M. Noah and others have insinuated that Van Buren went over to governor Lewis and the Livingstons in 1804, when twenty-one years old, in consequence of a quarrel with W. P. Van Ness, arising out of the secret disclosure of that gentleman's authorship of 'Aristides'—but as Judge Spencer has stated that this charge of a betrayal of confidence has no foundation, we are bound wholly to discredit it. In 1807, as Butler and Holland inform us, Van Buren was no longer found under the Livingston standard—he supported Daniel D. Tompkins, who was Governor Lewis's opponent—and again in 1810. From 1803 to 1812 he was a thorough-going Clintonian, and delivered a strong and energetic address in favor of Clinton as President, in opposition to Madison, in November, 1812, in the legislative caucus at Albany. Solomon Southwick and Martin Van Buren were sworn friends in politics from 1804 to 1813. They went for Lewis in 1804—for Tompkins, against Lewis in 1807—for Tompkins in 1810—and for entangling DeWitt Clinton in their toils—to put down Madison in 1812. In Southwick's remarkable letter to me [page 263,] on Van Buren, he gives a death bed version as it were of Van Buren's true character, as he had ascertained it from a personal intimacy of many years. The reader may judge from the facts given in this volume whether his strictures are warranted.

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## CHAPTER VI.

*Van Buren's experience on N. Y. banking. He lobbies for a charter to the Bank of Hudson. Van Buren, his brother-in-law, Cantine, and W. P. Van Ness become directors of that bank. It explodes—a total wreck. Van Ness upon Society. Madison gives him a U. S. judgeship. His manner of guarding the court monies. Theron Rudd. Van Buren's unconquerable dislike to bank shares.*

VAN BUREN is, and always has been, a studious, enquiring, observing man. In his early days the principles of banking and paper currency were discussed in Congress, in the State Legislatures, by the press, and in private circles, with the utmost earnestness; and that class of instructive facts which were exhibited in the state banks' suspension of 1837, were in active operation before his eyes, during the stoppage of cash payments in 1814 and 1815: he was as well aware, in 1829, when he recommended a chain of safety (!!!) fund banks, and in 1831, when he placed them in a state of dependance on the federal executive, that the result would be a general bankruptcy, as, when, in 1839, he echoed the impotent threats of the Hermitage against the deceptions of their presidents, directors and officers. With Van Buren there had been no duplicity; he understood and anticipated every move they made. This fact will become apparent to the impartial and attentive reader.

In 1808, Van Buren went to Albany to use his influence with the lobby for the chartering of the Bank of Hudson; the application was successful, and in due time he became a director and prosecuting attorney for the institution. Moses I. Cantine, his brother-in-law, a state senator of his politics, and afterwards state printer, was one of the directors on the part of the people of N. Y., who had a share of the management, held stock, deposited part of the public monies, in this bank, and elected two directors, through the State Legislature. William P. Van Ness, the friend of Burr, the brother of Cornelius P. Van Ness, late collector of customs, New York, and of General John P. Van Ness, President of the Bank of the Metropolis, Washington, and who had been a legal instructor of Van Buren, was one of his associates at the board of direction. When Van Buren left Hudson for Albany he gave up his seat at the discount board; but as Attorney General it remained under his supervision, through its charter, and as being a state institution, and for years paying no specie. In 1823, it exploded, but Van Buren had sold out his stock; having been behind the screen, he was well aware how matters were going. The House of Assembly appointed a committee to enquire into the affairs of the Hudson Bank, which reported on the third of February, that year, [see Assembly's Journal,] that on looking into its management, going back "many years," the facts which had come under their observation "disclose a scene of wild speculation, ruinous and improvident management on the part of many of its officers," by which the stock-holders lost their stock, the bill-holders their bills, which went down from being worth five to six cents per dollar, to nothing; and Van Buren and the public gained some experience—he in safety-fund banking, and his constituents in its results.

A few months after Van Buren removed to Hudson, his friend, Judge (W. P.) Van Ness, then of Columbia county, delivered an able charge to the grand-inquest of that county, there, wherein he took occasion to describe the condition of society as follows:

"Although we have not quite attained the skill and hardihood in the perpetration of crimes which distinguishes the nations of the old world, we may claim all the merit of most hopeful pupils, and successful imitators. All the evil propensities of foreign growth have here found a most congenial soil. That species of profligacy, which has hitherto been believed to be the offspring of deep national, and individual degeneracy, seems to flourish here, with a poisonous luxuriance that overshadows and blasts every virtuous principle. A little attention to this subject, will evince to you that in these days of speculation and refinement, mankind is improving in every thing but virtue. That his ingenuity is exerted with great success, in the skilful commission of crimes, and in the practice of devices infinitely various, for the purpose of eluding detection, and escaping the penalties of the law. In a simple state of manners, the artifices of designing men, were less complex. Vice marched directly to its object. The conception and consummation of a crime rapidly succeeded each other. But now the multiplied acts of men often exhibit specimens of the most skilful and accomplished villainy, which, by evasive dexterity, almost baffles the usual methods of scrutiny and detection. The wealth that has poured in upon us, since our national birth, and the reputation we have established, has exalted our pride, and intoxicated our vanity, with the hopes of uninterrupted prosperity. But it should be remembered, that these advantages in a national as well as private view, are frail and evanescent, and that the most prosperous periods are not unfrequently selected by the wisdom of God to chastise the aspiring spirit of a people."

Wm. P. Van Ness was soon after appointed by Mr. Madison, to the office of District Judge at New York; and in 1812, he removed Charles Clinton the clerk, and appointed Theron Rudd in his stead. Mr. Talmadge, the circuit judge, turned off Rudd and appointed John C. Spencer's uncle, Philip, Clinton not desiring a reappointment. In August, 1813, Mr. Van Ness put out Spencer and gave Rudd the clerk's place again. It was Rudd's duty to keep the money in charge of the court, in a bank designated to him, and a rule of court forbade him to pay out or remove any of it without the judge's order, stating to whom the cash was to be paid, and why. Judge Van Ness repealed the rule. Ano-

ther rule of court which subjected Rudd's account of cash on hand, to two half yearly inspections by the judge and district attorney, the judge amended by leaving out the district attorney's name, but never after enquired into Rudd's financial operations. The law required Van Ness to take bonds and security for the faithful performance of his duties, but he omitted it when he reappointed him. In Feb. 1817, Rudd had about \$150,000 in his hands belonging to suitors in Van Ness's court, and suspicion having arisen a committee of congress examined the judge, who went to Washington and told a committee of the Senate that the cash in charge of his court was perfectly safe in "the Middle District Bank," north of the highlands, and that his clerk, Rudd, was "every way responsible under his bond." The clerk had given no bond—the judge had made no enquiry about the money for several years. Judge Van Ness tried in vain to prevent congress from passing a law requiring 'court monies' to be paid into bank, and all payments by them to be by the judge's order. In June, 1817, an order for the attachment of Rudd was issued—he was put in prison—let out again—and finally a committee of congress, April 10, 1818, announced that \$117,397 of the public money "were unaccounted for by Theron Rudd, and that they have been most grossly and nefariously purloined." No law was then passed to punish further speculation; and, when, in July, 1840, a penal enactment found its way into the sub-treasury bill, Judge Betts, the successor of Van Ness, discovered that it would not apply to Jesse Hoyt's case. Rudd was a great admirer of Van Buren—upheld his administration powerfully, as editor of the *New Era*—went for the sub-treasury—and, like Price, Swartwout, Gouverneur and Hoyt, probably expended a fair share of the 'court monies' in manufacturing public opinion, to serve party leaders, at Tammany Hall, Texas, or elsewhere.

Judge Van Ness's practice, thro' his clerk, Rudd, afforded an apt illustration of his theory of society, above quoted. Altho' the committee of congress blamed his remissness, they had no reason to believe that he received a dollar of the missing treasure. He died in 1824, anything but wealthy—and the beautiful lands and mansion of his family were purchased, and are now occupied by his ancient pupil, Van Buren.

Van Buren's official biographer, Holland, tells us, page 303, "that he has wholly abstained from becoming the owner of any bank stock, or taking any interest in any company incorporated by the legislature of New York, since the period of his entrance into the Senate of that state in 1812;" all which is as true, *but not more so*, than O'Sullivan's assertion in his life of B. F. Butler, Van Buren's law-partner, that he left the Washington and Warren Bank, in good condition, paying every body specie. Van Buren was not only interested in banks, but was one of the most active managers of the very worst of them, in 1814, that at Hudson.\*

\* In 1808, the legislature of New York passed an act to lend certain classes of the citizens a sum of money for their relief. Mr. Van Buren's friend, agent, and admirer, Mordecai M. Noah, gives the following brief history of it in the *N. Y. Evening Star* of August 1, 1831:

"The charters of the Bank of New York, the Bank of Albany, the Farmers' Bank of Troy and the Bank of Columbia, were about expiring, and they had all applied for the extension of their charters. The commercial condition of the country and its currency, was at that time under great embarrassment, resulting from the then embargo, and other restrictions imposed by the General Government on all the mercantile business of the nation, &c. The members from the counties (other than those where the banks mentioned were located) complained that these franchises and grants, were partial in their operation, and that their constituents were also laboring under great difficulties, which could not, and would not be lessened or relieved by the renewal of the bank charters. To obviate this alleged partiality the house of Assembly in 1808 adopted. The bill regulating this loan was drawn by the then Attorney General, and a member of Assembly from this city. There is another fact which occurred at that time, the incorporation of the Bank of Hudson. Martin Van Buren was in Albany during the session of 1808, a lobby member for the chartering of that bank. He was a warm advocate for the rechartering of the others, and co operating with those who supported them. He was a busy lobby member for the renewal of the bank charters, and for the Hudson Bank, in which act of incorporation (we think) he was named as a director. He was a director of that institution for a number of years."

## CHAPTER VII.

*Van Buren sets up as an enemy to Chartered Banks! The Bank of America, or Six Million Bank. Tompkins opposes it, and describes the dangers of the N. Y. banking system. Southwick and the friends of the bank support Van Buren in 1812 for the Senate. General Root, James W. Wilkin, Ambrose and J. C. Spencer, and Samuel Campbell sustain Tompkins. The Common Schools cheated out of the Bank Bonus. Judge W. W. Van Ness's bribe. The Merchants' Bank Charter, 1805.*

When Van Buren was a candidate for the Vice Presidency, a sketch of his life appeared in the Albany Argus, and afterwards in pamphlet form, by B. F. Butler. When in 1835, he was put forward for the office of President, Butler's pamphlet was enlarged into a duodecimo; Dr. Holland was the reputed author, but Butler compiled the more important parts. Blair's Globe, the Argus, and other prints under Van Buren's control, warranted the narrative to be authentic, and I therefore quote it as Van Buren's own version of his history and principles. In page 301, it tells us, that "Of all inventions which have been put in operation, in this country, to promote the inordinate accumulation of wealth, the most exceptionable are incorporated companies; and the worst of all incorporated companies are banks." In page 40, it assures us, that, in the days of Washington, "the leading doctrines of the democratic party were \* \* \* \* no privileges to particular sections of the country or to particular classes of the community—no monopolies, trading companies, or governmental banks"—while "the doctrines of the anti-republican party were similar to those of the present day. They were for a splendid, consolidated government, SUPPORTED BY A NATIONAL BANK, AND REVOLVING ABOUT AN INTRIGUING AND CORRUPTING TREASURY." In page 303, it denounces "incorporated banks," and a paper currency; remarking, that "it may be reasonably doubted whether the whole [banking] system, from beginning to end, is not an infraction of the constitution. It is, at least, an evasion of its plain provisions, pernicious in its influence upon industry and morals, and meriting the firm resistance of all true lovers of equal rights."

When, in 1811, George Clinton's casting vote in the United States Senate, closed the career of the first national bank, its friends pursued very nearly the same course which the directors of the second national bank followed, when Jackson's veto prevented a renewal of its charter. They endeavored to incorporate it as a state institution; and as Pennsylvania was opposed to them, and her legislature refused them a state charter, by a vote of 69 to 22, they came to Albany, and thro' persuasion, influence, interest, and I regret to add, bribery, obtained majorities in both branches of the legislature, for chartering "the Bank of America," with a capital of six millions of dollars. Holland, page 304, tells us that "In the spring of 1812, Governor Tompkins prorogued the legislature, to prevent the passage of the charter for the bank; and Mr. Van Buren yielded this energetic, but necessary, exercise of power, his firmest support." This may be true, for Van Buren's opponent, E. P. Livingston, was a thorough Bank man—yet I perceive that Solomon Southwick, State Printer, President of the Farmers and Mechanics' Bank, Albany, who was the most ultra advocate of "the Bank of America" in the Union, and employed by its projectors to travel over the state in 1811, and enlist recruits and manufacture public opinion for its use, and who had become deadly hostile to Tompkins, earnestly urged the people to choose Van Buren as a Senator; this he did in April, 1812, only a month before the bank bill passed into a law in spite of Tompkins and the war party. These were his words:

"Albany Register, April, 1812.—MIDDLE DISTRICT—for Senator, MARTIN VAN BUREN. In the Middle District, WE REJOICE in the nomination of MR. VAN BUREN—WE HAVE LONG KNOWN AND ESTEEMED HIM. He possesses genius, intelligence, and eloquence—has long been one of the firmest props of the Republican interest; and with a spirit which will not bend to servility or sycophancy, cannot fail to become a distinguished and useful member of the Senate. Attempts are now making to divide the party on a question which has no connexion with it. We allude to the bank question. Attempts are said to have been made to corrupt certain members, but without success; and surely an unsuccessful attempt to corrupt ONE member who voted against the bill, is not to be admitted as proof, nor ought it to give birth even to a suspicion, that another who voted for it had been corrupted."

Van Buren, was elected—the six million bank bill became a law—and on the eighth of December, 1838, Mr. Southwick wrote me as follows:

"I hope, my dear sir, that you are now convinced of what I told you in August last, that Van Buren was heartless, hypocritical, selfish and unprincipled. He is the tool or slave of a foul heart and a false ambition, and never possessed a particle of true greatness. I speak not from prejudice—I knew him intimately—VERY INTIMATELY FOR SEVENTEEN YEARS, and never knew him to act from a noble and disinterested motive; always full of low cunning, dark intrigue, and base selfishness."

He died soon after, and the Albany Argus, and Evening Journal, thus described him: "He was among the most ardent, generous, warm-hearted men that ever lived. He was in his manners, feelings and sentiments, a republican. Oppression and tyranny found in him an enthusiastic and fearless opponent." Hammond speaks of him in the same strain.

In less than three months from the time when Southwick took the field for Van Buren, as above, namely in July, 1812, John C. Spencer, in the Ontario Messenger, remarked, that, "next to the Tories, we think apostate republican editors deserve to be marked and known. The first whose name is entitled to be enrolled on this list is Solomon Southwick."

The memorial of Cornelius Ray and others, read in Senate, February 15, 1812, set forth, that the trustees of the late Bank of the United States had accumulated a large sum in specie in their vaults, which they were desirous to employ in the business of banking; that of this money a considerable sum was owned by foreigners, who could neither vote on their shares nor be directors; that a partial revival of the late national bank was desired by its trustees; who wished the stock-holders of the late United States Bank incorporated as the Phoenix Bank, for twenty years, with \$5,000,000 of capital, which privilege of incorporation they were ready to purchase at the expense of \$500,000 in cash, to be paid to the state, and other \$500,000 they would lend to the state at five per cent. An additional million of stock was afterwards added by the legislature, which refused to allow New York state to hold the \$60,000 she had held in the old U. S. Bank, and refused to give U. S. Bank stockholders, if natives, a preference to ditto, if foreigners. The bonus or price of the charter was raised to \$600,000, and a loan to the state of \$2,000,000. Of its capital, \$5,000,000 were to be paid in specie at once, and it was to be restricted to a bank note circulation equal to its capital. No other bank opposed its charter.

On the twenty-eighth of March, Governor Tompkins prorogued the legislature to the twenty-first of May. He had no veto power. In his speech at the prorogation, he mentioned that, at the previous session, members had been tampered with to induce the passage of the late Jersey Bank charter—and "that some years since, it was ascertained beyond any reasonable doubt, that corrupt inducements were held out to members of the Legislature in order to obtain



their votes in favor of an incorporation of a banking institution [the Merchants' Bank] in the city of New York; and the very strong and general suspicion, that the emoluments tendered were, in certain instances, accepted, inflicted a deep wound upon the purity and independence of legislation. That it appeared by the journals of the Assembly, that attempts have been made to corrupt, by bribes, four members of that body, to vote for the passage of the bill to incorporate the Bank of America; and it also appeared by the journals of the Senate, that an improper attempt had been made to influence one of the Senators to vote for the bill."

Governor Tompkins, when he opened the session, on the twenty-eighth of January, said, that, "not unfrequently, the prominent men who seek the incorporation of new banks, are the very same who have deeply participated in the original stock of most of the previously established banks. Having disposed of that stock at a lucrative advance, and their avidity being sharpened by repeated gratification, they become more importunate and vehement in every fresh attempt to obtain an opportunity of renewing their speculations. If (said he) we still persevere in multiplying banks, will there not be danger of infusing into the public mind a suspicion, either that we yield too plainly to the management and pressure of external combinations, or that the unhallowed shrine of cupidity has its adorers within the very sanctuary of legislation—such a suspicion will be the prelude to the downfall of republican government, for it is erected and supported upon the affections of the people at large, and upon their faith in the inviolable firmness and probity of their public agents, and when once the foundation is removed the superstructure must fall, of course."

Among those who were opposed to *this* bank and approvers of the governor's course, I find the names of Archibald McIntyre, James W. Wilkin, Erastus Root, John Tayler, John W. Taylor, F. A. Bloodgood, Ambrose Spencer, John C. Spencer, Samuel Campbell, B. Coe, Nathan Sanford, Henry Yates, Alexander Sheldon, and Isaac Ogden. Among the friends of the bank, were Samuel Jones, Jr., Halsey Rogers, E. P. Livingston, Morgan Lewis, Jonas Platt, and Ab'm Van Vechten. Van Buren's biographer, Holland, states, pages 86 and 87, that he supported Tompkins with his "utmost influence and best talents," and that the bill "did not become a law; but owed its defeat to the firmness of the governor." This is not true—the bill became a law in June, 1812—Oliver Wolcott was the first president—and Preserved Fish and Theodorus Bailey, ultra democrats, were named in the act, with others, as directors for two years.

Next year (1813) in March, the opponents of Madison came into power in the Assembly, but the senate remained democratic, so called. Of the bonus agreed to be paid towards common schools for their charter, the Bank of America asked to have \$300,000 returned to them—and it was done, by 16 to 9 in the senate, Root and Van Buren, Bloodgood and Wilkin, being among the nays, to their credit be it recorded. It does seem to me, that, as neither party wanted to be rid of banks—and, that, as there was as much rottenness about 'the Manhattan' of the Democrats as 'the Merchants' of the Federalists—the offer of the trustees of the U. S. Bank, was, *in its way*, very liberal, had it been unaccompanied with bribery—but the corrupting of the next year's legislature to induce them to give back to the bank \$300,000 of the purchase money of the monopoly, out of the common school fund, after the bank was afloat, through wholesale corruption, was a refinement in knavery evincing talents suitable for Botany Bay or Van Dieman's Land. Southwick, Thomas, and others, were tried for bribery, and acquitted. Judge W. W. Van Ness, of Columbia county, presided at Southwick's trial, and took a bribe of \$5,000 out of the funds of the bank, for his services in voting for the bill as a member of the council of revision (!!!) Charles King, J. A. Hamilton, and J. Verplanck, manfully stated

the facts in *the American*—General Root, in 1820, brought the judge before the legislature, where, instead of telling a plain story like a man, he appeared entrenched behind the legal quibbles of four hired lawyers, six of the committee being also men of law. John Duer and Rudolph Bunner swore positively that Van Ness had told them that he was entitled to the third of \$20,000, secretly appropriated by the bank for a *gratuity* to him, and the services of Grosvenor and Williams, and that he feared he would only get \$5,000. The receipt and books of the bank were not forthcoming—the judge had the cash—but the shock he got through the enquiry affected his health—he died in 1824. Butler alludes to him in letter thirty-eight of Correspondence.

I am particular in noticing the system of New York bank chartering, to show how well aware Messrs. Van Buren, Cambreleng, Wright, Flagg, Dix, Young, Kendall, Butler, Beardsley, Marcy, Benton, Dickenson, Lawrence, Hoyt, Allen, Fish, &c., were, of what would be the results of their tampering with the currency from 1828 to 1840.

Theodorus Bailey, who was one of the most active and urgent of the lobby waiters for the Bank of America, in 1812, presided at a meeting of the democrats of New York, on the twenty-third of April, 1805, at which an address was got up, signed by him, and sent through the state, denouncing the infamous proceedings connected with the Merchants' Bank charter. Here are extracts :

"Alas! the influence of gold has triumphed over the honor and interests of our country.—It is undeniable that a member of the senate endeavoured to bribe one of his colleagues, and that he is still permitted to degrade that honorable body by his presence. Can future confidence be reposed in him? Can our lives, our liberties and fortunes, be safely entrusted in such hands? If he was guilty, why was he not expelled? If he was innocent, why was he censured by a vote of the senate? When the charge of corruption was openly announced in the Assembly, a committee of investigation was appointed by the Speaker, by the command and with the sanction of that house. The chairman of the committee presented a report, and a majority refused to receive it? Can we believe that men, conscious of integrity, and jealous of their characters, would have shrunk from evidence calculated to vindicate the innocent, and detect the guilty? *Would they have added to such committee individuals subject to the general crimination, knowing as they must have known, that their conduct could be attributed to no other cause than a determination to suppress the truth?*"

"Corruption [says Col. Duane] was first employed in the senate house, it produced the desired effect—the press proclaimed the fact; the senate, in consequence, instituted an enquiry, passed a vote of censure upon the corrupted member, and yet, strange to relate, this very senate ordered the printer who proclaimed the turpitude to be prosecuted, denying him the privilege of giving the truth in evidence."

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## CHAPTER VIII.

*Van Buren removes his law office to Hudson. Is appointed Attorney General. Receives the support of the Anti-Renters for the State Senate. Changes his residence to Albany. Is removed from the Attorney Generalship. and elected to the United States Senate. Fifty-one high-minded Federalists join the Buck-tails to put down Clinton. Clinton exposes "the organized corps." Van Buren's early effort to convert the post office into a machine of party by punishing post-masters for opinion's sake.*

In the latter part of 1808, or beginning of 1809, Van Buren removed his law office to Hudson, and continued to practice in the state and county courts till February, 1815, when he succeeded Abraham Van Vechten as Attorney General of N. Y. The Council of Appointment chosen by the Assembly voted, two for Van Buren, (Jonathan Dayton and Lucas Elmendorff,) and two (Ruggles Hubbard and Farrand Stranahan) for John Woodworth, whom B. F. Butler appears to have so much disliked. Governor Tompkins gave the casting vote, in favor of Van Buren. In May, 1812, Van Buren was elected Senator for the Middle District—the anti-renters of Columbia county, whom he frequently

harangued, and the friends of De Witt Clinton in Rockland county, having turned the scale in his favor. He received 5,933, votes and his opponent, Edward P. Livingston, whom he afterwards strongly recommended and supported for the office of lieutenant governor, got but 5,806. Holland says there were over 20,000 votes polled, which I believe, was not the case.

At the time of Van Buren's election to the senate, Columbia county was greatly agitated with the anti-rent question. His conduct and proceedings with reference to that agitation are noticed in a subsequent part of this work.

Van Buren took his seat in the senate of New York, in November, 1812, and voted for De Witt Clinton for President, in opposition to James Madison and the old Jeffersonian party, having been supported for the senate by Solomon Southwick and other editors in the interest of Clinton. In March, 1813, he became a member of the court for the revision of errors; and in 1816, removed from Hudson to Albany, where he resided till 1829, when he exchanged the office of Governor of N. Y. for that of Secretary of State, at Washington, in conformity with a secret understanding with General Jackson, previous to his election, as may be seen by referring to his letter to J. Hoyt, No. 165 page 207 of Correspondence, where he expresses the belief that his designs would have been frustrated had the honest and conscientious Pitcher been nominated as lieutenant governor, at Herkimer, instead of that pliant, corrupt, and therefore convenient party tool, Enos T. Throop.

In July, 1819, Van Buren, who had long been the most active and untiring of Governor Clinton's opponents, was removed from the influential office of Attorney General, now held by his son, John, and Thomas J. Oakley appointed in his place. In the session of 1821, Van Buren was sent to Washington as U. S. Senator, in the stead of Nathan Sanford, whose term had expired. In a legislative caucus he got 58 votes—Sanford got 24. In the legislature he had 86 votes—Sanford, 60. It is a curious fact that but for the operation of the party caucus pledge, Van Buren would have failed, a decided majority of the members of the two houses being against him. By securing a majority in a private party meeting, however, the minority of the party had to go with its majority, contrary to their judgment, to nullify the plainest provisions of law and the wishes of the whole legislative body.

In 1819, a party among the federalists, of whom Charles King and William A. Duer, (late president of Columbia college, N. Y., and whom Jesse Hoyt, in his letters, notices in rather an unfriendly manner,) seemed to have formed a design to put down Clinton. Fifty-one of them, including James A. Hamilton, Josiah Ogden Hoffman, John A. King, James Lynch, Johnson Verplanck, John C. Hamilton and John Duer, issued an address, on the fourteenth of February, 1820, declaring that the federal party was at an end—that they approve of Monroe's administration—that they will support Tompkins and oppose Clinton for governor, though they neither object to the measures, morals, nor abilities of the latter. The Albany regency, with Van Buren as their leader, united with these fifty-one "high-minded" federalists, says Hammond, "to oppose the election of a governor, neither of which charged upon him a want of capacity, or integrity, or uttered a solitary syllable against his measures." He was sustained by the people by a majority of 1457 votes, but his no-principled opponents (for such they seem to have been,) carried the legislature.

Governor Clinton's speech to the legislature gave great offence to B. F. Butler, Van Buren, Hoyt, Marey, &c.; and his message in January, 1821, where he shows that the officials in the pay of the federal government were interfering with the state elections, is described by the financial admirer of "stated preaching" as "very abusive." [See No. 47, page 167.] In his letter No. 31, page 161, he says "Clinton is raving mad, beside being a fool"—in 1819 (see No. 2)

he thought Clinton's situation was "daily becoming more desperate"—and in 1828 he shed crocodile tears over his grave. In Clinton's speech he intimated that the officers of the U. S. government were "interfering in the state elections, as an organized and disciplined corps,"\* and he recommended, as he had done before, a state convention to amend the constitution, whose doings should be submitted to the people for their verdict. Judge Ulshoeffer reported in the Assembly a bill calling such a convention, which Clinton, disapproving of some of its provisions, vetoed in the Council of Revision, he desiring an equal representation and that whatever amendments might be made in convention should be submitted *separately* to the people. A new bill next session, first referring the whole matter to the electors, passed the legislature, and a third bill ordered the elections to take place in June, 1821, and the members to assemble at Albany in August. Their proceedings are referred to at length in another part of this volume.

## CHAPTER IX.

*Van Buren electioneers for the Presidency by telling an untruth. Sincerity the first of virtues. The old Buffalo Bank, by Van Buren, Barker, and the party. Van Buren goes for a never-paying bank. The Bucktail Democracy. Bank suspensions, and hard money principles in 1817.*

WHEN Sir Walter Scott's publishers had given to the world Waverley, Guy Mannering, and the Antiquary, as anonymous, the baronet was frequently asked, ARE you the author? His uniform reply was, "I am not." He afterwards owned that he had written these books; and in explanation of his previous statement to the contrary, said, "I considered myself like an accused person, put on trial, to deny all that could not be proved against me, and refuse evidence to my own conviction—in short, I felt entitled to refuse my own evidence to disclose that which I wished to conceal."

Van Buren was introduced to the republic as a candidate for the presidency, under the cloak of a friend, always a friend, to a sound specie currency—his biographers, his political friends in congress, the presses of his party, and the aspirant himself, all chaunted one chorus, and that was in praise of the "real hard money man." In his letter to Sherrod Williams, Aug. 8, 1836, he says:

"In the course of my eight years service in the senate of this state, a very large proportion of its banking capital was incorporated, *and the journals of that*

\*With his message to the Assembly, Governor Clinton sent many documents to prove an undue interference of the general government with the state elections. He showed that Van Buren, a thorough partisan of the men then in power at Washington, had addressed the following letter to Mr. Meigs, just twenty-one days before the state election, urging the post office department to remove certain post-masters, *though free of blame*, to serve his party, and intimidate by such example, the six hundred and seventy-four post-masters of the state—bidding Mr. Meigs remove them quickly and much good would follow—that is, to remove them before the election and many votes would be thereby acquired by the candidates of his party. Mr. Monell made oath that the post-master-general had been told that the gentlemen thus named for removal (by Van Buren) were uniform republicans, and that as no specific charges had been made against them, it was evident that their removal (for they were turned out) was a punishment for supporting Clinton for governor. The papers sent to the Assembly contained evidence to show that Roger Skinner had not been idle at Sandy Hill. Lot Clark, named for a post-master by V. B., figures afterwards in the Crawford caucus of 1824. "A government of influence and corruption," (said Mr. Clinton,) is the worst possible shape which a republican government can assume, because under the forms of freedom, it combines the essence of tyranny."

*Martin Van Buren to Henry Meigs, General P. O., Washington.*—"April, 4, 1820.—My Dear Sir: Our sufferings, owing to the rascality of deputy post-masters, is intolerable, and CRIES aloud for relief. We find it absolutely impossible to penetrate the interior with our papers, and unless we can attain *them* by two or three prompt removals, there is no limiting the injurious consequences that may result from it; let me, therefore, entreat the post-master general to do an act of justice, and render us a partial service, by the removal of Holt, of Herkimer, and the appointment of Jabez Fox, Esq.—Also of Howell, of Bath, and the appointment of an excellent friend, W. B. Rochester, Esq., a young man of the first respectability and worth in the state, and the removal of Smith, at Little Falls, and the appointment of Hollister, and the removal of Chamberlin, in Oxford, and the appointment of Lot Clark, Esq. I am in extreme haste, and can, therefore, add no more. Use the enclosed papers according to your discretion; and if anything is done, let it be quickly done, and you may rely upon it, much good will result from it. Yours affectionately,

M. V. BUREN.

April 15, 1820. Hon. R. J. Meigs, Junr.—Sir: From various representations which have been made to me in regard to the mal-practices of the post-master at Norwich, I most cordially unite with Mr. Van Buren in recommending his removal, and the appointment of Mr. Lot Clark.

JOHN R. DRAKE, (M. C.)

*body will show that I took an active part in all the questions which arose upon the subject. Most of the applications for banks that were rejected, will be found to have been so disposed of on my motion ; AND EVERY APPLICATION, SAVE ONE, WILL BE FOUND TO HAVE MY VOTE RECORDED AGAINST IT. THE EXCEPTION was that of a bank established at BUFFALO at the close of the war. It was established with the avowed design of enabling the inhabitants the more speedily to rebuild the town after it had been burnt by the enemy. That my vote in that particular case would be governed by that consideration, and should not be construed into a departure from the course which I had prescribed to myself, was stated in my place. The motive proved in that instance as delusive as usual."*

This was as far from the truth as Scott's first assertion about the authorship of *Waverley* ; but, doubtless, Van Buren well knew that his hard money voters would, in general, read only their own party journals, and listen to no orators beyond the pale of their sect. Party, or rather faction, is every thing. The people at elections move as armies do, under command. The mind that directs is not that of the people, or of any great part of them, but of men who are called leaders—an oligarchy to all intents and purposes. Their leaders were, in general, aware that Van Buren had no principles whatever—that he had professed every thing, or anything, and been on any and every side—but they endorsed his orthodoxy, because he suited their purposes, and he succeeded.

To show how necessary it is to investigate character by the use of well ascertained facts, this volume is written. Van Buren and his confederates are on trial, and the testimony for their conviction shall be ample, clear, and undoubted. Let us hope that the time fast hastens in which it will be esteemed infamous to gain power and influence by false pretences. Even Lucifer, when about to approach the mother of mankind with falsehood on his lips, doffed his natural form and garb as a fallen angel, and assumed the guise of the serpent as best suited to the deceitful part he was about to act. Blair tells us that "sincerity is the basis of every virtue"—Thomson, that it is "the first of virtues." Were it in more general use among the lawyers, priests and politicians, America would again become the Eden from which the effects of the first falsehood, from Tophet, drove our first parents.

The Bank of Niagara at Buffalo was chartered in 1816—Van Buren was then attorney-general, and the bucktail leader in the state senate—his friend Jacob Barker was a senator from the city of New York : and his brother-in-law, major Cantine, a senator from Columbia, Greene, &c. Van Buren, on this occasion, made the only effort I ever heard of to grant a bank a charter during a time when cash payments were suspended, with the condition that it should never be required to pay specie, unless when it thought fit, but might go on twenty years, issuing notes, promising to pay specie, but never fulfilling that promise.

Jonas Williams and others memorialized the senate on the 6th of Feb. for a bank at Buffalo, with \$750,000 capital, stating that the agricultural and commercial pursuits of the people required it, but not one word about "rebuilding the town." The memorial was referred to Jacob Barker, Philetus Swift, and A. S. Clark, who reported a bill chartering a bank. The bill was considered in committee of the whole on the 8th of March, on which occasion Van Buren rose and stated, that its provisions met his hearty approbation, and that he should vote for it. He did so—so did Cantine. Barker kept below the bar. Two-thirds of the senate went for the bill, which passed. Its provisions are important, as shewing Van Buren's views in 1816, after the state banks had suspended, the United States Bank been put down, and he had had much experience as a Hudson Bank director, attorney-general, &c.

The bill provided, 1. That the Stockholders, none of them liable for its debts,

should continue to be a corporation till 1832. Even then it was planned to have all the bank monopoly charters run out as near together as possible, that the powers of corruption might be invoked, as they were in 1829, to perpetuate them.—2. The capital was to be \$400,000.—3. One notice in one paper in the county, 30 days before an election of directors, was to be sufficient; and stockholders were to vote in person or by proxy. 4. If John was a poor farmer with one share (\$50) he was to give one vote. If his brother Martin had 500 shares, he was empowered to give one vote more alone than 499 farmers with a share each, taken together. [Would Van Buren like to introduce this sort of democracy at the ballot boxes?] 5. The bank was not to be compelled to pay specie for any bank notes it might issue, by virtue of the charter. 6. The first directors were to be chosen by the Legislature. 7. And might begin to bank and issue notes when they pleased; and call on the stockholders to pay 10 or 12½ cents in the dollar on their shares at first, and the rest when they saw fit.

The Senate, without knowing who would or who wouldn't take stock, named the first directors, and took care to appoint one of themselves on the board. There was no commission named to apportion the stock equally—it was left to be jobbed for. The Jefferson Co. bank bill appointed commissioners, and left it to the shareholders to elect directors. Van Buren voted against it, and against the Herkimer Co. bank petition, March 28th. The banks he voted against succeeded better than those he supported.

On the 5th of April, 1816, (see the senate journals,) the Council of Revision admonished Van Buren, Cantine and their majority in the Senate, that it would be unjust to allow the Niagara Bank bill to pass into a law unless it were amended so that if the bank issued paper it might be bound to redeem it in money—that it need not pay out a dollar in money as the bill was drawn; and that if it had no money to pay bills with it had better not issue any, because the more banks there were issuing such paper the less of specie we would see in the state. It was notorious (said the Council) that for more than a twelve-month the incorporated banks of the State had refused to redeem their notes in specie. They had found it far more gainful to sell their dollars to the usurers of Europe, and to charge our merchants a high premium for silver, while they glutted the American market with paper promises on which they charged 7 per cent. interest, though they cost them nothing. They further urged, that this was the first attempt made in this State to give special privileges to a new Bank, since the old ones had defied the public and refused to pay their debts; and that they, (the Council,) returned the bill to the Senate, because they wished to protect the public against the multiplication of corporations issuing a currency which they refused to convert into cash on demand.

On the 10th of April, (see senate journal, page 236,) VAN BUREN made a speech to persuade two-thirds of the members of the Senate to incorporate the Bank in spite of the Council of Revision, and WITHOUT A SPECIE PAYING CLAUSE, in the very teeth of its honest objections. He MOVED TO INSERT A CLAUSE TO THAT EFFECT, and thus pass the bill! On the 11th, the bill was reconsidered in committee of the whole, but as it was found utterly impracticable to get two-thirds to vote for paper currency, not payable in cash, by a direct vote, the Council's amendment had to be reluctantly adopted by the "democrats," and Van Buren and Cantine again voted for the Bank, which became A BAD LAW.

Altho' Van Buren could not get a clause in the bill to permit the bank to flood the country with paper promises it would be under no obligation to redeem, he contrived that the charter should allow the bank to stop when it had no specie, buy in its worthless rags at 10 or 12 cents to the dollar, and begin again as often as it pleased to play this game. It did so, and cheated the public whole.

sale. I sold its notes in 1820 and in 1821, eight dollars for one—the State was defrauded out of its deposits, the farmers out of their produce, and the mechanic out of the fruits of his labor. Once more the bank started, its President was indicted for cheating, J. Barker was to have \$5,000 for procuring a \$25,000 loan to keep it going, but it broke again before aid could get to Buffalo. Kibbe, its first President, was a Burr-ite, concerned in frauds by which the Merchants' Bank Charter passed in 1805, and one of "the lobby." General Swartwout writes (1823), "My Dear Morrison—The Dutchess must pass the House on Tuesday, and yours [the Chemical Bank] will pass the Senate on Wednesday, certain. See KIBBIE as soon after dinner as possible—he knows the cords to pull upon, and will carry you triumphantly through. Your friend, ROB. SWARTWOUT." Van Buren's bank initiated the Buffalo people, who had become such proficient in the mysteries that thirteen banks broke down in that place, cheating the weaver of cloth, and the grower of wheat, wool, &c., out of at least three millions of dollars.

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## CHAPTER X.

Even Abon Hassan, the most disinterested of all viceroys, forgot not, during his Caliphate of one day, to send a douceur of one thousand pieces of gold to his own household.—WALTER SCOTT.

*Van Buren's confederates blow up the old Buffalo bank.—Its cashier (not Hoyt) becomes State Printer to the Bucktails.—Marcy, Leake, and the New Hope, Del. Bridge Company.—Van Buren not fond of swarms of Banks.—How he acted with the Chenango Bank Charter.—Walworth, Van Buren, and the old and new Plattsburgh Banks.—On taxing Bank Stock, and chartering Utica and Ontario Branch Banks.—Clinton and the Assembly of N. Y. defeated by Van Buren and his hold over Senate in an effort to expose errors in, and amend the Banking System.—The Pennsylvania and Ohio Banks.*

By reference to pages 154 and 155, letters 9, 10, and 11, it will be seen that B. F. Butler had a keen scent; he wanted Hoyt to be cashier, and Barker owner of the Buffalo bank which Van Buren had created, and which was then ready to burst up. Van Buren's unprincipled followers had it in their own hands from the commencement. Isaac Kibbie was its first President, and Isaac Q. Leake its first cashier; and when it broke down in 1819,\* Van Buren in-

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\* Attorney General Taicott applied to Chancellor Sanford in 1824, enumerating the enormities of Van Buren's Buffalo bank, with a view to the sponging off its charter from the statute book, but it couldn't be done. Perhaps, like a Scotch peerage, it's only dormant now. In 1836, its parent, Van Buren, gravely addressed S. Williams thus:—"As if anxious to contribute their share to this inroad upon the policy of the federal constitution, the state governments have not only created swarms of banking institutions, but until recently, most of these institutions were authorized to issue notes of as low a denomination as a single dollar. The consequences of this departure from the appropriate functions of the federal and state governments, have been extensively injurious. That gold and silver should constitute a much greater proportion of the circulating medium of the country than they now do, is a position which few are disposed to deny."

On the 29th of April, 1818, during the same session of the Van Buren majority in the Senate, all hurry and bustle to hasten favorite measures, on speculation, a bill from the Assembly, to withdraw from the democracy, the many, and confer on the aristocracy, the few, more power and influence, came up in the form of a bill to incorporate the Bank of Chenango. What madness is it that blinds the tillers of the soil to their best interests? Such a bank confers on a few anxious gamblers power to hire and employ lying attorneys and lying editors; to tax the country many thousands of dollars yearly for the use of the idle and profligate; to make paper money promises scarce in a country, or plentiful, at pleasure; to hire electioneering oracles and orators; to bespatter honesty and sincerity in homespun with falsehood;

vited Leake to join his brother-in-law, Cantine, as one of the state printers, and joint editor of his mouth-piece, the Albany Argus. Leake was turned out of the Argus by Van Buren in 1824 to make way for Croswell, and sent out to Pennsylvania to take charge of another *leaky* vessel, or bank craft, as *treasurer* of the New Hope, Delaware Bridge Company, a concern such as Van Buren would have made the Buffalo Bank if he could, with power to fail from time to time, compound and go on again, for ever. It went down in 1821, the treasurer vanished. Leake & Co. began again in 1825, and in 1826, we find him puffing the frail bark in the N. Y. Evening Post. Governor Marcy was one of its borrowers, and a knot of speculators used it in N. Y. as Butler and Barker did the Washington and Warren. The Pennsylvanians were so often pillaged that they drove it out of their State, and it is now set up again the sixth time, and its notes have a wide circulation, hailing from the Jersey side of the Delaware.

In 1817, Reuben Hyde Walworth appeared before the legislature, as senior petitioner for a bank charter, of like character with the others, to be located at Plattsburgh, the stock to be *discreetly* distributed, &c. Senators Hascall, Bloom, and Walter Bowne, of the Seventh Ward Bank, N. Y., reported that the land round Plattsburgh is "fruitful in the productions of the earth," like Canaan of old; and that "it is believed that a bank will enable the merchants to purchase this produce, and save the farmers much, if not the entire, transportation to Montreal." Of course they reported a bank bill, which passed the Senate in committee on the 21st of March (page 222 of Journal): Van Buren and Cantine declared that they could not possibly support the measure, and recorded their votes to throw it out, but failed; yeas 14, nays only 11. Next day two additional senators were present, and it was seen that if Van Buren and his brother-in-law should both hold out, the bill would be lost, 14 to 13. This would never do. Nor would it suit Van Buren to wheel round on such a short notice. The leader therefore kept among the nays on the final passage of the bill, but Cantine declared that *he had got a new light within the last twenty-four hours, and immediately reversed his vote*, thus securing the passage of the charter in the Senate, by a majority of one.\* He played the same suspicious game on

to join with others in becoming bankrupt, and refusing payment of debts, while compelling individuals to fulfil their obligations to the bank; and, should the concern become insolvent, widespread ruin ensues, while those whose folly or guilt, or both, did the mischief, lie by, ready to lobby at Albany for new means to plunder by law, when public indignation is hushed to sleep.

On the above day the Senate went into committee on the Chenango bank charter, *Van Buren* being most appropriately in the chair. Senator Yates moved to reject it as anti-democratic, &c. But the party loved it, it promised to add to their temporary power, to yield enormous gain on the stock, and form an offset against the opposition. Major Cantine held up both hands in its favor; Samuel Young declared that his heart was in it; the committee rose; Van Buren reported that the bill had been adopted; no one even whispered "*give us the eyes and nose*," as was usual; the bill was ordered to go ahead without even a division.

Had Mr. Van Buren been averse to this charter, he would have called for the ayes and noes on the report, but he agreed to its reception; and when the bill was engrossed and passed (see Senate Journal, pages 353 and 354), Cantine, Skinner, and Samuel Young, voted for it, while Van Buren slipped below the bar to avoid a vote, knowing that his friends' votes would ensure the success of the bill. Here, again, the official records of the State give the lie to his assertion that "every application [for a bank] save one, would be found to have his vote recorded against it."

\* In 1826, the bank of Plattsburgh exploded, and there were many recriminations among the democracy. Judge Platt prosecuted Comptroller Flagg, then a spunky country editor, for libel; the bank directors prosecuted Platt; the farmers found their produce in that "fruitful" land transmuted into bank paper of bad repute; and Van Buren congratulated himself in not having voted with brother Cantine in 1817.

To help Van Buren to the Presidency in 1836, the party chartered a second bank at Plattsburgh; and, with no good will towards Clinton, named it after him. The nominal capital was \$200,000; the real money in its vaults very little indeed. For some three or four years its president and cashier managed its affairs almost exclusively, and appropriated its funds to their private use, or for the benefit of their favorites. They were of the class called speculators; their obligations are worthless; and as to bringing the lazy directors to book, for the benefit of the bill-holders, the oligarchy, who rule, do not encourage such practices.



the same day in the case of the Geneva bank, coming quietly round to the side of monopoly the moment his vote was wanted. What a pity Jesse Hoyt's memoranda, papers and correspondence,\* did not extend back to 1818, and disclose the weighty reasons which induced the Van Buren state printer to make these somersets!

Mr. O. A. Brownson, one of the writers in the Democratic Review, assures us, January 1842, that "Bankers, capitalists, corporators, stockjobbers, speculators, and trafficking politicians control the government, and, in nearly all cases, shape its policy." Is not Van Buren, and has he not been for 38 years, since 1808, one of the most artful and crafty of these "trafficking politicians?"

In 1816, (Senate Journal, April 16, pages 202, 203,) an excellent resolution was called up for consideration, in substance as follows: "That as the several chartered banks had for some time wholly refused to pay their notes, when required to do so by those who held them—the safety of the public demanded some investigation into their affairs—and that the Comptroller be required on or after December next to call on such banks as shall not by that date have begun to pay what they owe to the people, who hold their promises, in specie—to give some account of their affairs, each bank on the oath of its president and cashier, showing, 1. The amount of their notes in circulation. 2. What amount of debt they owe. 3. What sum they have in specie. 4. How much money is due the bank by individuals. 5. And how much from other banks. 6. What was the proportion between the funds they had on hand, and the amount of bills discounted during the three months before such bank stopped payment—and, after that time, what was it during each three months up to the time on which the return might be made. 7. And, generally, a full and fair account of the bank concerns, so that the legislature, on behalf of the country, might adopt such measures next session as the public welfare would be found to require.

What could be more just, appropriate, and imperiously called for than the above inquiry, during a suspension of cash payments? Yet most true it is, that Van Buren, the leader of the faction who have for many years denounced their opponents as the bank party—Van Buren and his aide-de-camp, Cantine, offered to the adoption of the above resolve a powerful and steady opposition,\* and

\* In 1813, (see page 163 of the Senate Journal,) the Assembly, on the recommendation of Governor Clinton and complaint of the people in various parts of the State, having adopted a resolution, sent it, March 20, to the Senate for concurrence, as follows:

"Resolved, (if the Senate concur herein) that a Joint Committee of the Senate and Assembly be appointed to inquire into the mode and manner in which the several incorporated banks within this State have administered the trust granted to them; and whether any or either of the officers, agents or directors, or other persons by them authorized, have secretly or impliedly diverted any part of the funds thereof to any improper purposes, or have made use of any undue means for the purpose of forcing their paper into circulation; and whether they have at all times promptly complied with all the demands made upon them for the payment of their notes in specie; and whether any or either of the said officers, agents, or directors, have been guilty of any fraudulent or usurious practices as such; and whether any or either of them have used or now do use any of the funds of either of the said banks for covenant or oppressive purposes; and also that the committee be instructed to inquire by what means the several incorporated banks in this State procured their charters. That the said committee have power to send for persons and papers, and that they report their proceedings to this legislature with all convenient speed; and in case of such concurrence, that Mr. Ferson, Mr. Duer, Mr. Root, Mr. Lawrence, and Mr. Webb be of the said committee on the part of this House."

To Van Buren and his band of deceitful pretenders to democracy—the pharisees of the Senate—such a resolve was gall and wormwood. How would the Washington and Warren, the Old Buffalo, and other pretended banks have stood a searching investigation into their operations and standing? They could not do it.

Next day, March 21, Van Buren and some others of the majority delivered able and eloquent speeches in favor of the banks and the bankers. It was so id that their usefulness, honesty, rectitude, and proper conduct were beyond all question—that to doubt them was to doubt the honor of the honorable gentlemen who presided at their shrines—that the people would be indignant at the insult offered in the resolution to "the democratic banks," the friends of liberty, equality, and a better currency—and that all inquiry must be resisted, in every shape and form. It will be found by reference to the Senate Journal, of March 21, that "Mr. President put the question whether the Senate would agree to the said resolution, and it passed in the negative. Therefore, resolved, that the Senate DO NOT CONCUR," &c.

The resolution which Van Buren and his party thus voted down in the Senate, had passed the Assembly 70 to 30, Messrs. Root, Edwards and Sharpe for, and Mr. Oakley against it. It was based on Governor Clinton's really prophetic message, and an excellent report by Mr. Isaac Pierson, from the Assembly's Committee. Judge Ulshoef wished to go further still—he moved "to institute an inquiry into the measures now taking by bank applicants to procure charters," but was out-voted. Van Buren and the Banks had agreed that all enquiry should be

acting as the agents or instruments of the delinquent bankers, succeeded in quashing inquiry. They both voted against the resolution—neither of them suggested or offered any substitute. [See Journal, p. 203.] The Bankers put their feet on the people's necks—increased in number and in power—bank presses were set up—grumblers were conciliated—false beacons held up to delude the millions—and the flatterers, the vile parasites of the most uneducated of the population, attained a bad eminence by the worst of means, and avarice and false ambition were satiated with wholesale plunder out of the blood and sweat of our too generous and confiding countrymen. That a system thus successful should embolden the immoral to deeds of wholesale villainy—that banks, thus the masters of the legislature, should not be very particular as to the Golconda or Potosi whence their wealth was derived—is not to be wondered at

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## CHAPTER XI.

Knowest thou not that the triumphing of the wicked is short, and the joy of the hypocrite but for a moment? Though his excellency mount up to the Heavens, and his head reach unto the clouds! yet he shall perish: a fire not blown shall consume him; it shall go ill with him that is left in his tabernacle.—*Job, chap. xx.*

*Why did President Polk appoint Ex-President Butler to, and why does he continue him in the office of U. S. District Attorney?—Butler's extortions when district attorney under Van Buren.—His religious hypocrisy.—Ritchie censures the author for unclocking Butler, Van Buren, Coddington and others.—Butler's brief history.—He studies law and politics with Van Buren, and becomes his law-partner.—Jacob Barker buys the Washington and Warren Bank charter, and sets Butler up as its mock President.—Halsey Rogers.—Van Buren carries the Bank cunningly through the Legislature, and supports the Auburn bank.—Swart and Mallory.—Butler's bank roquetry, or the art and mystery of M. Van Buren's System of State Banking, happily illustrated by the practice of his law-partner, up at Sandy Hill.—Lessons for young Bankers and Brokers.—Ferdinand Mendez Pinto was but a type of thee, thou Prince of Liars!—Barker, Hoyt and Butler play a steady game of brag, and seek to puff their worthless rags, through the Patroon, Van Rensselaer.—Stated Preaching.*

WHEN Mr. Polk, in May, 1845, had perused the letters of John Van Buren, J. I. Coddington, and others, to Jesse Hoyt, which appeared in my *Lives of Hoyt and Butler*, he remarked, that he would not give Mr. Coddington the office of Collector of the Port of New York, which, on the recommendation and advice of Butler, Van Buren, and others, he had promised to him, through General Dix, but would appoint a man of his own. The place was bestowed on Cornelius W. Lawrence.

If Coddington's language, and his intimacy and connection with Hoyt, Swartwout, and other defaulters, produced this change in the President's views

quashed. In Pennsylvania, the farmers, with the honest part of the community generally, had suffered terribly from pretended bankers, chartered by advice of Snyder, the Van Buren of that State. An immense amount of property was sacrificed by the sheriff, and corrupt men played any part likely to bring them plenty of public plunder. Dr. Joel B. Sutherland's private letter to McCoy (page 182, No. 93), lifts the curtain on a state of society anything but enviable. This year, too, in Nov., the Cincinnati banks stopped payment, owing the U. S. Bank \$750,000 for their notes received by Secretary Crawford's order, in payment of the Public Lands. One of these, the Miami Exporting Company, has ever been in bad hands, seemingly. Its failure, for the fourth time, in 1842, so enraged the citizens, that they completely riddled it, as also the Cincinnati Bank. That did no immediate good, but may serve as a warning to others to fly low, and thus prevent a more extensive violation of order.

I will refer more fully to Clinton's message of this year when describing Van Buren's dishonest scheme of 1829, called the Safety Fund system.

in May, 1845, with regard to him, of what consists the secret power, by means of which Benjamin F. Butler has been continued in office as the U. S. District Attorney at New York, from that time till now, in view of as full and ample a record of fraud and dishonesty as ever secured for a criminal a cell in the state prison? Mr. Polk is a strict professor of religion, avows himself to be a democrat, and has been raised to the highest station in the gift of fifteen millions of freemen. In September last, Mr. Butler's fraudulent conduct, as President of the Washington and Warren Bank, was shown in the clearest terms—his partner in iniquity swore that the letters which gave evidence of his guilt, were all genuine\*—the evidence on the records of Congress, with reference to the New York Custom House defaults, seizures, and prosecutions, while Butler held the office under Van Buren† which Mr. Polk replaced him in, is a disgraceful exhibition of wholesale legal extortion—and all this under the cloak of a pious, evangelical professor of religion, careless about worldly wealth, and engrossed with the cares of Heaven-seeking, stated preaching, the gospel, a savor of life unto life, and the terror of Tophet to those "who neglect so great salvation." Not only has Mr. Polk continued to endorse the availability of Butler, as the incumbent of one of the most influential and lucrative offices in the department

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\* Benjamin F. Butler, many years the law-partner of Van Buren, is a son of Medad Butler, a smith, afterwards clerk to Stephen Hogeboom, and finally tavern-keeper at Kinderhook Landing, N. Y., an industrious, pains-taking man, whom the Van Buren interest placed in the House of Assembly, and afterwards made him, about 1824, a County Judge. Benjamin was his assistant in his public house; but as he gave evidence of talent, united to great cunning and shrewdness, and a love for reading, he sent him to study law with Van Buren at Hudson, in 1811. In 1817, Van Buren made him his law-partner. In 1818, Butler got married—and next year tried what he supposed to be a surer and speedier road to riches—the banking business.

Old Butler was a prominent professor of religion—very conspicuous in the Presbyterian Church; but having been rebuked for some carelessness or other, he joined the Methodists for a time. His son Benjamin was (or seemed to be) fervent in spirit, earnest, and eloquent in prayer at meetings of the saints. He was really famous and celebrated in early life as an exhorter to faith and repentance. I have letters from Columbia County and Albany, written by worthy citizens, who remember him, nearly thirty years since, a zealous, devout-looking, and very conspicuous professor of holiness. He acquired religious, legal, and political capital in this way; and so strong had the habit of reproving sinners, and playing the saint abroad, become in him, that he actually played it off, occasionally, on his partner in iniquity, Jesse Hoyt, while engaged in scenes of pillage and rascality, the exposure of some of which has astonished even Wall Street, N. Y., and the Bank Charter Factory, at Albany.

† It will be seen by reference to R. H. Nevins's letter of instructions to his friend Hoyt, that the Wall-street brokers are quite averse to a direct tax on bank stock; and with reason. Confusion in the currency, fancy stocks, doubtful institutions, are among their surest props. A tax on bank capital would be apportioned according to its nominal amount, and such banks as Nevins describes, No. 118, page 189, with five millions capital "only a few thousand dollars in specie, and bank credits for the balance," would suffer, as they ought. In 1818, the Assembly passed a bill to lay a tax on bank stock (page 349, Senate Journal), but Van Buren, Cantine, Bowne, and Tibbets, opposed it in the Senate. Young was in its favor. It was the close of the session, and the bill was not to sleep. Next year (1819), on the 8th of April (p. 273 of Journal), the Assembly again sent up a bill to tax bank stock for the benefit of the common schools of the State—and why not? Van Buren opposed it, to the delight of the brokers and bankers; but was ready that same session to impose and collect a direct tax out of the poor farmer's hard earnings. The regency went against it, Van Vechten went with them. Young did not vote, and in 1823 we find Nevins instructing his fit representative, J. Hoyt, on the same subject.

On the 15th of March, 1815, a bill came from the Assembly to grant the bank of Utica a charter for a branch, or additional bank, by the same owners, at Canandaigua, with a president, twelve directors, &c. The Senate's first vote (pages 238-9, Journal), was, yeas 13, nays 9; Van Buren invisible, Cantine a yeas. It was moved that the notes being issued at both places, should be payable at both. Lost, 12 to 10, Van Buren invisible, Cantine a nay. Radcliffe moved a clause, declaring that the legislature may at any time repeal or amend this bill. Lost, nays 12, yeas 10. Cantine a nay, Van Buren invisible. The bill was thrown out, March 23d, vote 11 to 11, Van Buren invisible.

Now was the time for Van Buren to reappear in his place in the Senate. He wanted the bill to pass, but also to avoid responsibility. When he saw it could not be carried without his help, he voted for a motion to reconsider the vote by which it had been lost, which required two-thirds of the Senators, and having thus restored it to the orders of the day, he recorded his name in its favor and it passed, and the directors of the bank of Utica were forthwith enabled to establish a branch in connection with theirs at Canandaigua, for all purposes except that of redeeming in cash, the notes they might issue there! We next find him voting for a branch bank of the bank of Ontario at Utica; and again (p. 332), for an additional or branch bank of the Newburgh Bank at Ithaca. To comprehend the real character of this cunning and deceitful politician, his more recent votes, language, and conduct, must be kept in view.

of public justice, but he even went so far as to direct Thomas Ritchie, the organ, advocate, or mouthpiece of his government, to censure me in the harshest terms for exposing Butler's hypocrisy, avarice and rapacity, which Ritchie did accordingly through the columns of the Daily Union. Is there a bargain between the parties? Are they members of a mutual insurance company?

On the first week in March, 1819, in the 24th year of his age, B. F. Butler took up his abode at the village of Sandy Hill, in the county of Washington, fifty or sixty miles north of Albany, as lawyer, christian exhorter, and president of the Washington and Warren Bank, a 'monied corporation' of two years standing,\* which the notorious stockjobber, Jacob Barker, had bought from the

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\* The Washington and Warren Bank Charter may be found in the Statutes of New York for 1817. Its provisions were very much akin to those of the old bank of Niagara, at Buffalo. It will be seen that Halsey Rogers, who is described in Sudam's Report, on the Senate Journal of 1824, as one of those unprincipled creatures who hang upon the legislature, for gain, as lobby members—vile characters, guilty of letting themselves out for such rewards as may be extorted from the hopes and fears of the timid and desperate—was appointed a commissioner to distribute the stock.

The bill originated in the Assembly. On the 24th of March, 1817, the Senate (Van Buren) threw it out—Van Buren and his brother-in-law, Cantine, the State-printer, both speaking and voting against it.

Four days after, Senator Hart moved to restore the bill. This required two-thirds of the Senate, which had then 27 members. If Mr. Van Buren was opposed to banks, why did he vote for this bill, when *his mere absence* would have prevented it from being again placed on the order of the day? And having done so, why did he deny it in 1836, and declare, in his Sherrod Williams letter, that he had never voted but for the old Buffalo bank? Are not 18 two-thirds of 27—and was not he one of the 18? Was not his relative, Cantine of the Argus, another? What sort of *arguments* had the applicants for this bank used in the course of the four days with a couple of money-loving lawyers, who had "special privileges" to bestow or withhold, which induced them to *talk and vote on both sides*—for and against—bank and anti-bank?

"I have always been opposed to the increase of banks," said Van Buren, in his letter to Sherrod Williams. How could he be expected to add, "and therefore recommended and voted for them!" "I have known Mr. Van Buren long and intimately," said Senator Benton. "He is a real hard-money man; opposed to the paper system; in favor of a national currency of gold." Yet this hard-money man could wheel about and restore to life the Washington and Warren Bank, receiving a new light within the space of four days: and his law-partner, Butler, could, with his advice and consent, accept the Presidency of that fraudulent corporation—and when it had closed its doors, return back to his old partnership. "An introduction of a new bank into the most distant of our villages, places the business of that village within the influence of the money power of England," said Mr. Van Buren, in a Presidential message from Washington—but he omitted to add that he had placed within that, and other yet worse influences, the bank once located up at Sandy Hill.

The "restoration" of the Washington and Warren Bank Bill took place on the 28th—Mr. Enos T. Throop's Auburn Bank bill passed the Senate next day, without an opposing voice—Van Buren and everybody else being in its favor. Next came the final passage of the Washington and Warren (March 31st), and the Senate that had been 15 to 13 against it, sent it up to the Governor and Council, by a vote of 15 to 6. Cantine now for the bill—Van Buren below the bar! Senators Mallory and Swart had voted it down at their leader's bidding, on the 21th; now they wheeled into line and voted it up again! Governor Marcy describes Mallory as one of the most upright of men, and he threw up the American because Charles King expressed a doubt.

The W. and W. Bank bill provided that it was to issue its notes whenever the stockholders had paid into its vaults ten cents on the dollar of its capital, and that the operations of discount and deposit were to be carried on at Sandy Hill only. What its *operations* there consisted in, may be seen by consulting the descriptive epistles of Mr. President Butler. By the month of February, 1819, its promises to pay \$278,693 were in the hands of the people, in the form of bank notes, yielding Mr. Barker \$19,528 of interest, from that source alone. How was it in February, 1820?

Senator Hammond, from a Committee on Bank Charter granting (see Senate Journal, 1818, pages 144 and 145), reported that the charter for a bank incorporation, called the Washington and Warren Bank, could be of no use to the section of country where it was nominally located, as the stock was nearly all held by a private banker in New York City (Barker),

speculators who got it up. Barker could issue its bills at his Exchange Bank, New York, to mechanics and traders, who would find it no easy task to go north to Sandy Hill to get them cashed. With brokers and bankers he expected to be able to hold his own.

Jacob Barker being the sole, or almost, sole proprietor of this real 'wild-cat' bank, Butler was selected as his colleague, and duly installed as its President, Director and Bank Attorney. His correspondence with Hoyt and Barker, published in pages 151 to 165, of this volume, running through a period of fifteen months, will surely satisfy the most sceptical, that Van Buren could not have recommended a more suitable coadjutor, as the legal adviser of General

on whose credit its circulation depended; and that though it pretended to do business at Sandy Hill, its real location was New York.

On reference to Butler's correspondence, page 155, he will be found exerting himself with Butler in favor of Hoyt, as a suitable Cashier to the old, thrice-insolvent Bank of Niagara, at Buffalo, the charter for which Van Buren drew and voted for. Leake, one of the State printers, had had the office for a time.

On the 21st of June, 1819, Butler employed Hoyt to collect small change, with which to 'tease the enemy,' (p. 156.) In other words, he wanted shillings and sixpences, wherewith to mock the honest farmers who had given their wheat for his bills, with a pretence of payment. There was A RUN on the bank, and he says that he had redeemed on the Monday and Tuesday, two days, \$780, being \$390 per day, *during a run!* He had in the bank just \$1400 in specie, being enough (he tells Barker) for three or four days more. At this time the Bank had perhaps \$500,000 of its notes afloat in the country. Two persons having sent \$166 in notes to be cashed (page 157), the enraged financier threatened that, if any more such demands were made upon him, he would "put them on the same ground with the others"—that is, he would pretend to pay them in their turn, he paying "in a slow way," in sixpences, to some other real or imaginary creditor, during 'bank hours.'

Two or three bankers and brokers had taken in payment \$10,000 of Butler's notes from their debtors. They sent Gilchrist and Wiswall up to Sandy Hill to get the cash. Butler had only \$1400, but he pretended to pay. "I have told Mr. Gilchrist (says he to Hoyt, page 157) that I was ready to pay specie, and would pay specie at all times during banking hours; and that I would pay nothing else." Now this was a falsehood, for all he had was \$1400, which could have been counted in 15 to 30 minutes, and Gilchrist had asked good notes or specie for \$5,600, and Wiswall for about \$4,000. Next day, June 23d, he bade Hoyt to proclaim through Albany the solvency of the bank. "Tell all persons (said he, page 157) that the bank has not stopped, and will not stop payment, and that we pay in specie." This was a bold and impudent untruth, as his previous letters show, and its object was to induce the merchants and dealers to take the notes for goods. If he knew that the bank had means to pay—and he was a deceiver of the people if he held his office, in ignorance of its real condition—I say, if he knew this (and he says he did), why were the public cheated, on his advice? What became of the bank funds? Was the W. and W. B. a tender to Barker's insolvent Exchange Bank, and Butler his decoy-duck? Let their correspondence answer.

On Wednesday (letter 19), Butler wrote to Hoyt—"Tell all persons that the bank will not stop"—in other words, tell all persons to exchange their property for, and take payment for their services in, W. and W. notes, signed B. F. Butler. Next day (letter 20), "In the absence of all instructions from Mr. Barker for a fortnight, I consider it my duty to continue paying. *If I stop, I may as well stop next week as this.*" Here, we have a mere clerk, an automaton of a New York stock-jobber, decked out with the robes of a Bank President, and \$500,000 of his promises to pay put afloat by his guilty colleague, among the farmers and traders, affirming on one day that his concern was solvent, and the next telling their confederate, Hoyt, that he could only hold out for a week, and waited the New York stock-jobber's orders, whether he should shut shop, or go on paying in cents and sixpences, out of a \$1400 fund. Boyd, he says, would have advanced him some money on a draft on Barker, but as Wing had brought him news that Barker was hard pressed, he would not draw on him. Did he warn the thousands who were exchanging property for his bills, that he might have to stop in a week? Oh, no! He had, in effect, stopped already.

On the 25th of June, he wrote Hoyt that, unless compelled, he would not stop till Barker directed him to do so. On the 26th (letter 23), he sent his own note to Baird, by Hoyt, for a loan of \$4,000, for the bank, secured by 26 other notes, bank property, value over \$10,000—adding, "You may rely upon it that the bank CAN AND WILL continue its redemptions." Compare this assertion with his funds, the bank debts, and his statements on the two previous days. Could deception go farther? How did he find out, on Thursday, that it was dishon-

Jackson, in those measures of madness and mischief, during the wars about the national treasure and currency, which ended in a public bankruptcy, by which 500 millions of dollars of debt were blotted out with the sponge of the statute, and wide spread ruin and misery entailed on many thousands of our most thrifty, frugal, and trustworthy citizens.

## CHAPTER XII.

The love of money is the root of all evil; which while some coveted after, they have erred from the faith.—1 *Timothy*, vi. 10.

*Gov. Wright endorses his old comrade at Sandy Hill's Candor and Integrity!—“Ask my brother if I be a thief.”—Value of Paper Enactments against Butlerizers.—O'Sullivan in the Review tries to whitewash Butler.—Barker's Exchange Bank, and other humbugs.—He, Van Buren, and Butler strong for a National Bank.—Van Buren lectures Folks in the West about Bank Corruptions!—Butler's Bank goes down, and he goes off to Albany and re-joins his old partner.*

IN Senate, February, 4, 1834, General Jackson had sent a message, with B. F. Butler's report, as attorney-general, for the removal of the agency for paying

orable to deceive Boyd; and on Saturday, that he might safely deceive, not Baird only, but all to whom that gentleman might exhibit his letter?

On the 28th of June, Barker writes in the N. Y. Evening Post, “The bank has not stopped payment—it will not stop payment—which please promulgate.” On the 30th, Hoyt published part of a letter, full of falsehood, in the Albany papers. On the 3d of July, Butler wrote to him, “Your extract was well timed.” Turn to No. 25, page 159, for Butler's statement thus circulated. After puffing himself, he says, “When there were more calls than he could satisfy with his own hands, he called in his neighbors to assist him in paying, and when there were more than all could attend to, he requested those persons that came with the bills, to lay them down, and take as many dollars in specie as they left in bills”—in other words, to help themselves. “Sell all the goods you can for these notes,” says Mr. Butler, through the press, and this after full consultation with his confederate in this fraudulent, cheating concern. At the same time he was threatening those who sent up a few dollars, refusing his own notes in payment of a debt due the bank, and only paying a few hundred dollars a day to transient favorites, and none at all to bankers or brokers, though “there were thousands of men and o. paper there.” (page 158).

His letter to Hoyt, to try to get from Mr. Van Rensselaer, the young Patroon, a favorable account of his bank, “though he did not pay him,” is a master-piece of knavery. He kept drinking intoxicating liquors with the patroon, FOR TWO OR THREE HOURS, BEFORE THE BANK CLOSED, behind his bank counter, and in sight of his customers, and got him in this way to take back to Albany nearly \$500 of his W. and W. notes, for which I dare say he never afterwards got 40 cents to the dollar.

I paid the “poor and needy” in his presence, says Butler—and if we get his opinion praising our bank, “I dare say it will pass current, and be a legal tender in your Dutch metropolis, and it would answer for circulation, &c.” If Butler, taught at the run-shop in infancy, and by his tutor and partner, Van Buren, in youth, was thus accomplished in knavery in 1819, at 21 years of age, what must be his proficiency in 1846, in his 51st winter, as district attorney of the United States for the commercial metropolis of America!! If, at 21, he could cover with the mantle of hypocrisy, and a pretended zeal for “a faithful and respectable minister,” “the stated preaching of the gospel” at Sandy Hill, and the cry of “How can those escape who neglect so great salvation!”—the avarice that usually besets men in old age, are not that commercial public to be pitied, who have to do with the attorney who, when hunting down the merchants of New York, in 1838 to 1841, made the fortunes of marshals, clerks, naval-officers, surveyors, collectors, and district attorneys? It would almost seem as if Price and he had understood each other in 1837-8.

Mr. Butler's party paper here, the Morning News, having complained that his letters are garbled, I offer, as a specimen of the omissions, to supply the blanks in letter, No. 16, page 156, to Barker. After “Dear Sir, \* \* \* \*” read “I have written you very frequently for the four days past but knowing that you will have a desire to hear from me as often as possi-

pensions to revolutionary officers from the United States Bank. Mr. Clay remarked that he had no confidence in Butler's opinions while he remained within the pestilential atmosphere of Washington, as Jackson would dismiss the officer who might (like Duane) dare to differ from him. Mr. Silas Wright (though at Sandy Hill during part of Butler's fraudulent banking movements there, and aware of his efforts to deceive the public in the Washington and Warren Bank concern) replied, that Butler "was not to be affected by any such influence, for he was a man of INTEGRITY, TRUTH, and candor, [!!!] and would not give an opinion which he did not in HIS conscience believe to be right."

If his conscience was as elastic as his correspondence indicates, in 1819, what must it have become in 1834? Should it be his fate, hereafter, to miss a high place in the sanctuary above, old Beelzebub might very safely install him as principal sub-treasurer below. The ex-president of the Washington and Warren Bank will assuredly hold on to the dollars. In view of his management in 1819, a clever writer in the Tribune "asks the question, not to wound the feelings of the descendants of a lapsed apostle, whether it is probable, had Mr. Butler been one of the Twelve, Judas would have gotten that money?"

It appears that he expected a small sum in specie, perhaps 1,000 to 4,000 dollars—60 to 240lbs—and we find him trying to deceive one of the carriers, that others might be deceived through him. "He [Baker] and every body else thinks I have tons of it (specie) on the way," and if he will not stay for it, "tell him there will not be a load until next week." President Polk has been long and well aware of this deception; so have his cabinet. Butler remains in office; and is it too much for me to ask the public whether, when in the face of these facts and his extortions as district attorney, exhibited in the report of the commissioners appointed by the late President, he holds on without a syllable of complaint from Press or President, such conduct is approved in the highest quarters, and Butler held forth as a pattern for less favored incumbents in office? As to penal laws, against such as him, they are altogether visionary. Hoyt's and M'Nulty's, and similar cases, in point, show that, with one essential difference—*they were removed*.

On the first of July, Butler issued an official statement to the public, through the *Sandy Hill Times*, in which he very solemnly avowed his knowledge of the fact, as presiding officer, that "THE BANK IS ABLE TO PAY all its debts [quoting scripture] 'to the uttermost farthing.' The debts due to the bank amount to more than double their notes in circulation, and their debts ARE PERFECTLY SECURE.\*"

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be during my present circumstances, I seize every method of conveyance to give you the earliest information of my concerns." Instead of the second \* \* \* \* read, "The remittance of \$2,000 in current bills by Capt. Wiswall, on Saturday afternoon, took all the notes of that description which were then on hand. I have received during the two days past about \$1500 in current bills—of that sum I send by one messenger \$900—and by another \$250, to Mr. Hoyt, to be converted into specie—and I have, since the arrival of Mr. Gilchrist with the notes from the Mechanics and Farmers' Bank, directed him to exchange them into the notes of that bank, and to make them advance the specie. If that cannot be done, and the specie cannot be had at Albany, then the bills will be presented at the Troy banks, who will be compelled to pay the greater part of them." The words left out where I place the third \* \* \* \*, are "What Mr. Gilchrist will do I am unable to say. I presume, however, he will return with the stage to-day." The sense of the remainder is not changed by these omissions, which are made to shorten the pamphlet.

\* Though dating his "budget," as he calls it, from the counter of a dishonestly chartered bank, used by a New York stockjobber, to avoid speedy payments, Butler had the assurance to talk of "speculators and bank agents," "greedy speculators, and arrogant monied aristocracies." In after life he played the same game in a larger theatre, slandering and rifling

On the 19th of November he complains, that no poor wight had ever received "more of public censure and abuse" than himself. "The credit of the paper is very low," and my character is so depreciated at Albany, according to report, that but few of my old acquaintances would acknowledge or receive me." (p. 162.) How could it be otherwise? Had he not labored unweariedly to cheat the community, or to allow his confederates to do so? If there was double the value of the bills afloat in secure, solvent debts, who *stole* these obligations, so that the bills went down to 50 and 30 cents? If the bank had ample means, who plundered it of those means? If the politic, pious, disinterested financier, Butler, advised all who valued his word, in June and July, to take the bills at par, and assured them *on his honor*, that they would be paid, and that the bank was good and would stand, what explanation did he give when all but a few favorites found themselves cheated and plundered? His letters, Nos. 34, 35, 50, and still more especially No. 31, are a queer mixture of religion, law, and banking. As his language was in keeping with this pious exterior, many must have been deceived.\*

the U. S. Bank, while "the party" were creating Washington and Warren banks by the hundred, humbly to imitate his too successful example.

In Van Buren's address to the Democratic State Convention of Indiana, he tells the Hoosiers that "the manufacture of paper money has been attempted in every form; it has been tried by individuals, been transferred to corporations by the States, then to corporations by Congress, engaged in by the States themselves, and has signally failed in all. It has in general proved not the handmaid of honest industry and well regulated enterprise, but the pampered menial of speculation, idleness, and fraud. It has corrupted men of the highest standing; almost destroyed the confidence of mankind in each other; and darkened our criminal calendar with names that might otherwise have conferred honor and benefit on the country. There is strong ground for believing that such a system must have some innate, incurable defect, of which no legislation can divest it, and against which no human wisdom can guard, or human integrity sustain itself." Could he not have gone farther, and added, that he and his friends Butler, Marey, Throop, &c., had done more in the way of this manufacture, corruption, and destruction of confidence, than any other body of politicians in the Union?

On the 7th of July, Butler wrote Hoyt that he had paid, since the run commenced, over \$9,000—say \$325 per day—that he had more cash now than at first, "but shall now hold up"—"ought not the public to wait a while? We have crowed full enough." Again, on the 10th, "I will rather suffer the public to fret a little than hazard the safety of the institution by paying out too fast." Schuyler owed a note—Butler would not take W. and W. bills in payment—not he. "He will be sued," said Butler (page 161); and when paying his debts he selected bills of an indifferent reputation (page 154), "he had no money but what was too good for them." On July 14, Butler was "satisfying all fair and proper calls," and abusing Clinton as being "raving mad, beside being a fool." August 24, he was "paying daily, in a slow way." Other banks had got his bank notes, and were about to circulate them in quantities, when Hoyt was set on with a series of chancery injunctions, but Chancellor Kent thwarted him, and refused to enjoin the banks not to circulate. In February, 1820, Barker advised him that the W. and W. could no longer afford to pay his salary, and E. F. Butler rejoined his ancient colleague in the law, Van Buren; being, "with the assistance of Providence, fully resolved never again to abandon his profession." He left the bank June 15, 1820, and on the 19th the firm of Van Buren & Butler was ready to do "anybody's dirty work," with Lorenzo Hoyt for a student, and Jesse, his brother, as their Wall street correspondent. In a very few years after, Butler was Attorney-General of the Republic, and his partner filled the chair of Washington.

\* In a card issued through the Evening Post, February, 1825, Barker said that \$200,000 of its stock had been received from the debtors of the bank. Why was this done, when it was well known that the stock was worthless? Who besides Barker had \$200,000 to pay in? Was it in this way that the securities for double its bills in circulation went? If so, what could be a baser cheat? Stock was no payment of debts due the bank till its obligations to the public were met, and after that, only at its cash value in the market.

I noticed the Washington and Warren Bank, in a publication issued in 1843, on which Barker wrote me, from New Orleans, an explanatory letter, as follows:

"As to the Bank of Washington and Warren, you, in effect, charge Mr. Van Buren, Mr. Butler, and myself, with corrupting the Legislature of New York to procure the charter of that bank. Mr. Van Buren was not, in the whole course of his life, interested one dollar in the Bank of Washington and Warren! As to its



## CHAPTER XIII.

Should Justice call to battle, the applauding shout we'd raise ;  
 A million swords would leave their sheaths, a million bayonets blaze,  
 The stern resolve, the courage high, the mind untamed by ill,  
 The fires that warmed our LEADER'S breast, his followers' bosoms fill.  
 Our FATHERS bore the shock of war—their Sons can bear it still.

*Ode to 4th of July, 1812, by William Cullen Bryant.*

*Van Buren, Clinton, Spencer, Madison, and the War of 1812. The Caucus.—Bleecker and Hamilton.—Van Buren opposed to War.—He stands foremost in urging Clinton to take the field against Madison.—Injures Clinton and then deserts him.—Madison triumphs.—Van Buren joins the victors and bears off the spoils.—The true Policy of this Union.—Great Reformation in the United Kingdom since 1819.—Vast increase of Popular Influence and Liberal Measures.—Horace Walpole.—Ambrose Spencer on Van Buren's crooked course in 1812. Clinton manly, able, honest.—Duane and Spencer gave him good counsel.*

VAN BUREN'S history exhibits an absolute disregard to principle, in everything that has relation to the choice of candidates for President and Vice President of the United States, or to the mode of their election. On the 22d of

incorporation, I was not a party to it, and knew nothing about the progress of the bill through the Legislature, never heard of it, further than what I read in the newspapers, and did not become interested therein till long after its incorporation, nor did Mr. Butler accept a situation in it until a year or more after I became interested. The bank was unfortunate, yet its deposits and circulation were paid in full. Have other failing banks done this? There was not, to my knowledge or belief, any interference on the part of Mr. Van Buren or Mr. Butler with the Legislature, or any member, in procuring the act incorporating that bank. Mr. Van Buren may have been a member. How he voted I never knew—presume in the negative, as he, as well as Mr. Butler and myself, usually opposed the increase of those monied aristocracies, those privileged orders. My character for Democracy is not to be questioned at this late day. No man sees or hears the name of Jacob Barker, who does not instantly associate therewith Democracy."

The facts published in this volume are the best reply to such erroneous statements as Barker tried to palm upon the public. Van Buren's conduct in getting the charter I have stated from the Senate Journal; and as to the payments to the bill-holders, Butler's letters will show that they had a very poor chance of getting them. Bills that are paid are not quoted at 25 to 50 cents in the prices current; but, doubtless, when the securities were so ample, much knavery was practised, which will only see the light when the recording angel shall be called on to endorse Butler's piety, or refuse a certificate.

Butler was very saucy to the brokers—they could get scarcely any payments from him—Hoyt published his letter in the Albany papers, calling them "leeches upon the body politic"—and the bankers were not much more fortunate. By way of retaliation (see Barker's pamphlet), a New York broker hawked about the streets a proposal to contract to deliver Butler's W. and W. notes at 80 cents to the dollar, within six months. Afterwards, the brokers offered to deliver them at 50 cents. In a few months they came down to 35 cents, and Barker's Exchange Bank bills fell to 10 cents.

Butler's full-length picture, and an elaborate memoir, appeared in his friend O'Sullivan's *Democratic Review* for January, 1839, in which the public are assured that "before he (Butler) left the bank, by great exertion and care, its credit was restored, and specie payments resumed." Far be it from me to call this a lie, but it would puzzle Butler himself to find a more appropriate description.

In June, 1834, after the W. and W. Bank notes were bought in at 50 to 75 per cent. discount; then—but not till then—did this fraudulent concern recommence again "cash payments," which Mr. Barker or his instruments kept up for some years. The Exchange Bank was a dead failure, of which its owner got rid by taking the benefit of the State insolvent law.

In August, 1819, Mr. Jacob Barker issued a pamphlet, a bundle of which he sent to Butler, at Sandy Hill, for general circulation. One of these is now before me. It states that Barker began his Exchange Bank, in New York, with a capital of \$259,000; that it flourished till May, 1819—that the average circulation of its notes was over half a million of dollars—that in that month he ceased to pay out Exchange notes, substituting Washington and Warren (which occasioned the run on Butler, at Sandy Hill)—that from August, 1818, to May, 1819, he had redeemed, *at par*, \$582,115 of W. and W. bills, and that he considered the *W. and W. Bank*, "FROM THE KNOWLEDGE HE HAD OF ITS CONCERNS, AS GOOD AS

May, 1812, James Madison was nominated by the members of Congress of the democratic party—the nomination had Jefferson's approbation. On the 29th of that month, and within seven days of the caucus choice of Madison, all the republicans in the Legislature of N. Y. except four, met at Albany, 95 members present—87 voted to nominate a candidate, in opposition to Madison, and the Washington caucus, and De Witt Clinton was unanimously nominated. Gen. James W. Wilkin presided at this State caucus, and Van Buren approved and supported its choice. He had been for a caucus of Congressmen in 1808—was against it in 1812—for it again in 1816, when Monroe was nominated—and its leader in 1824 in favor of Crawford. In 1828 he denounced it as unconstitutional, and in 1832 supported the packed system of Baltimore conventions, in which the people have little influence, and the leaders are everything. In 1824 he was for putting down public opinion when he thought it would go against his nominee, Crawford—and he did prevent the people from electing electors of president. In 1828 he had obtained quite a new view, and spoke in favor of district elections, and since then the general ticket system has got his approbation. He hated and despised the poor foreigner in 1821 and 1824. It got to be fashionable to speak respectfully of Irishmen when General Jackson took the helm—and who had sooner learnt to admire themselves and their country in 1829, more than the flatterer of power, Van Buren?

Crawford was a leading member of the caucus which nominated Madison in 1812, and R. M. Johnson was its secretary. Van Buren was then politically opposed to him in almost every sense, banking and currency included. Twelve years after [1824] he seems to have almost adored him.

When Van Buren became President, he hastened to appoint Harmanus Bleecker, a lawyer of Albany, and former member of Congress, one of the most thorough-going opponents of Madison and the war, to be Minister to Holland. When he joined Jackson's administration, he sent James A. Hamilton, Hoyt's correspondent, (pages 205 and 209,) who was so ready to endorse Swartwout's doctrine, that, although all the candidates were avowed and acknowledged republicans, yet the spoils principle must be adhered to, and office-holders turned out if they had supported any other candidate than the successful one. On this principle, Jonathan Thompson, the chairman or secretary of Old Tammany in 1812, when that society was foremost in the war ranks, had to vacate the collectorship of New York, to make room for Samuel Swartwout, Burr's old agent in the Mexican invasion, or dismemberment of the Union; James A.

ANY OTHER, IF NOT THE BEST IN AMERICA." "*Because I know the paper to be good,*" said Barker, "*I recommend to every man whose good opinion I wish to preserve, to take the notes of the Washington and Warren Bank, and also the notes of the Exchange Bank, for any property he wishes to sell.*" "The notes of the W. and W., payable in N. Y., will, from this date, be punctually redeemed at this (Exchange) Bank; and the others will continue to be redeemed at the Bank at Sandy Hill." "I confidently calculate that no man will approach the polls at the next spring election with a bill [of the Exchange Bank] in his pocket which he cannot then convert into money, *at par*, if he chooses to do so."

Time showed that all this was a deception, a fraud of the most reprehensible character, but it did not diminish the close intimacy then subsisting between Hoyt, Butler, Barker, and Van Buren.

Butler, Barker, and Van Buren, in those days, were all National Bank men. Barker, in his pamphlet, page 18, expresses the opinion, "that, some day or other, the whole banking business of the country will be done by a national bank and private bankers; the former will redeem its paper with specie, and the latter with the notes of the national bank. If the present Bank of the U. S. should be conducted with ability and prudence, it will be a very profitable as well as useful establishment." If a specie currency cannot, or will not be resorted to, and if the promises to pay of the nation are not to be used as the circulating medium, Barker's idea is certainly infinitely preferable to 900 paper-issuing factories, beyond all other control than that of a bankrupt law, and many of them beyond even that.

Hamilton took, for a time, the seat of Henry Clay at the head of the department of State, which he soon exchanged for the most lucrative office in the gift of the Government, north of the Delaware, that of U. S. District Attorney at New York. He gave way in 1834 to Price, a bird of the same feather; and B. F. Butler succeeded on the flight of Price.

On the 8th of July, 1812, some prominent individuals belonging to the peace party in Hudson, Van Buren's residence, published an address, recommending a meeting of the party 'for the purpose of denouncing James Madison and the war.' Among other opponents of the war, this address was signed by James A. Hamilton, the warm personal friend of Van Buren. The Hudson meeting convened and resolved, 'That the war is impolitic, unnecessary, and disastrous, and that to employ the militia in an offensive war is unconstitutional.'

I do not blame Van Buren; because, being of opinion that nothing was to be gained by war, in 1812, he supported Clinton, supposing that he would pursue such measures as would earlier ensure a lasting peace; but I blame him and his biographers for endeavoring to persuade the public *now*, that he was a Jeffersonian Democrat in 1812, and friendly to the declaration of war, like Clay, Duane, Calhoun, Grundy, and the other leading supporters of the administration of that day.

Van Buren, in a letter to E. M. Chamberlain and others, Goshen, Indiana, dated Oct. 3, 1840, thus speaks of De Witt Clinton, and 1812:—

"He had, for many years previous, and down to that period, been the leader of the Democratic party, in New York. He was the private secretary of his uncle, George Clinton—was a member of the Legislature in 1797 and 1800, and sustained the Democracy in the 'reign of terror' against the 'Black Cockade' party. He was chosen U. S. Senator in 1801 by the former, occupied by their choice, various public stations in New York; was in the State Senate for several years before the war; elected Lieutenant Governor by them in 1811, which office he still held in 1812; acted with his party to that period, in support of the measures of the General and State administrations, under Madison and Tompkins; was to that period abused with unsparing bitterness by the Federalists, and in return, he applied to them his well remembered description 'of a party who would rather rule in Hell than serve in Heaven.'"

Van Buren adds, that he supported Clinton in November, 1812, in preference to Madison, as being an advocate of war measures;—and that, "At the ensuing session of the Legislature, which commenced in January, 1813, the political relations previously existing between Mr. Clinton and myself were dissolved, and never again resumed."

There were 16 States in 1812. New York, New Jersey, Delaware, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, and Connecticut, went for Clinton—89 votes. Madison got 104. Other 18 votes would have elected Clinton. Van Buren doubtless considered that that great man had injured himself deeply with the people, for he left him next session, and went over to the party he had long opposed, became useful to them in the Senate, and professed to be a very sincere convert to the principles and measures of Messrs. Madison, Calhoun, Clay, Grundy, Root, Spencer, Duane, Jackson, Rutgers, and the other prominent advocates of armed resistance to European oppression and misrule.

His partner and parasite, Butler, in a letter to Hugh A. Garland, March, 1835, says that "the republicans of the legislature of 1811–12, who brought forward Mr. Clinton," had supported Jefferson and Madison "in all the great questions of public policy connected with our foreign relations"—and that Van Buren "was an open and decided advocate of all the strong measures proposed against Great Britain during the session of Congress of 1811–12, the war included." Be-

fore the election of 1840, Blair told us, in *the Globe*, the printing presses for which were bought and paid for by Van Buren's speculating friends in New York, (see Daniel Jackson's letter,) that Van Buren wrote the Senate's reply to Tompkins' Message of 1814. It says that "*an administration selected for its wisdom and its virtues will, in our opinion, prosecute the war till our multiplied wrongs are aranged, and our rights secured.*" If Van Buren, in 1811-12, was a decided advocate of strong measures and of war, why did he denounce the caucus system of which he was so fond in 1808 and 1824, and which Butler revered when he supposed Andrew Jackson was to be put down by it? Why did he denounce a caucus in 1812, join those who sought to put down this wise and virtuous administration, whose foreign policy Butler tells us he had approved of, and vote with the Hartford Convention men, and the federal States of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, for Clinton? No one will argue that Massachusetts and Connecticut supported Clinton as the war candidate. If he was such, where is the proof of it?

That W. C. Bryant,\* Dr. Channing, Daniel Webster, and hundreds of emi-

\* It is understood to have been the policy of France before the capitulation of Quebec, to unite with the Indians, and surround the English settlements in North America, by a rear communication of military forts, judiciously placed between her colony of Louisiana and the dwellers on the banks of the St. Lawrence. Some such scheme is now imputed to Britain with a view to coerce the United States—and Bonaparte, in a well written pamphlet, evidently credits it. He says that the Ashburton treaty, which was certainly a very hard bargain to these States, enables England to assume a truly formidable attitude on the northern and northwestern frontiers of the Union—to stir up the hostile Indian tribes, chiefly west of the Mississippi—and, that if Texas was not annexed, England would control the Gulf of Mexico, scatter her emissaries among the Indians all the way up to Michigan, and encircle this republic with enemies, savage and civilized, who would rise to our injury at her bidding.

If Republican America remain true to her original design—if liberty, based on intelligence, justice, and industry well rewarded, continue to be substantially enjoyed by her people, no efforts of England, or of England and France combined, can permanently retard her progress—no railroads, northern colonies, western Indians, or hireling mercenaries, would avail much for conquest. France is a compact country, surrounded by absolute monarchies, and by Holland, England, and Switzerland—but was she not stronger against combined Europe, when battling for liberty under the flag of free institutions, and confined within her natural limits, than when her frontiers included Italy, Holland, and a great part of Germany and Spain, under the despotism of Napoleon? In her struggles for good government, the generous and the just, the bold and the brave, everywhere asked Heaven to bless her—in her wars for annexation or conquest she became weak, and when I first travelled over her "vine-covered fields and gay valleys," she was a captive, her strongholds garrisoned by Englishmen, Russians, Prussians, and Austrians, and the imbecile Bourbons and old noblesse bore rule as the viceregerents of Metternich, Alexander, and the baron Castlereagh. In my opinion, respectfully offered, as revised and corrected by what I have seen here, the Union runs more risk through the exertions of the party in power to extend and perpetuate slavery; inflict on us the evils of an unsound currency; keep millions of the people degraded and ignorant; stir up such scenes as were witnessed in Philadelphia in 1811, through nativeism and religious hatreds; borrow large sums from foreign nations, spend the money in a profligate manner, under the sanction of sovereign States, and then virtually repudiate the debts; and omit to enforce equal laws and a pure administration of justice.

When we see great nation like Britain, struggling under the heaviest load of public debt that ever was borne by any people, and yet accomplishing, in an age, many of the most gigantic reforms and improvements on which this republic prides itself—when we see the mind of the people equal to the task of so far subduing an aristocracy, at least as united, powerful, and splendid, as that which issued from the castles and mansions of France into exile and poverty, fifty years since, as to ensure to the millions the prospect of a free trade with all nations in grain and provisions, while we lay heavy taxes on foreign produce—at such a time as this I would as unwillingly go to battle with the powerful Briton as with the feeble Mexican. The day was when free America rejoiced at every triumph of freedom on the old sod. Will it never, never come again?

Since 1819, Britain has destroyed her rotten borough representation in the three kingdoms, and given Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds, Sheffield, Edinburgh, Aberdeen, Dundee, Greenock, and other populous communities a voice in her Parliament. She has put down the

nent, learned, and faithful men, of high talents and much experience, were then of opinion that a war would not force England to abandon her impressment of American seamen and other bad practices, that a continuance of peace would strengthen America, prevent immense losses to her commerce then afloat, extinguish instead of greatly increasing her public debt and other burthens, avoid much ill-will, and save the lives of many thousands of innocent human creatures, is probable enough: but when the war was raging, the national policy decided on, and Madison the candidate of the majority, the democracy, the party who were for war, why did Van Buren then URGE CLINTON ON to a contest against that majority, whose conduct, he says, in 1814, he had ever approved, and endea-

—  
 usurped borough governments which obtained in her towns and cities; given the towns improved municipal charters, with the power of electing their mayors, aldermen, &c., and improving the condition of and educating the masses. She has broken down in Ireland the close borough system, in so much that the proscription and favoritism of old times are at an end, and Daniel O'Connell, a Roman Catholic, has been Mayor of Dublin. She has reduced the seven cent stamp duty on newspapers to two cents, mail postage included—and has led the way to a reduction of letter postage, charging only two cents for a letter, any distance, charged by us yet 5 to 10, and for which she formerly exacted 10 cents to half a crown, while we demanded 6 cents to 50. She has neither broken down the Bank of England nor a paper currency, but she has changed an irredeemable paper circulating medium into gold and silver for all sums under \$25, and her \$25 and higher denominations of bank notes are redeemable always in gold at the Bank of England, which is under an efficient supervision, including real publicity, and no safety fund political machinery to mar its usefulness.

Britain, too, since 1819, has emancipated both protestants and catholics, the latter from many grievous disabilities, which had previously made them a discontented, persecuted people; and the former, when dissenters from the Protestant Episcopal Church, by removing the test acts and oppressions which kept Presbyterians, Quakers, Independents, Methodists, in many cases, out of places of power and trust; has endowed many schools in Ireland, and some in England; encouraged mechanics' institutes, and the spread of scientific knowledge; and lessened the disabilities under which the Jews suffered. She has made many and valuable reforms in her colonies; given the Canadians the local administration of their township and county affairs, lent them large sums of money, given them munificent grants for canals and railroads, lent them millions and endorsed the loans, and done much to encourage their commerce, and free it from ancient shackles. While we are doing our very best to increase the numbers of wretched, hopeless victims who pine in slavery, and cursing new regions of God's earth with that horrid scourge, Britain has paid nearly four hundred millions of dollars to blot out African bondage from the face of the earth; she has greatly improved her jury and libel laws, she has humanized her penal code, she has done more than we within the last thirty years to make the civil code clear, distinct, and suitable to the condition of society and her institutions. The cruel restrictions on a free press which banished many and imprisoned more, are chiefly repealed; the navigation laws reduced into one act; excellent amendments made in many of her courts of justice, as to their procedure; her stamp duties lessened; and while salt, soap, tea, sugar, coffee, and a thousand other things of more or less utility, are either freed from taxation, or the tax on them lessened at least fifty millions a year, a direct tax of twelve cents per pound is laid on the incomes of all men worth over \$700 a year, whether from bank stock or broad acres, but persons under \$700 a year income pay none of it. Not long since she took three millions of dollars, yearly duty, off American cotton; and she prohibits the growth of tobacco in the United Kingdom, giving us the virtual monopoly of supplying her. Under the proposed system of trade, Buffalo and Lockport will soon have as deep an interest in peace with England as Charleston now has. These, and many other changes for the better, including the breaking up of the monopoly of the East India company to supply teas, and trade between India and the United Kingdom, the reduction of the tythe system, especially in Ireland, and the expenditure of many millions on railroads, turnpikes, canals, bridges, and an infinite number of other useful works, are only a part of the recent reforms. Much has yet to be done—much is accomplished here which the vast debt of England, and the faithful payment of its interest, prevent her from attempting. But who is there that would rush into war to-morrow, with such a people, in order that slaves may be worked harder in Texas, their owners, or the dealers in them enriched, and Canada brought under the iron yoke of the slave States of this Union? My past life is the evidence of my sincerity in the cause of human emancipation, but I cannot, and will not subscribe to the doctrines of John C. Calhoun and James K. Polk; and my judgment is, that they two—the North Carolinian in the Presidential chair, and the South Carolinian, whose talents and experience might long since have enabled him to claim it—desire to pursue in the main, one policy, and that not favorable to human freedom.

vor by federal aid to break down the government at the very moment when unity was most required?

In the address of the *Republican* members of the Legislature of N. Y. to the electors, dated April 19th, 1815, and signed by Erastus Root, Samuel Young, M. Van Buren, Peter Allen, Moses I. Cantine, Aaron Hackley, Peter Stagg, John Wells, W. C. Bouck, and others, it is asserted, that "driven to the very verge of sufferance, our government was compelled to choose between manly resistance and abject submission—between open, determined hostility, and national debasement and degradation. The former alternative was adopted; and on the 18th of June, 1812, a day which will form a proud epoch in the annals of our country, war was declared against Great Britain." When our government took this manly course on a day which Mr. Van Buren declares to be a proud epoch in the nation's annals, why was he found among the enemies of that government, the head of which had been nominated for re-election, by a caucus majority in Congress, a mode approved by him and Butler in 1824, even when adopted by only a small minority in Congress to put down Clay, Jackson, and Adams? Why did he oppose Wheaton, Root, Crolius, Sanford, Rutgers, and Old Tammany, in November, 1812? There is but one answer—to break down the government of the day. Was there in N. Y. one enemy to the war, in Nov., 1812, who did not take sides with Coleman, Southwick, and Martin Van Buren?

Van Buren urged Clinton to take the worst step, so great, so truly noble and useful a man could have taken in Nov., 1812—and, when Clinton failed, he basely deserted him whom he had betrayed, and hastened to give in his allegiance to, and make himself strong upon, the winning side; puffing the administration he had striven to ruin, and lauding it, in 1814, for the very measures on account of which he had endeavored to strangle it in 1812.\* Clinton failed in

It is a great error to suppose that the aristocracy of Europe are our enemies. How many in France sacrificed everything to liberty! Did not the French nobility cheer on Dr. Franklin in his exertions, and did not Lord Chatham and the English liberals encourage the Colonists to resist George III., Lord North, and the Parliament of that day? Hearken to Horace Walpole, the Whig Earl of Orford, as he expresses his feelings to his friend Sir Horace Mann, the British envoy at Florence: "*Paris, Sept. 7, 1775.*"

"I am what I always was, a zealot for liberty in every part of the globe, and consequently most heartily wish success to the Americans. They have hitherto not made one blunder, and the administration have made a thousand, besides the two capital ones, of first provoking, and then uniting the Colonies. The latter seem to have as good heads as hearts, and we want both. Instead of being mortified, as I generally am when my country is defeated, I am comforted by finding, that, though one of very few in England, the sentiments of the rest of the world concur with and confirm mine. The people with us are fascinated; and what must we be, when *Frenchmen* are shocked at our despotic acts! Indeed, both this nation and their king seem to embrace the most generous principles—the only fashion, I doubt, in which we shall not imitate them. Too late our eyes will open."

The recent speeches of O'Connell show that England *may* depend on Ireland in case of a war by us to sustain an extension of slavery. Can we of America depend on France, as of old, to engage in such a cause? We ought not to expect it. Nor ought any of our people to be deceived with the cry that England and France are worn out, superannuated military despotisms. The people there are just as young, and as wide awake to their rights as our favorite States of Florida and Texas, and, if I mistake not, a great deal more so.

\* Chief Justice Spencer, the brother-in-law of Clinton, and who supported Madison and the administration in 1812, when Van Buren was doing more than any other man in the State to embarrass the war and its supporters, wrote a letter to the *New World*, in August, 1813, censuring Jabez D. Hammond for playing the sycophant (so he said) to Van Buren. Hammond had been in the confidence of Clinton and opposed to Van Buren and his Albany clique; but he wheeled round in 1813, the pet bank year, got the judgeship of a county court, and puffed Van Buren's war services, in his book and in letters to the newspapers, probably as a grateful equivalent.

Judge Spencer's remarks on Hammond's account of Van Buren's conduct in November, 1812, are so sensible and to the point, that the reader will be pleased with them.

"Mr. Van Buren [says Hammond] on his arrival at Albany found Mr. Clinton entirely destitute of any plan of operation. The talents, address and activity of Mr. Van Buren soon placed him at the head of the Republican friends of Mr. Clinton in the Senate and, in fact, in the Legislature." The result was that Republican clerics were nominated in the Senate, and Federal electors in the Assembly, and upon joint ballot, the Clintonian ticket received 74 votes, the Federal ticket 45, and 28 blank votes were cast, and Mr. Hammond says, "Of course the Federalists, 26 of them, voted the Clintonian ticket." The question is, who effected the arrangement by which

Nov., that year, and Van Buren tells us in 1840, that in the session of January, 1813, the political ties that had existed between them were dissolved and never resumed.

26 Federalists abandoned the support of their own political friends, and whom they had openly nominated to give their secret ballots to their political opponents, thus enabling them to triumph?

It was not Mr. Clinton, for Van Buren found him entirely destitute of any plan of operations. Mr. Hammond unerringly points out the man who intrigued with the Federalists, who drove and consummated the bargain. It was Mr. Van Buren who, by his *talents, address and activity*, did this, and thus "placed himself at the head of the Republican friends of Mr. Clinton in Senate and, in fact, in the Legislature." But, according to Mr. Hammond's political morals, this was all right; and it seems never to have occurred to this single-minded man that such political bargains are based on a *quid pro quo*; that such astute Federalists as Mr. Van Buren had to deal with, would never give up their own electors whom they had the power of choosing, without some equivalent; and what it was, was unfolded at the next meeting of the same Legislature, in the election of Mr. Rufus King to the Senate of the United States, by the desertion of a sufficient number of Republican members to defeat General Wilkin's election, whom the Republican party had the power to elect. There may have been other conditions and stipulations either unfulfilled or unrevealed.

"Mr. Van Buren must have perceived that Mr. Clinton could not be elected President without the aid of the entire Federal party, and that with such aid his prospects were slender. He must have been aware that the acceptance of that aid would ruin him in the estimation of the great republican party of the Union. After the nomination of Mr. Madison in the accustomed manner by the Republican members of Congress, and after the declaration of war, I then thought and still think, these events had absolved every friend of Mr. Clinton, even those who had nominated him, from all obligation to support him for the Presidency.

"The occurrence of a war with a mighty nation had not been anticipated with certainty when Mr. Clinton was nominated. The declaration of war met the hearty assent of the Republican party. Did it escape Mr. Van Buren's quick perception and rapid combination of ideas, that an opposition to Mr. Madison's election and his defeat would have been a virtual condemnation of the war, declared by his advice and under his auspices? Did it not occur to Mr. Van Buren that our public enemy would regard the defeat of Mr. Madison as an expression of public opinion against the war? Was it not notorious that the Federal party almost universally were opposed to the war? Under these circumstances a coalition with any portion of the Federal party to defeat Mr. Madison and elect Mr. Clinton, if successful, would have been destructive of that unity of opinion which pervaded the Republican party, and would have afforded to the enemy incontestible proof of a fatal division of opinion, as regarded the energetic prosecution of the war on our part, which must have been humiliating and injurious. Is it true that Mr. Van Buren's conduct on the Presidential question was in accordance with the views of the Republican party of the state? It is a notorious fact, that immediately after the Presidential contest ceased, Mr. Clinton rapidly declined in the estimation of the Republicans of the state, and in 1815 was removed by a Republican council from the mayoralty of New York, the only office he then held.

It never has been insinuated or asserted that Mr. Clinton personally took any agency in procuring his election, or entered into any bargains or compromises, or did any act inconsistent with his honor. He merely suffered his name to be used. But, according to Mr. Hammond, Mr. Van Buren was the master-spirit. That Mr. Clinton was an ambitious man, is not to be doubted; but it was of a high order, and its objects were pursued by no ignoble means. He loved that popularity which followed his deeds, not that which is run after. He was no demagogue, and was utterly unfitted, by a nobility of soul, for such self-prostitution. If Mr. Van Buren had been imbued with those principles of democracy, and that lofty patriotism to which he makes pretensions and for which his adherents gave him credit, would he not, especially after the declaration of war, have admonished Mr. Clinton of the many weighty considerations as regarded the public good and his own fame, which forbade a contest for the Presidency, between two Republican candidates. \* \* \* Events proved that my motives were pure and honorable; and it has been a source of great satisfaction to me, that Mr. Clinton lived to be convinced of it. The thought will naturally suggest itself to every mind—how comes it that I, nearly allied to Mr. Clinton, and much more interested in his elevation to the Presidency, so far as feelings are concerned, than Mr. Van Buren, should have taken the view I did of the course which his own fame and patriotism required of him; and that Mr. Van Buren, with equal means of forming a correct opinion, should have come *honestly* to an adverse conclusion. I consider, and always have considered, Mr. Van Buren's conduct on that memorable occasion, as the greatest political error of his life; and, I make no doubt, he so considers it himself; his friends have vainly attempted to justify or palliate his conduct, and any man who can do so effectually, would be welcome to him."

This is all true, and yet we find Van Buren held forth, September 6, 1836, in the *Albany Argus*, as being "the man who patriotically yielded the state pride of supporting a citizen of New York for the Presidency, in 1813, THE MOMENT IT BECAME APPARENT THAT THE SUPPORT OF MR. CLINTON INVOLVED OPPOSITION TO THE COUNTRY, in supporting the war. \* \* \* The man to whom, it may almost be said, the nation owes it, that in the nearly equal struggle between the contending parties in 1813 and 1814, New York was found on the side of Madison and the country, instead of being seated with her delegates in the secret convulse of the Hartford Convention."

With many such vehicles of falsehood as the *Argus*, upheld to lie boldly, artfully, and to the advantage of their employers, paid by them, circulated widely among the people, the better to deceive them, who can wonder at Van Buren's election in 1836? I rejoiced to see the patriotic hero, for such I believed him, triumph over the enemies of his country, as described by my old friend Cro-well, to whose statement of facts I give my full credit.

Col. Duane was far more friendly to Clinton than to Madison, but as the nation was on the eve of a war, he went, like Ambrose Spencer, for unanimity. In March, 1812, he said, in the *Aurora*, "De Witt Clinton will not suit the powers that be, he has an opinion of his own. The circumstance of the employment of delegated power for the purpose of depressing men who are, on account of their great talents, or public services, distinguished in the public view, is a horrible feature in republican government; after sustaining a press in New York, after making the deposits of the public treasury subservient to the use of a newspaper, employed in 'writing down the Clintons'—it is probable, therefore, that the whole influence of the government will be directed to prevent the nomination of De Witt Clinton, and this system, which holds such men as John Armstrong and De Witt Clinton up for proscription, is perfectly consistent with the employment of men without any sort of fitness for public duties."

In 1816, Duane named Clinton as the true democratic candidate for President, but he would not oppose his friend Col. Monroe. The *Albany Argus*, by Judge Buel (Feb. 27), "thought the chances rather preponderating in favor of Mr. Crawford—a selection which it believed would be cordially acquiesced in by the Republican of New York." A legislative caucus in February, 1816, at Albany, instructed the delegation from New York in Congress, to vote for Tompkins, but as this would have rendered Monroe's success certain, Van Buren and several others only *professed* to approve of it. It was not, (like the Albany tariff instructions, ordered from Washington in 1822,) to be acted on.

## CHAPTER XIV.

Like some tall cliff that lifts its awful form,  
Swells from the vale, and mid-way leaves the storm;  
Though round its breast the rolling clouds are spread  
Eternal sunshine settles on its head.—*Goldsmith.*

*Clinton ejected from the Canal Board.—Elected Governor by acclamation.—Christopher Colles.—Canal Act of 1817.—The Tammany Bucktails.—Cunningham's Warning.—Justice trampled on for the sake of the spoils.—Peter Allen.—Young and Van Buren's Scriptural Majority.—Who expelled Clinton?—Col. Young and the Canals.—Van Buren Self Condemned.—His persecution of Clinton.*

THE bold and wise determination with which, from 1810 to 1828, De Witt Clinton linked his fortune and character with the success of the great canals of this State,\* and the vindictive opposition with which he was met at every point by Martin Van Buren, and his followers and dependants, are matters of history. In 1824, while President of the Board of Canal Commissioners, acting, as he had always acted, without salary or emolument; holding no other public office in the State; and the Van Buren or Bucktail party then holding in their hands the reins of government, with a majority of their friends on the Canal Board, he was suddenly and summarily ejected from the Board, although not a whisper was heard against the purity and noble disinterestedness of his conduct in that highly important trust. This wanton attack upon his feelings roused the whole State—the slanders of the Butlers, Croswells, and their allies, could not prevent the manly and the generous of all parties from perceiving their jealousy, ingratitude, and malignant enmity—and at the next election for Governor, De Witt Clinton was borne to the seat which his honored uncle, George Clinton, had so long and so worthily filled, by the acclamations of the people—his majority over Col. Young, the candidate of those who had expelled him, having been nearly 17,000. How an act like this atones, in the minds of good men, for many popular errors! How the memory of such a deed of justice warms the soul to new exertions for enlightening and bettering the condition of society!

\* De Witt Clinton bears voluntary testimony that Christopher Colles, an eminent and sagacious engineer, from Ireland, "was the first person who suggested to the government of the state, the canals and improvements on the Ontario route. Colles was a man of good character—an ingenious mechanic, and well skilled in the mathematics." This suggestion was made before 1781, in which year the legislature referred his plans to a committee; next year a public appropriation of just \$125 was made to enable him to survey the route, which he did, and published a pamphlet favorable to a canal. "No one can say how far we owe the occasion," of celebrating the union of the Atlantic and the great lakes (see *see* C. D. Colleen), "to the ability with which he developed the great advantages that would result from opening these communications with the lakes—to the clear views he presented of the facility with which these communications might be made—and to the activity with which he for some time pursued this object." Colles planned the canals—Clinton, the grandson of an Irishman, kept the public attention fixed upon the advantages which would result from them, and never forsook the great object he had in view, till N. Y., under his direction and guidance, had completed them. Fulton, the son of an Irishman, devised and carried into operation the scheme whereby ocean, lake, and river are navigated by steam, in connection with the canals. Thus it is that the Union is cemented, and man made the friend of man. Cowper observes, that "Mountains interposed, make enemies of nations, who had else, like kindred drops, been mingled into one."

The bill, committing the state to construct the canals, became a law in the session of 1817. In Assembly there were 64 yeas, "principally, if not entirely of the friends of the nomination of Mr. Clinton and the federalists," says Hammond. "The 36 noes were chiefly his opponents." Van Buren may have been friendly to the measure, or he may not. Why was he so vindictive towards the man whom, when dead, he acknowledged to have been the means of its accomplishment? Why did he expel Clinton from the canal board? Why did the presses of his party try to undervalue the undertaking? Tammany Hall sent representatives to the Assembly who were the deadly opponents of the canals. Among the ingenua of the Tammany society was a part of a deer's tail worn in the hat. Hence the name of Bucktails, given to and assumed by Butler (page 163. No. 37), Van Buren, and the enemies of Clinton and his canal policy generally. Even when Van Buren joined in the nomination of Clinton for Governor, he acted with his usual duplicity, for, says Hammond, he "wished to create a council which should be nominally Clintonian, but which, at the same time, should be really hostile to the Governor." He succeeded, and the moment it was chosen wrote to a friend in Columbia county, "All is safe Seymour! Seymour! Seymour!"



For what sin, since committed by those electors or their forefathers, have such intriguing, cold-hearted, artful partisans, as a Van Buren, a Wright, a Throop, and a Marcy, been since placed in the elevated station which this great man once adorned? Perhaps it was to render more striking, the difference between men merely popular, and those noblemen of nature (or, if ye will, of civilisation), who leave the impress of their worth on the earth and the dwellers therein.

On the 12th of April, 1824, the Assembly received from the Senate, a resolution to which their concurrence was requested, for the immediate removal of De Witt Clinton from the office of Canal Commissioner.

Mr. Cunningham, of Montgomery, warned the House against becoming a partner in the ungrateful deed. His eloquent speech I take from Hammond's History :

"I rise," said Mr. Cunningham, "with no ordinary feeling of surprise and astonishment at the resolution just read, as coming from the Senate. Sir, it is calculated to rouse the feelings of every honest man on this floor. His very approach was marked with black ingratitude and base design. For what good and honorable purpose has this resolution been sent here for concurrence at the very last moment of our session? Is it to create discord among us, and destroy that harmony and good feeling which ought to prevail at our separation? We have spent rising of three months in legislation, and not one word has been said, intimating a desire or intention to expel that honorable gentleman from the board of canal commissioners. Sir, he was called to that place by the united voice and common consent of the people of this state, on account of his peculiar and transcendent fitness to preside at that board, and by his counsel stimulate and forward the great undertaking. His labor, for years, has been ardent and unceasing for the public good; he endured slander and persecution from every direction, like a Christian martyr; but, steadfast in his purpose, he pursued his course with a firm and steady step, until all was crowned with success, and the most ardent of his opposers sat in sullen silence. For what, let me ask, did Mr. Clinton endure all this? *Was it for the sake of a salary?* No, sir; it was for the honor and welfare of his state; *it was from noble and patriotic motives, for which he asks nothing, nor did he expect anything but the gratitude of his fellow-citizens.* Now, sir, I put the question to this honorable House to decide, upon the oath which they have taken, and upon their sense of propriety and honor, whether they are ready, by their votes, to commit the sin of ingratitude? What can we charge to Mr. Clinton? What can we say he has been guilty of, that he should be singled out as an object of state vengeance? Will some friend of this resolution be kind enough to inform me? Sir, I challenge an inquiry; I demand from the supporters of this high-handed measure, that they lay their hands on their hearts, and answer me truly for what cause is this man to be removed? I dare assert, in my place, that his doings as a canal commissioner are unimpeached, and unimpeachable, and such as have even elicited the plaudits and admiration of his political enemies. This, sir, is the official character of the man whom we now seek to destroy. I hope that this House will pardon me, when I freely declare my opinion that this resolution was engendered in the most unhallowed feelings of malice, to effect some nefarious secret purpose, at the expense of the honor and integrity of this Legislature. However hard it may seem, it is the irresistible impulse of my mind. *Mr. Clinton is not in the political market; he reposes in the shades of honorable retirement; he asks for no office, and possesses none but the one of which he is about to be stripped.* The Senate, it appears, have been actuated by *some cruel and malignant passion*, unaccounted for,\* and have

\* To show how dead to every other feeling, save that of banding together for party plunder, Van Buren and his band of spoilers were, I offer the following cases. Until 1823, a Council of Appointment, elected by the House of Assembly, controlled the official patronage of the state of N. Y. This Council was annually chosen, and in Feb., 1816, when the House met, Peter Allen, from Ontario county, took his seat, with only 3695 votes, to the exclusion of Henry Fellows, who had 3725. In Pennington, printed ballots, marked "Henry Fellows," in full, were used; and with the town clerk was filed the certificate of votes, with the name also in full; but in the duplicate sent to the county clerk it was written "Hen. Fellows." Well knowing that the forty nine votes were for Mr. F., the corrupt and fraudulent clerk rejected them, as the rejection would return Allen, though he had the fewest votes. In the Assembly, W. A. Duer presented the petition of Fellows, offering proof that he was and that Allen was not a member, and desiring that justice might at once be done the county. Allen was asked if he had any statement to make to the contrary, but he was silent. Fellows belonged to the federal party; Allen to the bucktails. When a preliminary question was to be taken on Allen's case, it was objected that he ought not to vote where he had a personal interest; the Speaker decided that he could vote; an appeal was made to the House, and the Speaker decided that Allen could vote on that too. Parties were so very equally divided, that if the appointing power or council could be voted for, while Allen had the seat, it would be Van Burenish, bucktail, democratic; but if justice were first done, and Fellows put in Allen's place, the federalists would elect the council. They therefore opposed steadily all action as to Fellows, till Allen's vote had secured (through Perley Keyes, &c.), for their friends, the control of the offices throughout the state, for 1816, and next day appointed a committee on elections with a bucktail majority, who unanimously awarded the seat to Fellows, on no other evidence than that which was before the House the day it met, and which the worthless party tool, Allen, had not then gainsayed; the House then voted Allen out and Fellows in, 121 to 1.

made a rush upon this House, and taken us on surprise. The resolution may pass; but if it does, my word for it, we are disgraced in the judgment and good sense of an injured but intelligent community. Whatever the fate of this resolution may be, let it be remembered that Mr. Clinton has acquired a reputation not to be destroyed by the pitiful malice of a few leading partisans of the day. When the contemptible party strifes of the hour shall have passed by, and the political bargainers and jugglers, who now hang round this Capitol for subsistence, shall be overwhelmed and forgotten in their own insignificance—when the gentle breeze shall pass over the tomb of that great man, carrying with it the just tribute of honor and praise which is now withheld—the pen of the future historian, in better days and in better times, will do him justice, and erect to his memory a proud monument of fame, as imperishable as the splendid works which owe their origin to his genius and perseverance. This vote is probably the last that will be given this session, and I pray God it may be such as will not disgrace us in the eyes of our constituents."

Give me a Cunningham and a Clinton for "Native Americans!" Such men will always know how to treat aright foreigner and native, friend and foe. Of such natives as them any land might be proud. Cunningham's heart was in the right place.

The Assembly concurred with the Senate, 64 to 34. Among those who voted to expel Clinton thus summarily, I find the names of H. Wheaton, now envoy to Berlin; A. C. Flagg, now Comptroller; General James Tallmadge, Isaac Pierson, and Thomas Hyatt. Among his friends were Messrs. Barstow, James Benedict, Campbell, Cooper, John Crary, Furman, McCrea, Isaac Riggs, Thorne, Whiting, Tredwell, Ezra Smith, and Wilkin.

Addresses and resolutions in honor of Clinton were signed on this occasion, by M. Clarkson, W. Bayard, P. Hone, T. A. Emmet, N. Fish, W. Few, C. P. White, S. Whitney, Preserved Fish, C. D. Colden, T. Eddy, R. Bogardus, John Rathbone, and C. G. Haines, New York; and by John Tayler, James McKown, William James, J. H. Wendell, Chandler Starr, Hammond, the historian, Gideon Hawley, Isaiah Townsend, T. Van Vechten, E. Jenkins, S. M. Hop-

Van Buren was then a senator and attorney general, and his party, to a man, supported this great wrong, and their presses upheld it. How little of democracy, of justice, of the spirit of free institutions there was in these proceedings, the cool and candid reader is left to judge. The evidence was read openly and was entirely documentary; the proofs were clear and not gainsaid, yet the real representative was shut out till the main business of the session was achieved unjustly; after which the backfalls, to a man, admitted their own dishonest conduct by voting out the intruder almost unanimously. "The democrats in the Assembly," says the N. Y. Evening Post of Feb. 22, "support the Speaker in declaring he will not be bound by the rules of the House; they choose the executive branch of government by means of the vote of a man, who they themselves, after his vote has been given, acknowledge had no business there, but whom they had first permitted to declare, by his own vote, that he had; they published an answer to the Governor's speech which was never accepted; and lastly they say such a procedure is, in the opinion of this House, unconstitutional and illegal which is so far from the truth, that directly the contrary appears on the face of their own journals. A true specimen of UNBROKEN democracy." Van Buren would have lost his office of Attorney General had his party acted honestly as judges in this case.

Hammond, who, in many things, displays, to my mind, real independence of character; although Judge Spencer, taking Hammond's own doctrines as a test, seems to show that he was not always so; gives another Peter Alien case in the Senate in 1817, in which Young and Van Buren cut a wretched figure as judges. It is this: In the Western District, two senators were to be chosen—one for four years and another for one, by one election. By law, he, of the two chosen together, who has the most votes, sits four years—the other, one. It was disputed which of the two elected had most votes—the dispute referred to a committee—who reported, that 15,009 votes were given for Isaac Wilson; that 14,985 were given for Jedediah Prendergast, 91 for Jedediah Prendergast, and 10 for Jed. Prendergast. Forty-two of the electors who spelled *Jedediah* swore, to the satisfaction of the senate's committee, that they had intended *Jediah*, and these 42 added to the 14,985 who had spelled the name right, made 15,027, or 18 more than Wilson, saying nothing of the other 59, which it was clear were also intended for Prendergast. The committee also reported that Wilson had not alleged that there was a Jedediah Prendergast in the district—and, of course, that Jediah P. ought to sit for four years and Isaac Wilson for one. Could there be two opinions on such a question? There were. Van Buren rose in his place and urged his party to call the fewest votes the most and give the long term to Wilson—and Samuel Young produced the *Bible*, and said there were in it both *Jediah* and *Jedediah*, and hence he would say that Wilson had the most votes. Van Buren's party (all but Walter Bowne) went with him in favor of Wilson, 13 to 11. The two Prendergasts and Wilson did not vote. Lawyers Canine, Van Buren, Young, Roger Skinner, and Ogden were in the majority—and when we see the father acting thus openly, can we wonder at seeing his profligate son cursing, betting, gambling, fighting in the courts, and using Marx's mock messages to make money by, as a Wall street stockjobber? The only wonder is, that N. Y. should appoint such a person her attorney general, as if democracy consisted in administering public justice through the most profligate characters in the community. Well might Hammond say (Vol. I., p. 464) that "it would have been more creditable to Young and his friends to have voted without arguing."

Roger Skinner's political character may be guessed at from his letter to Hoyt, in page 197, of the Correspondence. In the spring of 1821, I first heard of him from an old friend, Dr. Shaw, of the Albany Academy, who invited me to be present at a public dinner given to Archibald McIntyre, the able, indefatigable, and incorruptible comptroller of the state, whom Skinner and his council had just removed from office, on the simple principle that he was too honest, too great a check upon acting-democrats, such as I am here describing.

kings, and Alfred Conckling, Albany. The malice of his enemies must have injuriously affected their insulting bargain of the State, which was to be delivered to the minority caucus for Crawford next November.\*

Clinton's expulsion was proposed in the Senate, by John Bowman of Monroe, and voted for by ⚡ Silas Wright, now Governor—⚡ Walter Bowne, since Mayor of New York—⚡ Charles E. Dudley, successor to Van Buren as U. S. Senator—⚡ Jonas Earll, junior, Canal Commissioner, P. M. of Syracuse, &c.—⚡ Heman J. Redfield, whom Wright wanted Clinton to make a Judge—⚡ Edward P. Livingston, Van Buren's candidate for Lieut. Governor—⚡ Judge James Mallory, for whom Marcy had such tender feelings, [p. 199, no. 140.]—⚡ Perley Keyes, the political schoolmaster of Silas Wright—⚡ John Leflerts, from Long Island—⚡ Bowman, the mover—⚡ James Burt—⚡ Byram Green—⚡ James McCall—⚡ — Greenly—⚡ — Haight—⚡ Col. Farrand Stranahan—⚡ John Sudam—⚡ Stephen Thörn—⚡ Melancthon Wheeler—⚡ Sherman Wooster—and ⚡ General Jasper Ward, who did not wait to be expelled the Senate, as his history will tell. Some of these men may have acted without thought, but the Wrights, Bownes, Dudleys, Earlls, Stranahans, and Wards, knew what they were about. As Wright says to Van Buren, they did not want to do "journeywork," like the Feds. It wouldn't be their fault if they failed to seize the spoils. When this vote was given, Marcy was Comptroller—his father-in-law, Knower, Treasurer—Croswell printed for the State, and manufactured "opinion" for the retail presses of the party. The men who went this length would have enacted "Joseph's brethren" in Genesis, or driven Mordecai from the king's gate, as we have it in Esther. Bowman got the Rochester Bank charter that season.

\* Colonel Young was Clinton's successor, as the leading member on the canal board, and approved of his unjust removal. Unlike Clinton, however, the Colonel served for pay, and the commission, instead of being, as it ought, composed of men of various politics and high character, degenerated too much into a mere party machine, to enrich the political leaders and their electioneering dependents. Marcy wrote in the *Troy Budget*, and *Croswell* printed in the *Argus*, censuring Clinton's canal policy. When it was seen that a few years would complete the work, Clinton, who, with Thomas Eddy, R. R. Livingston, W. North, S. De Witt, S. V. Rensselaer, and G. Morris, had urged on, and reported in favor of the Erie route, 13 years before, was turned out, that the glory might be an undivided halo, encircling only Van Buren's brow.

While on the Canal Board, on which he had a seat as early as 1815, Young, in 1825, wrote, signed, and presented to the legislature a report, in his official capacity, stating his belief, that a parallel canal, or double locks the whole distance, alongside the Erie canal, would soon be indispensable—that the canals would soon pay off their debt and yield a great revenue besides—and that other states would profit by the laudable example of N. Y.—that within ten years the tolls would probably be tripled, and (if not reduced) might, in less than fifty years, amount to \$10,000,000. When reminded of this report lately in Senate, he remarked that even now the tolls on the canals would be five millions had they not been reduced. Why then, asked General Clark, did you state in 1839, in your report on finance, that "Human government is, as it always has been, the grave of productive industry:—that every step it takes in endeavoring to carry on works of labor of any kind, is attended with sacrifice and waste to the community, and sinks it deeper and deeper in debt:—that the songs of 'internal improvement' are libels on the laws of God, and a deadly mildew upon the happiness and prosperity of man!—that, with reference to canal loans, &c., a convention will be called, which will be instructed to reorganize and remodel our prostrate constitution; and which convention will repudiate the debt; will affix the impress of infamy upon past profligate laws; and erect new barriers for the future!—that the community has been abused and deceived, for years, by the constant repetition of the falsehood, that the Erie and Champlain canals were enriching the state, whereas, it is a truth within the reach of all, that so far from having paid the cost of their construction, there would be now a debt against them, had they not received the aid of the auction and salt duties of \$8,459,969?"

On the 17th of August, Young's report, above quoted, appeared in full in the *Albany Argus*, the editor of which said, "That this is a most able and powerful document no one will deny." Of course he did not say that he concurred in all its positions.

When Young's Internal Improvement Report of 1825 appeared, it was followed by a bill in the Senate for the survey of 19 new canal routes, including the Chenango, Black River, and Genesee Valley—yet in a few years thereafter, he denounced the Chenango canal, affirming that Pennsylvania and New York "had been forced by the demagogues of each, into the hostile attitude of profligate rivalry; and each has been recklessly goaded along by the bloody lash of internal improvement." I ought to state here, that, in 1835 and 1836, he offered an able opposition to the bills for constructing the Chenango and Genesee Valley canals—and that, in his report of 1830, he showed that the Chenango canal would cost over a million of dollars, and that its revenue would not pay, either for interest, repairs, or even superintendence, but give value to the lands of speculators at the public cost. In the late discussions in Senate, on the extravagant expenditures on the canals, Mr. Wright said, and, I think, truly, "Let there be competition in labor, not in mere party fealty. This business of repairs, of repairing the canals, had become a party machine, put in operation just before election, and hence the increase of expenditures." Another senator, Putnam, showed that \$500,000 had been paid for neglects to fulfil contracts, in giving which it appears there is enough of favoritism. It seems that two or three millions of the canal funds have passed through Young's hands: but I hear of no case in which he has misapplied them.

Was there a bargain to innolate Clinton and raise Crawford, connected with that sale of the public patrimony, also?

Jedediah Morgan, John Cramer, and Archibald McIntyre (not the comptroller) were its only opponents! They may well feel proud of it.

Allow me to change the scene to 1828—Clinton in his coffin, and Van Buren in Washington, thus addressing the members of Congress relative to the deceased:—"The high order of his talents, the untiring zeal and great success with which those talents have, through a series of years, been devoted to the prosecution of plans of great public utility, are known to you all. \* \* \* The greatest public improvement of the age in which we live, was commenced under the guidance of his counsels, and splendidly accomplished under his immediate auspices. \* \* \* The triumphs of his talents and patriotism cannot fail to become monuments of high and enduring fame. \* \* \* I am greatly tempted to envy him the grave with its honors."

How like unto Balaam's conduct when Balak sent his princes to induce him to curse Israel, [Numbers xxiii.] was the politic Van Buren's! Balaam wished to curse but durst not. "*How shall I curse whom God hath not cursed? How shall I defy whom the Lord hath not defied? Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his!*"\* What a commentary upon 1824, was the funeral

\* In 1819, there was a vacancy on the bench of the Supreme Court of the State of New York, which a mutual friend of Clinton and of Van Buren, then high in office, told Clinton that Van Buren wished to fill—that he had said so to him, and given as a reason that he was weary of the turmoil of politics—and that it was politic and expedient to give him the judgeship. "As a measure of mere policy," said Clinton, "it might be expedient; but so unprincipled a man do I consider Mr. Van Buren, that I could never justify myself in making such an experiment, merely for the sake of disarming his resentment against me." John Woodworth was appointed, of whom Butler speaks so spitefully in his letters, and Van Buren, Butler, and their confederates, persecuted Clinton till his death, and then—not till then—praised him as the greatest of statesmen and of patriots.

The bitter hatred of Van Buren to Clinton may be inferred from Butler's letters. He was at Sandy Hill when Woodworth was appointed. Van Buren was a Senator at Albany in 1818-19, and was almost violent in his opposition to Rufus King, then a candidate for the U. S. Senate. In December, 1819, he wheeled round to the side of King, wrote a pamphlet on his behalf—and why? He had become satisfied that King was not the friend of Clinton! "Sensible as I am (says Van Buren) of the great merits of Mr. King, and of the advantages which would probably result from his appointment, still, did I believe that he was opposed to us in the present controversy between the republican party and Mr. Clinton and his followers; could I even suppose that he looked with indifference on the struggle of the great body of our citizens to extricate themselves from an influence [Clinton's] which has so long pressed upon this state, and under which she can never acquire her true devotion to the Union, I have no hesitation in saying, I would oppose his appointment."

Colonel Duane, ever free and fearless, denounced Van Buren and his new allies for their persecution of Clinton. In the Aurora of October, 1821, I find these remarks:

"But why calumniate Mr. Clinton? Because the eminence of his qualifications, and the place which he holds, in the esteem of all intelligent and liberal minds, renders him an object of apprehension to those who are in power, and who look to him as a fearful rival, from the disparity between their faculties, and the place he holds in the eyes and hearts of the people. For this calumny of Mr. C. the publication of the laws, the patronage of the post-office, and all the miserable crumbs of a corrupt system are distributed, showing the melancholy fact that the press may be purchased for a pitiful annual stipend—and perverted into an engine of national degradation."

William L. Stone, in the N. Y. Commercial of Oct. 14, 1828, asks several leading questions of Van Buren's supporters—among them these:

"Who, among the whole host of Mr. Clinton's enemies, was so active and so artful as Mr. Van Buren? Who so relentless and so persecuting? What political plan for developing the resources of the state did Mr. Clinton ever devise, that Mr. Van Buren did not attempt either to thwart, or to deprive him of the honor? What path did Mr. Clinton ever propose to travel that Mr. Van Buren did not cross? When did Mr. Clinton ever raise his arm in the public service that Mr. Van Buren did not attempt to paralyze it? When did Mr. Van Buren's hostility to Mr. Clinton ever sleep? Not until the illustrious man slept with his fathers, and the grave had closed upon his remains. Then it was, and not till then, that Mr. Van Buren became aware of the talents, the virtues, the inestimable worth of Mr. Clinton."

parade of 1828, with Savage, Sutherland, Flagg and Marcy, decorated with scarfs, mourning for Clinton, and among his pall-bearers! What a censure the bill to reward Clinton's invaluable services, by a grant of money to his children, and by the very men whose envy of his talents had denied him, only four years before, the humble privilege of serving his country without fee or reward, poor but disinterested, in the midst of Van Buren's greedy spoilers! Andrew Jackson's birthday toast, March 15, 1828, was, "The memory of De Witt Clinton, the Patriot, the Philanthropist, and the distinguished Statesman. In his death, New York has lost one of her most useful sons, and the nation one of its brightest ornaments." Even Ritchie, whose columns had teemed with abuse of Clinton, in former years, was moved; and the Richmond Enquirer thus pronounced his eulogy:—"A great man has fallen in Israel! A man who was designated for the first chair in the nation is cut off in the midst of his honors. But his name will go down to posterity, full of honor, and his works are his monument."

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## CHAPTER XV.

*The Crawford Caucus of 1824.—Van Buren, Cambreleng, and Stevenson trample on the Democratic Principle.—Secret Combination of Regency Leaders.—The Electoral Law.—Monarchical Features in our System.—Flagg, Wright, Earll, Croswell, Van Buren, and the rest of the Albany Oligarchs, uniting to put down Public Opinion—Young up for Governor.—The Old Federalists.—Wright and the Seveenteen.*

IN one day, in the winter of 1824, two notices appeared in the National Intelligencer—the first calling a meeting or caucus of the members of Congress, to nominate fit persons to fill the offices of President and Vice President of the United States—the other, a declaration signed by R. M. Johnson, John H. Eaton, R. Y. Hayne, S. D. Ingham, Geo. Kremer, J. R. Poinsett, and others, that they had been informed, that of 261 members, 181 were opposed to the caucus, and probably more. On the 14th of February, 66 members attended a caucus at the Capitol: Van Buren moved that they be called by states, and said, "that the people were anxiously waiting for a nomination, and he felt confident that a large portion of the republicans of the Union were decidedly in favor of this mode of nomination, and that it was quite necessary that it should be made." The ballot showed 61 votes for Crawford, 2 for Adams, and 1 each for Macon and Jackson, to be President—and 57 votes for Gallatin, as Vice President. Crawford and Gallatin were nominated.

Among the members taking part in this wonderful piece of imposture, were C. C. Cambreleng, Andrew Stevenson, Lewis Eaton, Lot Clark, P. P. Barbour, and John Forsyth. Even if the practice of a virtual election of the President by Congress, through a caucus, had been defensible, a caucus in favor of one, where all the candidates were of one party, was confining the people's choice to one person, and thus stifling public opinion and rescinding in so far the constitution.\*

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\* The state of North Carolina had, in 1818, proposed, as amendments to the U. S. constitution, that the representatives in congress should be chosen by separate districts, made as equal in population as possible by the several state legislatures; each district to elect one member by the votes of its qualified electors—and that, for the purpose of electing electors of presi-

In January, 1824, there might be seen the really paradoxical spectacle of a body of men in the legislature, arrogating to themselves the exclusive title of republicans, *the democracy*, who were unwearied in endeavoring to defeat the people's instructions, by giving the go-by to a law required by the whole state, giving to the country, and not reserving to party leaders in the Legislature, the election of electors of President and Vice President. I hope the day draws near in which the people will vote directly for the men of their choice to these offices, and that on the same day too, throughout the republic.

By reference to B. F. Butler's letters, pp. 168, 169, and to Hoyt's, Croswell's, Van Buren's, Skinner's, and Livingston's, pp. 193 to 198, it will be seen that there was a secret combination among the leaders to keep power from the people, and to use it contrary to their well known will. "If Clinton is very dangerous, (says Livingston,) they [the party in the legislature] will go one way; and if it is thought he cannot make any difficulty, they will go t'other way." The *patriots* thus acting for Van Buren and Crawford, had the assurance to talk of a bargain between President Adams and Secretary Clay!! A. C. Flagg seems to have been the leader of the oligarchs in the Assembly. His press, the Plattsburgh Republican, and also the Albany Argus, had come out in favor of the measure before the election, and then moved round to another course.\*

dent and vice president, each state ought to be divided into separate districts, as many as it was entitled to electors; each of said districts to be contiguous, and convenient for the people to meet in, and to choose one representative. This was the district system, both for electors and Congressmen, and eleven Senators, including Bowne, Skinner, Seymour, and Livingston, (Peter R.,) supported it. Samuel Young, Van Buren, Cantine, Tibbets, and six others, opposed it. Several years after, in the U. S. Senate, Van Buren proposed to divide each of the states into as many districts as its number of electors—each district to choose one elector—the electors, so chosen, to meet and vote for president and vice president; and in case no one candidate had a majority of their voices, they were to be convened again, to vote for one of the two candidates to whom they had given the most votes before; and then, if the votes were equal, and no choice made, the House of Representatives were to make a choice. He agitated this question for three years, and others have kept some reform or other before the community ever since, but no steady and connected effort has been made to afford a real remedy for a great and serious difficulty.

There are many features in the United States system of government that approach much nearer to the British and French monarchical plan, than to democracy. In the OBSERVER, New York, 20th December, 1823, the editor says:—

"Our readers are aware that, as the constitution now stands, if the electors fail to choose on the first trial, the choice devolves on the House of Representatives, and that in this case the representatives of each state are entitled to one vote. The present number of states in the Union is twenty-four. Thirteen are a majority. The population of the United States, in 1820, was nearly 10,000,000. Thirteen states can be selected, whose joint population is less than 2,200,000. Of course, it is possible that 1,100,000 persons, or a little more than one-tenth part of the population of the United States, may legally appoint the President of the United States, in opposition to the will of the other nine-tenths. This case, moreover, is not a solitary one. It is a direct, trade principle which we so strongly condemn in the English rotten borough system, and which every part of the constitution of the United States, and threatens, in the end, to be as ruinous to the rights of the people in this country, as it has been in Great Britain. The treaty-making power is vested by the constitution in the President and two-thirds of the Senate. Two-thirds of the Senate represent two-thirds of the states—that is, at present, sixteen out of twenty-four. Sixteen states can be selected, whose joint population does not exceed 3,400,000. It is possible, therefore, that treaties may be made in opposition to the wishes of two-thirds of the American people."

Under the last Congressional apportionment, a presidential election, if carried into the House of Representatives, might be decided against a candidate supported by more than two-thirds of the population, property, and representation in that House, of the whole Union, and in favor of a candidate not voted for by even one-third of these. The slave representation makes this case of things still worse. Jackson, in 1825, had but three votes out of seventy-three, in New York and New England; but Van Buren united interests with him in 1828, and, with the help of the contractors, office-seekers, lawyers, and editors, converted many, myself among the number.

\* On the 5d of August, at a special session in Senate, Mr. Ogden moved a resolution "that it is expedient to pass a law *at the present meeting of the legislature*, giving to the people of

In 1824, Colonel Young was the candidate of the bucktail caucus, composed chiefly of members of the legislature friendly to Crawford, for governor. On the 2d of April, this caucus, 106 in number, met; and on the first ballot, Young had 60 votes, and Joseph C. Yates 45; Erastus Root had 75 for lieutenant governor, and Burt 21. Root was for Crawford, Young for Clay, and both were defeated by Clinton and Tallmadge, who had their nominations from a state convention. Young was avowedly friendly, throughout, to the election of electors of President and Vice President by the people, and opposed to Van Buren's bargaining scheme of 1824, by which he and the Albany Regency sold, as it were, the votes of a hireling majority of bankjobbing lawgivers, to a particular set of minority congressional caucusing profligates, and endeavored to pledge the votes of the state in opposition to the known wishes of a majority of the people. In one state, only, is the election of electors confided to the legislature now, and that is South Carolina. Young's steady opposition to Crawford ensured his defeat in the legislature, and caused Adams to be returned in his stead, as the

this State the choice of electors of President and Vice President." The *noes* were Silas Wright, Walter Bowne, John Sudam, F. Stranahan, E. P. Livingston, *Jasper Ward*, Jas. Mallory, Jonas Earl, Charles E. Dudley, Perley Keyes, Green, Greenly, Bronson, Lefferts, Thorn, Wheeler, Wooster, McCall and Heman, J. Redfield. Among the *ayes* were Archibald McIntire, John Cramer, Haight, Burt, Lynde, and Burrows. Flagg and his friends pretended that a special session was illegal, but were overruled.

On the 5th, the resolve, *to give* the people, and take from the Legislature the choice of electors, was carried in the assembly 75 to 44: Crolius, Furman, McClure, Riggs, Tallmadge, Wheaton, and Wilkin among the yeas. Flagg said that "as the *show* was now over and the names of the gentlemen spread on the record, he hoped they were ready to adjourn." Coleman, the tory editor of the Post, called this voting a ridiculous farce—he was with Van Buren, Flagg and Wright, for Crawford—and he went with Van Buren, too, for King as senator in 1813, and dead against the war and Clay and Madison, in 1812. The senate would not act. But though Van Buren, Wright, Flagg, Keyes, Marcy, Knower and their faithful confederates, influenced the legislature to defy public opinion for two sessions, and to oust Clinton from the canal board, they had their reward. Crawford failed to get the vote of N. Y.—he failed to get to be president—Clinton was elected as Governor by 17,000 majority, and Tallmadge Lieutenant Governor by 32,000, over Van Buren's nominees. Wright voted on the 10th of March to give the choice of electors to the people, by general ticket—he then proposed a complicated and preposterous scheme which only got four supporters. "The fact was" (says Hammond), "Mr. Wright, previous to his election, had given the people to understand that he would, if elected, support a bill giving to the people the right to choose presidential electors. All this manœuvring was for the purpose of exhibiting an appearance of re-deeming that pledge. We shall shortly find him voting for an indefinite postponement of the bill." And it is a man who could thus descend to the meanness of tricking the men he pretended to represent, who is at this day governor of New York. The timber out of which good governors are made must be scarce in these parts. The bill got the go-by same day (10 March), E. P. Livingston having moved to stop all consideration of the bill to give the people the choice of a president till November, when it would be useless for another four years. Himself and Bowman, *Bowne*, Bronson, Dudley, (Hoy's correspondent,) Earl (canal Com'r), Greenly, Keyes (Silas Wright's mentor), Lefferts, Mallory, McCall, Redfield, Stranahan, Sudam, Ward (*JASPER*), Wooster, and Governor Wright—the immortal 17 pretenders to a democracy they only practised, when, as Wright says in his letter (p. 203), they had to do journey work, being unable to seize the spoils. Col. Young, like his friend Cramer, and General Root, was opposed to Van Buren in this matter. Wright, then in his 36th year, voted to remove Clinton from the canal board. It is enough to shake a man's faith in popular institutions when he sees such men as Van Buren and Wright succeed a Clinton as governors of this great state. General Root preferred in 1824, and Van Buren in 1828, an election of electors by separate districts, because the various districts have a variety of interests, and each section of country should have a voice in the choice of chief magistrate. The arguments used in favor of a general ticket for electors of president would justify to a far greater extent, the election of members of congress by general ticket, for the electors perform but one act while the congressmen perform many. Young and Van Buren, however, are now strongly in favor of election by general ticket, and South Carolina chooses her electors by the Legislature, after every other state has made a choice by the people. Only one of the above seventeen ventured to re-appear as a candidate, and he was swept away by the overwhelming majority given to his opponent.

second candidate, instead of being behind Crawford and Clay, and not a candidate at all. Thus it was through New York that Adams became President. Adams had 84 votes, including 32 from this state, obtained through a union of the friends of Clay and Adams in the legislature. Crawford had 41, but would have had 73 had he got the 32 from N. Y., and Adams but 52. Instead of applying to parties the names which would most clearly indicate their principles, the usage is, to apply to an opponent any term which popular leaders and presses have rendered odious to the more ignorant. Young denounced, not long since, the supporters of John Q. Adams as *federalists*. When it was shown that he had aided Adams' election in 1824, he said that at that time Adams was a good democrat. If so, why abuse Clay for preferring one democrat to another? The truth is, that Blair, Crosswell, and many other unprincipled hirelings use the term federalist as a reproach, and their impudence in so doing is unmatched, for Taney, McLane, Bryant, Buchanan, Ingersoll, Bleecker, Oakley, Powers, Beekman, Vanderpool, and very many others of the party calling itself democratic, were formerly members of the great federal party, which numbers thousands of the greatest, wisest, and best names known to American history. It is now no more; it had its faults, its merits, its unworthy members—but it was honored in not having reared and educated a Burr and a Van Buren. Col. Young, in Senate, Feb. 4, 1846 [Argus report] does not hesitate severely to censure Van Buren for the Crawford caucus of 1824; he denounces it as “made by a minority of the democratic members of congress; and that very act broke down that machinery, for never since have members of congress nominated a president. It was regarded as so great an outrage on the former practice—for never before had a minority undertaken to nominate—that the whole system broke down.”

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## CHAPTER XVI.

*Andrew Jackson nominated for President, in 1815, by Col. Burr. —The Texas Movement.—Polk and Slavery.—Swartwout's Proceedings.—Channing's Views.—Jackson's position in 1806.—He acts as Burr's Agent.—Burr's attempt to Dissolve the Union.—McDuffie's Effort.—The True Policy of this Republic.—Jackson and Van Buren Buying Texas.—Hamilton on Burr.—Burr kills him.—Enters into Arrangements with Pitt.—Burr's Family.—Judge Marshall on Blennerhassett.—Wilkinson's Testimony.—Davezac's Arrest.—The Dayton of New Jersey.—Frank Ogden.—Sedgwick on Texas.—Texas, how Settled.—Its Convention.—Channing on Slavery.—Van Buren's Instructions to the Mexican Minister, in 1829.—Benevolence and Disinterestedness of the U. S. Government.—A Curious Argument.—Gaines Invades Mexico.—Senator Houston.—Calhoun's Opinions on Slavery.—His Letters to King and Wilson Shannon.—Canada, a Refuge for the Oppressed Slave.—Southern Policy Disclosed by a Candid Minister to Mexico.—On Extending the Area of Oppression.—How to Raise the Price of Virginia Negroes.—Murphy's Hint to Play the Hypocrite.—Our Treaty with the Mexicans.—The Destiny of the Americans.—Public Life.—National Purity.*

ANDREW JACKSON was first nominated as President of the United States, by Aaron Burr. Col. Burr's letter, with his reasons for preferring Jackson, was addressed to Governor Alston, as early as 1815, and will be found among the correspondence. I have seen it stated, but not on any specific authority, that



Burr's arguments in favor of Jackson had great influence over Van Buren's mind, when he became his adherent. Unquestionably, the popularity of Gen. Jackson was the leading inducement. We shall find that Burr and Jackson's views for conquering Mexico from Spain, in 1805, have been since carried out in part, by the Texas movement of Polk,\* Van Buren, Jackson, Calhoun, and

\* The violent dismemberment of Mexico by citizens of the United States, with a view to the reestablishment of slavery in Texas; and the very remarkable circumstances attending its recent annexation to this Union, in violation of good faith to a friendly republic; with the state of feeling to which these events, and their expected results, have given rise, form some apology for brief notices of the various parts played in the exciting drama, by Messrs. Polk, Van Buren, Benton, Houston, Jackson, Burr, Swartwout, and their friends or confederates.

James Knox Polk took the oath of office at the Capitol, as President, on Tuesday, March 4th, 1845, he being then in his 50th year.

In his inaugural address, he expressed a deep regret that "misguided persons" had indulged in schemes and agitations "whose object is the destruction of DOMESTIC INSTITUTIONS existing in certain States or sections"—and thought that all must see that if these persons could succeed, "the dissolution of the Union" must speedily follow. "To increase the attachment of our people to the Union (said he) OUR LAWS SHOULD BE JUST. ANY POLICY WHICH SHALL TEND TO FAVOR MONOPOLIES, OR THE PECULIAR INTERESTS OF SECTIONS OR CLASSES, must operate to the prejudice of the interests of their fellow-citizens, and SHOULD BE AVOIDED." It would be his aim "to observe a careful respect for the rights of other nations," and "none could fail to see the danger to our safety and future peace, if Texas remains an independent state." "Our title to the country of the Oregon is clear AND UNQUESTIONABLE." The President "fervently invoked the aid of the Almighty Ruler of the Universe, to guard this heaven-favored land against the mischiefs which might arise from an unwise public policy." "With a firm reliance upon the wisdom of Omnipotence to sustain and direct him in the path of duty which he had been appointed to pursue," he stood there to take the oath, &c.

O! what is worth made for, if 'tis not the same,  
Thro' joy and thro' torment—thro' glory and shame.

Mr. Polk thought that the laws should be just and free from monopoly, and that there was nothing wrong in one man with a white skin, possessing a life lease of the labor of many families of his fellow creatures whose skins were more or less tinged with black—no harm in buying them—selling them—separating the husband from the wife, the sister from the brother, the parent from the child—keeping them in poverty, misery, and brutal ignorance, and severely punishing him or her who would venture to teach them to read and write—there was no monopoly in all that, nothing unjust—, nor in annexing Texas, the patrimony of a weaker republic, simply because that republic was weaker—and he invoked the aid of Almighty God to enable him to preserve the Union, through the continuance of this description of democratic justice—and had a firm reliance upon the wisdom of Omnipotence to aid him in having every free black driven out of the new addition of the "heaven-favored land" called Texas, and slavery and a monopoly of the slave-trade upheld there, which he considered very essential "to our safety and future peace." Had the Baltimore Convention nominated Benjamin Franklin Butler when they pitched upon a pious Tennessee lawyer, he could not have performed his part more in character. When defending his friend Jacob Barker, in an indictment for fraud, Benjamin told the court and jury that the Lord, in his good providence, had watched over Jacob's trade and blessed it; Jacob's occupation, thus especially sanctified, being that of a Wall Street stockjobber! I should not feel at all surprised, if it were to turn out that Benjamin, who sometimes penned protests and messages for Jackson and Van Buren, should prove to have been the author of this unique inaugural of James Knox Polk. It denounces defaulters, and its reputed compiler has since proved his sincerity in the cause of regular accountants by employing in the highest pecuniary trusts the very punctual R. J. Walker, our defaulting bank president, C. W. Lawrence, with the aforesaid Benjamin and such like. It is to be doubted whether he had "the wisdom of Omnipotence to sustain and direct him" in these and some other acts of his, done after the fashion of Charles I., defender of the faith, &c., &c. When George III. seized the Danish fleet, and bombarded Copenhagen, the capital of his faithful ally, in 1807, his excuse for the robbery was, that the fleet, if he did not seize it, might fall into the hands of France. President Polk finds an argument for the annexation of Texas, in this, that if the slave States did not seize upon it to be used as a negro pen, England might influence the Texans to do as Mexico had done, crush slave-driving and slave-working there altogether! Being myself a native of Scotland, and Robert Dale Owen the annexationist, an Englishman, I beg that my humble strictures upon President Polk's piety and politics may be taken as a sort of set off against the powerful harangues and steady votes of the Indiana philosopher, in favor of

## BURR, BLENNERHASSETT, JACKSON AND THE DONS.

Houston. By reference to the annexed correspondence, it will be seen that Samuel Swartwout, who was an active canvasser for Jackson, in New Jersey, as early as 1823, expended large sums in Texan lands, sent settlers there, kept up a correspondence with Houston and the Texan malcontents, and with Major Neville, an old associate of Burr's, interested himself deeply in the Texan trade, and was looked up to by young Blennerhassett as a friend, and the friend of his father. Swartwout's connection with Burr, Blennerhassett, and the attempt on Mexico, in 1805-6, is matter of history. As an illustration of the life and times of Van Buren, and showing what his course has been, I have appended as a note,\* a brief sketch of the origin and progress of

increasing the domain of human bondage and suffering in the South, as a means of decreasing it in the North—and who consoles "his excellency" by the assurance that "Slavery, like Monarchy, is a temporary evil, which will disappear when it becomes commercially unprofitable!" or in other words, that Mr. Polk will discontinue selling his Tennessee negroes when he can find no one to buy them from him!! The President's well-written message to Congress, when they met last, would be amusing, were it not a burlesque upon the great principles of the Declaration of Independence, and a practical defiance of the cardinal doctrines of that glorious manifesto, yet to be honored in more auspicious times. Am I too sanguine?

I hear from youth, 'Man's prospects daily brighten :  
Each files his fetters surely, silently ;  
The Press illumines, and the gas enlightens ;  
The glorious steamboat speeds across the sea :  
Another twenty years, and then—and then—  
A sunbeam shall the lovely germ unfold.'  
Oh! I have waited thirty years in vain—  
Enough, enough—the world is all too old!

BERANGER.

\* In a letter to Governor Claiborne, of Louisiana, dated Nov. 12, 1806, General Jackson says:—"Be on the alert, keep a watchful eye upon our General [Wilkinson], and beware of an attack [on New Orleans], as well from our own country as Spain. You have enemies within your own city that may try to separate it from the Union. You know I never hazard ideas without good ground. . . . Be on the alert. Your government [Louisiana], I fear, is in danger. I fear there are plans afoot inimical to the Union. . . . I love my country and government: I HATE THE DONS: I WOULD LIKE TO SEE MEXICO REDUCED: but I will die in the last ditch before I would yield a foot to the Dons, or see the Union reduced." Next Jan. 3, Jefferson, who had perfect confidence in Wilkinson, wrote to him, with instructions how to arrest Burr's movements, and added, "If everything from that place (Louisville) be successfully arrested, there is nothing from below that is to be feared. Be assured that Tennessee, and particularly General Jackson, are faithful."

General Jackson admits here his hatred of the Spanish in Mexico, and his earnest desire to see it reduced. He retained the friendship of Burr to the day of his death; was his general agent in Tennessee in 1806 and 1807, and received large sums of money from him for the use of that agency. Burr, when in Tennessee, was often at Jackson's, who introduced him formally at a ball in Nashville, the night before he sailed with his recruits and boats from the mouth of the Cumberland River, when he took with him Stokely Hays, his (Jackson's) nephew. When, months after, the press and the government had noticed Burr's course, then, but not sooner, did Jackson write to Claiborne, whose suspicions he directed *against Wilkinson, and not against Burr*. That he had no wish to dismember this Union, I believe; but as to his being free from the knowledge of Burr's plans for invading Mexico, I see no reason to think that he was so. His anxiety to break up and dismember that Roman Catholic country, appears to have continued to the last hour of his life. It was Wilkinson's letter to Jefferson, Nov. 25th, that enabled him to comprehend Burr's designs, viz., the severance of the Union by the Alleghany Mountains, and the conquest of Mexico. A committee in Tennessee, of which were W. B. Lewis, John Overton, R. C. Foster, John Shelby, Th. Claiborne, and others, met in 1829 to take evidence and report on the nature of Jackson's connection with Burr. In General John Coffee's letter to them, August 28, he says, that Burr was in Tennessee in 1805 and in 1806—that he wrote afterwards that there would be war with Spain, in which case Jefferson was to give him the command of an expedition against Mexico—that Burr sent \$3,500 to Jackson, which, with other \$500, were placed in his (Coffee's) hands, to buy and purchase six boats, and lay in provisions. That suspicions afterwards arose that all was not right, and in December, 1806, the balance was handed to Burr, in Tennessee—that Burr was charged by Jackson with improper views, which he denied, and that then Jackson

the dismemberment of a weak power, by the force and fraud of a strong one. The truly great and good Dr. Channing, in his letter to Clay on Texas, apprehended that its incorporation with the Union would prove a deep injury to these

gave him a letter to Gov. Claiborne, and sent his nephew with him. Judge Williams stated to the committee, that in the spring or fall of 1806, Jackson spoke to him about a commission in Burr's army, adding, "When I recollect that the destruction of American institutions was the object of the Burr conspiracy, and that General Jackson was in the possession of facts and circumstances which would have convicted the conspirators, and yet improperly withheld them when summoned to Richmond to give his testimony," &c. He also wrote to Jackson as to what he had written, that while Burr or Adair, or both, were at Jackson's house, he (the general) told him (Williams) and others—"Take notice, gentlemen, you will find that a division of the United States has taken deep root; you will find that a number of the Senate, and a number of the members of the House of Representatives, are deeply involved in the scheme."

How often, in the history of this country, do we see anxious wishes expressed for a dissolution of the Union! Burr tried to dissolve it—the men of the East, whom Adams could not be brought to act with, tried to dissolve it—the abolitionists of the East complain of it now—and how often have Governor McDuffie and others of South Carolina sighed after more southern territory, as a means of ruling the Union, or splitting it up! In the South Carolinian of Feb. 8, 1844, I find McDuffie's speech in the Senate of the 19th of January, in which he calculates the value of this great and glorious confederacy of states by dollars and cents, thus:—"Sir, ever since the tariff of 1828, I have regarded the exporting, the slave states of this Union, as being practically reduced to a state of colonial vassalage to the manufacturing states. *It is a much more oppressive state of tributary dependence than that which once bound us to Great Britain.* . . . I can solemnly declare, as a citizen of South Carolina, that in nearly a quarter of a century I have never felt this government [that of the U. S.] but by its oppressions." Governor McDuffie, in 1844, hesitated not to state, in Senate, a project to divide the United States into three confederations, and to calculate by dollars and cents the advantages of his scheme. Like his friend Van Buren, he was a warm supporter of Polk for President; and so were Jackson, Calhoun, and others, who, like McDuffie, considered the bondage of the kidnapped African the corner-stone of democratic institutions.

In Gen. Jackson's letter to G. W. Campbell, Jan. 15, 1807, he states, that on Nov. 10th, 1806, Capt. ——— called at his house, and told him that the *adventurers* intended to divide the Union, "by seizing New Orleans and the Bank, shutting the port, conquering Mexico, and uniting the western parts of the Union to the conquered country"—that ———, of N. Y., had told him so—that knowing that Burr was well acquainted with ———, "it rushed into his mind like lightning that Burr was at the head"—that he wrote to Burr that he suspected him, and then to Governor Claiborne, but without warning him of Burr—that Burr denied the charge of intending to split up the Union, but not a word is said as to invading Mexico. It was after this November conversation that Jackson was most intimate with Burr, introduced him at the ball, even after Jefferson's proclamation, and sent his nephew with him, who left him, as he tells the committee, at the mouth of Bayou Pierre. Willis Alston stated that Jefferson had told him that Jackson had written to him that he "had been tendered a high command by Burr," and had tendered his services "TO MAKE A DESCENT UPON MEXICO." Is it not remarkable that Jackson, though in attendance at Burr's trial before Judge Marshall, was not examined? He promises Campbell, that "in a few weeks he would give the proof." When did he do it?

The true course for this republic, in its dealings with Mexico, would have been, to be generous and liberal to a people struggling for freedom, but without enough of intelligence to secure and maintain it in quietness. The independence of Mexico was acknowledged at Washington while she was in the midst of a revolution—and distracted with faction, harassed by wars with Spain and France, troubled with domestic revolts, some of them caused by Americans, encouraged, as I shall show, by official men here: who could expect that the U. S. commerce would not suffer injury? The Sabine river, &c., formed the western boundary of the Union, as settled in 1819 with Spain, and in 1828 with Mexico—yet scarcely was Jackson seated in the chair of Washington, than, in August, 1829, he offered Mexico five millions of dollars for Texas, and again, in 1835, he ordered the offer to be repeated. In 1837, Congress declared Texas independent, and in 1845, added that fine province of Mexico to the Union, as a new State, confirming and restoring perpetual slavery throughout a territory of 400,000 square miles, from which Catholic Mexico had banished it 21 years before!

Mr. Adams, in his speech in Congress, April 15, 1842, speaking of the Mexican treaty of 1828, said: "I had myself, in the negotiation of our treaty with Spain, labored to get the Rio del Norte as our boundary; and I adhered to the demand till Mr. Monroe and all his cabinet directed me to forego it, and to assent to take the Sabine. *Before the treaty was signed, it was*

states. It will not stand alone, he says,—it will involve us in European wars. "It will darken our future history. It will be linked by an iron necessity to long continued deeds of rapine and blood. Ages may not see the catastrophe of the tragedy, the first scene of which we are so ready to enact. Of all pre-

*carried by me, at the command of Mr. Monroe, to General Jackson, who, after examining it with the map in his hand, approved of the Sabine as the boundary."*

Aaron Burr, who nominated Jackson for President in 1815, was the early friend of Van Buren, the friend of his law teacher, Van Ness, the confederate of the Swartwouts, and the opponent of Jefferson, whom Alexander Hamilton preferred, though of a different school in politics, because, as he states in his letter to O. Wolcott, of Dec. 17, 1800, Burr was "one of the worst men in the community," who, as president, "would be restrained by no moral scruples," but would "employ the rogues of all parties to overrule the good men of all parties, and to prosecute objects which wise men of every description will disapprove." Hamilton's patriotism kept Burr from the presidency—Burr challenged Hamilton, shot him through the heart, was indicted for the murder, planned his southern schemes next, became odious in the north, sought British aid, failed in his plans, and removed for four years to Europe. Col. Duane, in the Aurora, 1808, says that "Miranda was sent to America, as was proved upon oath, by Dundas and Sir Home Popham. Burr's expedition, which was only a part of the scheme which Miranda was engaged in, was set on foot and paid by" Britain. Burr's papers went into the hands of his biographer, M. L. Davis, who, in a letter to the Courier and Enquirer, says that "No other man living, EXCEPT COLONEL WILLIAMSON, OF THE BRITISH ARMY, knew the extent of the [Burr's] arrangements, both in England and the United States, which had been made to accomplish the object. The death of the British premier, Pitt, and it alone, defeated the enterprise."

Aaron Burr's grandfather was a German—his father, a Presbyterian minister, was born in Fairfield, New England, and was the first President of New Jersey College, Newark. His mother was a daughter of Dr. Jonathan Edwards, of Princeton College. Burr was born at Newark, N. J., Feb. 6, 1756. His father died when he was a year old, and his mother before he was three, leaving him heir to a fine estate. He married Mrs. Prevost, the widow of a British officer, in 1782, and their only child, Theodosia, married Mr. Alston, of South Carolina. Burr was called to the bar, at Albany, in 1782, was elected to the state legislature, planned the Manhattan Bank charter, as a perpetual contract, and in 1790 was attorney general of the State. In 1791 he declared himself to be a warm admirer of the talents, plan of government, and disinterestedness of the French National Assembly. The democratic party made him a senator of the United States for this state, and a Judge of the Supreme Court. In 1801, he was president of the Convention of N. Y. State to amend the Constitution, and became Vice President of the Union, with Jefferson. His appearance and manners are said to have resembled those of his pupil, Van Buren.

Some of Swartwout's movements, as the agent and confederate of Burr, and as the settler of Texan lands, when Jackson's collector, are noticed in pages 83 and 84 of my Lives of Hoyt and Butler. In Judge Marshall's preliminary opinion, when on Burr's trial at Richmond, he says—"The conversations of Mr. Blennerhassett evince dispositions unfriendly to the Union, and his writings are obviously intended to disaffect the western people, and to excite in their bosoms strong prejudices against their Atlantic brethren. That the object of these writings was to prepare the western states for a dismemberment, is apparent on the face of them, and was frequently avowed by himself. In conversation with the Messrs. Henderson, he laid open a plan for dismembering the Union, under the auspices of Mr. Burr." General Wilkinson swore, that, on the 8th of October, 1806, S. Swartwout had called at his headquarters at Natchitoches, with a packet from Burr, stating that 7000 men were to be levied to seize New Orleans and invade Mexico, and that "naval protection would be had from Great Britain," the power which tried, eight years afterwards, to seize that city, but were met by Jackson, Coffee, Adair, Davezac, and Burr's other old friends, and defeated. Col. Cushing testified that Wilkinson had shown him Burr's letters next morning, and they were produced in court. Cushing added that Wilkinson further said, "Yes, my friend, a great number of individuals, possessing wealth, popularity, and talents, are at this moment associated for purposes inimical to the government of the United States, Colonel Burr is at their head, and the young gentleman [ex-collector Swartwout] who delivered you the letter last evening, is one of his emissaries. The story of serving as a volunteer is only a mask." General Dayton's letter to Wilkinson said, "Are you ready—are your numerous associates ready? Wealth and Glory—Louisiana and Mexico." It would appear that Davezac was also Burr's friend in these times. Burr, on the trial at Richmond, asks Wilkinson, whether he had given orders for Davezac's arrest—and what letters directed to him, Burr, he, W., had taken from Pintard and Davezac? When he asked him by what authority he had seized private papers, his reply was, "Am I bound to answer questions which may criminate myself?" Auguste Davezac is now on a foreign

capitate and criminal deeds, those perpetrated by nations are the most fruitful of misery."

"We are a restless people, [continues this eminent philosopher,] prone to encroachment, impatient of the ordinary laws of progress, less anxious to con-

mission; he is courageous; inimical to England; true to Van Buren. He was an aid to Jackson at New Orleans—his sister married Edward Livingston, of Louisiana, Jackson's second Secretary of State.

General Jonathan Dayton, of New Jersey, was indicted for treason, and, says the *Baltimore American*, "The Attorney for the United States had no doubt that Dayton was leagued in the general conspiracy;" but on the 15th of September, 1807, Dayton was discharged. [Is this the Dayton who, in 1787, aided in framing the U. S. constitution, and was Speaker of the H. of R. in Congress, for four years?] On the 1st of September, 1824, we find a Jackson meeting held in New-York—Col. Swartwout, chairman, Aaron Ogden Dayton, secretary. Whether "the scramble for plunder" described by Swartwout to Hoyt, realized the apprehensions of Hamilton, of a president who would "employ the rogues of all parties," the reader of Van Buren's and Butler's lives must judge for himself. Swartwout, and others, seem to have had that apprehension. Was the Frank Ogden, whose appointment to the \$20,000 a year, or at least very rich office of the Consulate to Liverpool, drove poor Coddington to the very verge of revolt. (See page 213,) one of these New-Jersey Ogdens, whose names were associated with Burr's and Jackson's in the romantic adventures of 1806-7?

"The settlement of Texas," says Theodore Sedgwick, (as *Veto*, in the *New-York Evening Post*), "began in land speculation; it was marked in its course by abominable frauds, and one of the great causes of dissatisfaction was the absolute prohibition of negro slavery. The first settlers of Texas, for the mere love of gain, abandoned a free republic for a colonial destiny. Protestants, they transferred themselves to catholic rule. The Texans [from the United States] must have been insane, if, on entering Mexico, they looked for an administration as bad as that under which they had lived. They might with equal reason have planted themselves in Russia, and then have unfurled the banner of independence near the throne of the Czar, because denied the immunities of their native land." The *Union* gives an account of the Convention to frame a Constitution for Texas, consisting of one Texan, three New-Englanders, one Englishman, three from Ohio and Pennsylvania, and all the others (fifty-four) from the slave states. Fannin wrote from the Alamo, just before its capture, "In my last, I informed you that I could find but some half a dozen citizens in my ranks, and I regret to say that it is yet the case."

Dr. Channing, in his letter on Texas, addressed, in 1838, to Henry Clay, truly remarks, that Texas was not conquered by its colonists—that in the army of eight hundred who took Santa Anna prisoner, not more than fifty were citizens of Texas—the rest were selfish adventurers from this Union. That land speculators, slave-holders, and such men as these, were among the foremost to proclaim independence; and that Yankee speculators introduced slavery in these fair lands, from which the countrymen of Cortez and Pizarro had expelled it. Mexico, at the moment of throwing off the Spanish yoke, gave a noble testimony of her loyalty to free principles, by decreeing, "that no person thereafter should be born a slave, or introduced as such into the Mexican states; that all slaves then held, should receive stipulated wages, and be subject to no punishment but on trial and judgment by the magistrate." The subsequent acts of the government carried out fully these constitutional provisions. It is matter of deep grief and humiliation, that the emigrants from this country, whilst boasting of superior civilisation, refused to second this honorable policy, intended to set limits to one of the greatest social evils. Slaves were brought into Texas, with their masters, from the neighboring states of this country. One mode of evading the laws was, to introduce slaves under formal indentures for long periods—in some cases, it is said, for ninety-nine years. By a decree of the State Legislature of Coahuila and Texas, all indentures for a longer period than ten years were annulled, and provision was made for the freedom of children born during this apprenticeship. This settled, invincible purpose of Mexico to exclude slavery from her limits, created as strong a purpose to annihilate her authority in Texas. By this prohibition, Texas was effectually closed against emigration from the southern and western portions of this country: and it is well known that the eyes of the south and west had for some time been turned to this province, as a new market for slaves, as a new field for slave-labor, and as a vast accession of political power to the slaveholding states. That such views were prevalent, we know; for, notorious as they are, they found their way into the public prints. The project of dismembering a neighboring republic, that slaveholders and slaves might overspread a region which had been consecrated to a free population, was discussed in newspapers as coolly as if it were a matter of obvious right, and unquestionable humanity."

I have never hesitated to believe, that Van Buren, in his Texas letter, written before the Baltimore selection, was as little impelled by manly principle as I have shown him to have been

solidate and perfect, than to extend our institutions, more ambitious of spreading ourselves over a wide space, than of diffusing beauty and fruitfulness over a narrow field. We boast of our rapid growth, forgetting that, throughout nature, noble growths are slow. Our people throw themselves beyond the bounds of

In other important acts of his life. On the 16th of October, 1829, when Secretary to Jackson, he addressed a long letter to Anthony Butler, the United States Chargé in Mexico, containing the President's instructions to him as the successor of Poinsett. Van Buren describes the conduct of Mexico as unfriendly and undeserved, and hopes she will become sensible of the injustice she has done to this country, "her earliest and best friend." He says that Jackson thought that the true interests of this Union would be better promoted by Mexican glory and prosperity, than by her depression and disgrace—that the bearing of Jackson's government had been "liberal and magnanimous" towards the Mexicans, "while many of their citizens, voluntary exiles in the cause of American liberty, fought by the side of their Mexican friends, TO EXPEL FROM THIS CONTINENT THE LAST REMNANTS OF COLONIAL OPPRESSION—that every step taken since, by the United States, has been marked by "benevolence and disinterestedness"—but that the Mexican government had been guilty of "political perverseness and inattention," and of "persevering injustice." This benevolence of Jackson and Van Buren had been evidenced in Swartwout, Houston, Poinsett, and others, stirring up strife in Mexico; and by asking Mexico to sell some 400,000 square miles of her territory for the use of the slave-holders, because she was poor—and this, too, for a pecuniary consideration! Van Buren tells Mexico that she is "shut out from almost all communication with the seaboard," and then complains of the "*abortive attempts to negotiate with*" her—the main object of the negotiation being to deprive her of the very domain which communicates with the sea, by hectoring, bullying, and menacing her. Dr. Mayo's comments on Van Buren, in his "Eight Years in Washington," touch this sore point skillfully. "The idea of military invasion of the Mexican territory has never entered into the imagination of the United States, nor, is it believed, of any one of their citizens." How long after that was it to the time when Jackson and his party ordered Gen. Gaines to invade Mexico, in the midst of peace, and the General addressed the ex-minister, Poinsett: "If I am permitted to make an arrangement in accordance with the foregoing suggestions, I feel confident that I can thereby obtain, and call to the frontier, READY FOR AN ACTIVE CAMPAIGN TO THE CITY OF MEXICO, from fifty to one hundred thousand first-rate men, for the most part mounted, before the first day of October next, the time they should march westward from the Sabine?" One would think that Van Buren believed he had in hand a second edition of the Peter Allen case, of 1816, in which his confederates in the legislature, voted in the appointing power of the state, by a false majority of one, knowing it to be so; and then, by the virtue of their oaths, placed this majority of one into the hands of their political opponents. The hostile movements of savage tribes was given as one reason for the "benevolent and disinterested" invasion by Gaines. And who set on these tribes? What Governor of Tennessee was it that left his wife and white family, to marry the daughter of an Indian Chief, discard the robes of civilisation, turn savage, and be ready, when the revolt was planned, to head the adventurers shipped from New-York and New-Orleans, and who camps as the *élite* of the army of Texas?

I have been a warm admirer of John C. Calhoun. His superior powers of intellect, great experience, and real liberality in many respects, gave ground for good hope that, as Secretary of State to John Tyler, he would prove that he had a noble soul by some honest and able stroke of statesmanship—add Texas to the Union, but not as a slave mart, nor by insulting Mexico—and exhibit a feeling in favor of the oppressed classes of society, whether white or black. Mr. Calhoun had but one end and aim in accepting a seat in the cabinet—the defence of the negro-slave, and increasing to the greatest possible extent the market for those who raise slaves for sale, as we northerners raise black cattle. Nullification in 1832 might plead as a defence in excessive taxation or an unequal tariff, but Calhoun's statesmanship, in 1844, exhibited a far worse sort of nullification, the might of the executive of the Union stretched to its very utmost to strengthen and consolidate the combined slave owners of the south, a more potent and omnipotent element of strength, the great ruling power on this continent, who the bread of trading and working of human beings, as if they were property, chattels, horses, asses, mules or oxen, beasts of burthen. When I read Calhoun's letter to Kinnaird Paul, where he tells him that the British people had paid a hundred millions of dollars to compensate slave owners in the West Indies for freeing their slaves—paid other fifty millions to secure the product of free labor—paid another hundred millions towards the improvement of the detestable system of kidnapping and selling heathen Africans to Christian *negroes*, and that their capitol, vested in tropical possessions, was at the brink of ruin, through these stupendous excursions towards bringing about that millenium of justice and universal kindness foretold in the Bible—when I saw him sit down to calculate the gains of his system of coercion, and try to excite ill feelings towards England in the minds of the French, to pro-

civilisation, and expose themselves to relapses into a semi-barbarous state, under the impulse of wild imagination, and for the name of great possessions. Perhaps there is no people on earth, on whom the ties of local attachment sit so loosely. Even the wandering tribes of Scythia are bound to one spot, the

phcey that unforgiving hate and deadly revenge would be the inevitable result of a system of kindness and compassion towards those whom, during eighteen centuries, white men have treated cruelly, and talk of cheap staples gained by flogging work out of God's creatures, I reluctantly gave him up, as I had given up Van Buren, with whom he may yet again, as he has twice already, coalesce. In his letter to Wilson Shannon, his envoy-EXTRAORDINARY, as he surely was, he first gives as a reason for annexing Texas, that Mexico was not trying to recover it—and next, that it would be altogether *mal apropos*, and quite offensive to this Union, were Mexico to try to recover Texas while annexation was pending! Calhoun was the first who made me ashamed of the part I had taken in Canada. I had endeavored, as it seemed, to place Canada in the hands of the slaveholder, in order that no place of refuge might remain in the land of Jefferson and Franklin, for an oppressed race, on this side the grave—and this, too, while catholic MEXICO and protestant Britain—the methodist, baptist, episcopalian, quaker, Roman catholic, independent and presbyterian of England and Ireland were cheerfully submitting to enormous taxation and great privations to raise the African in the scale of civilisation!

The Ex-Governor of free Ohio, His Excellency Wilson Shannon, to wit, cut a most deplorable figure in Mexico. Senor Rejon, the Mexican minister, told him, Oct. 31, 1844, that “in the declaration and act of independence of Texas, those who figured as the leaders were almost all from the United States, as were also the general and others who composed the army that fought under the standard of Texas in the battle of San Jacinto; and in many parts of the United States meetings were held publicly to provide, and they did actually provide, men, arms, ammunition, and other warlike stores. It has since clearly appeared that the point aimed at was to separate that rich and extensive territory from the power of its legitimate sovereign in order to annex it to the United States; a measure of policy which, as it is expressly said in the note of his Excellency Mr. Shannon, ‘HAS BEEN LONG CHERISHED, AND BELIEVED INDISPENSABLE FOR THE SAFETY AND WELFARE OF THE UNITED STATES, AND WHICH, FOR THESE REASONS, HAS BEEN INVARIABLY PURSUED BY ALL PARTIES OF THAT REPUBLIC, AND BY ALL ADMINISTRATIONS FOR THE LAST TWENTY YEARS.’”

What a confession! Does it not show, asked Rejon, “that the declaration of independence by Texas, and the demand of its annexation to the United States, are the work of the government of the citizens of the latter, being interested in making this acquisition, which they have considered, for the last twenty years, indispensable for the safety and welfare of their republic?” “The citizens of the United States who proclaimed the annexation of Texas, with the exception, perhaps, of the first colonists, went there, not to remain subject to the Mexican Republic, but to annex it to their country; strengthening, by these means, the peculiar institutions of the southern states, and opening a new field for the execrable system of negro slavery.” “If [the U. S.] aspires to find more land to stain with the slavery of an unlucky branch of the human family, [Mexico] strives, by preserving what is its own, to diminish the ailment which the former desires for so detestable a traffic.”

I am no abolitionist—that is, I would not compel, or attempt to coerce states or nations who encourage domestic slavery, to change their policy—though I might reason with them if permitted—but I cannot forego the pleasure of condemning the avarice which seeks Texas as a monopoly market for the slaves her planters breed for traffic. Benjamin Lundy tells us, that “In the Virginia Convention of 1829, Judge Upshur, of the Superior Court, observed, in a speech of considerable length, that if Texas should be obtained, which he strongly desired, it would raise the price of slaves, and be a great advantage to the slaveholders in that state. Mr. Gholson also stated, in the Virginia Assembly, in the year 1832, that the price of slaves fell twenty-five per cent. within two hours after the news was received of the non-imposition act which was passed by the legislature of Louisiana. Yet he believed the acquisition of Texas would raise their price fifty per cent. at least.”

Calhoun is frank—he has nothing of the fox or weasel in him, as he said of Van Buren once, and might have added of Butler also. I like him for that. Instead of taking Murphy, our Texan diplomatist's hint, not to “offend our fanatical brethren of the north—talk about civil, political, and religious liberty, say nothing about abolition—this will be found the safest issue to go before the world with”—instead of cant and hypocrisy he plainly tells Pakenham, the English envoy, in his capacity of secretary for the republic, April 18, 1844, that “THAT WHICH IS CALLED SLAVERY IS IN REALITY A POLITICAL INSTITUTION ESSENTIAL TO THE PEACE, SAFETY AND PROSPERITY OF THOSE STATES IN WHICH IT EXISTS.” In other words, Texas is annexed, in order that the bondage of the African race may be made perpetual. Can this be the language, this the policy, this the judgment of the first free government in the world? If not, wherein do

graves of their fathers ; but the homes and graves of our fathers detain us feebly. The known and familiar is often abandoned for the distant and untrodden ; and sometimes the untrodden is not the less eagerly desired because belonging to others. We owe this spirit, in a measure, to our descent from men, who left the old world for the new, the seats of ancient cultivation for a wilderness, and who advanced by driving before them the old occupants of the soil. To this spirit we have sacrificed justice and humanity, and through its ascendancy, the records of this young nation are stained with atrocities, at which communities grown grey in corruption might blush."

## CHAPTER XVII.

Farewell to the land where in childhood I wandered,  
In vain is she mighty, in vain is she brave ;  
Unblest is the blood that for tyrants is squandered,  
And fame has no wreath for the brow of the slave.

*A thorn in the foot.*—Van Buren and Crawford opposed to naturalized citizens.—Governor Marcy.—The Bambers.—W. H. Crawford.—Coleman.—Dr. Cooper on the Injustice of the Native Principle.—Polk.—Langtree and O'Sullivan.—John Knox.—Who united Church and State?—Rufus King.—On Indian Marriages.—Mr Lane on Van Buren.—Van Buren on Jackson.—Van Buren in U. S. Senate.

COURTEOUS reader, had you ever a thorn in your foot? A thorn in the foot affords an excellent illustration of the pain and trouble which a very small foreign substance may give when in a hostile position in the human system. Is it the part of wisdom for any party in the Union to enrol among its principles the political proscription of foreigners? In a commercial country there always

Polk and Walker differ from Upshur and Calhoun? "There shall be a firm, inviolable and universal peace, and a true and sincere friendship between the United States of America and the United Mexican States." Peace, truth, friendship and sincerity are not now so well understood at Washington as it is hoped they will be hereafter.

"Why cannot we rise to noble conceptions of our destiny?" asks Channing of Clay. "Why do we not feel that our work as a nation is, to carry freedom, religion, science, and a nobler form of human nature over this continent; and why do we not remember, that to diffuse these blessings we must first cherish them in our own borders; and that whatever deeply and permanently corrupts us will make our spreading influence a curse, not a blessing, to this new world? Public life appeals to the noblest, as well as basest principles of human nature. It holds up for pursuit enduring fame, as well as the notoriety of the passing hour. By giving opportunities of acting on the vast and permanent interests of a nation, it often creates a deep sense of responsibility, and a generous self-oblivion. I have too much faith in human nature to distrust the influence of great truths and high motives on any class of men, especially on men of commanding intelligence. There is a congeniality between vast powers of thought and dignity of purpose. None are so capable of sacrificing themselves as those who have met to sacrifice, who, in offering themselves, make the greatest offerings to humanity. With this conviction, I am not discouraged by the anticipated smiles and scoffs of those, who will think that in insisting on national purity as the essential condition of freedom and greatness, I have preached to the wind. To you, Sir, a title is not an empty name, nor will a measure, fraught with lasting corruption and shame to your country, seem to you anything but a fearful calamity."

How often have I read this letter, and applied it to Calhoun, in the sense that its excellent author applied it to Clay! I am ashamed to say that I overrated, not the clearness of his intellect, but the character of his ambition. Surely the man, who would control the republic, now and for ever, through the votes of African ignorance, represented by Anglo-Saxon cupidity on the floor of Congress—who would place the intelligent "freemen of the north at the mercy of the Spaniards of Mexico, the mongrels of South America," (or something worse,) by progressive annexation and slave-breeding, will not fill a page of history as a wise statesman!



will be vast numbers of foreigners, so also in a country where labor is high and land cheap. It is but as it were yesterday since foreigners were among the bravest and truest in two wars; here they are; here they will be; whether for strength or for weakness; as a shield to protect or as a thorn to goad and inflame; peaceful and contented as your brothers; intelligent, discontented, maddened, as your gibeonites, helots, slaves. I have no desire to see the flag of the Union torn in two, with the stars to natives born, and the stripes to the victim of persecution who has fled to your classic shores, to take refuge near the field of Lexington or base of Bunker Hill. Such a policy would weaken us within and without; foreign nations would read our declaration in days of old when their aid was grateful, and despise the intolerance and hypocrisy, the greediness of place and power which had, in three score years, falsified the noble record. Hundreds of thousands of men, able to read, reason, and reflect, would not be anxious to fight for a land where insult was their only portion, where they had only the bondsman's place to struggle for, and the exclusive privileges of a master class to secure to those who would fill every office, administer government for themselves, and treat us as Polk does his negroes. Are these states not weak enough already, with three millions of enslaved men and women, having such infuriated feelings as Calhoun describes, the result of ages of oppression? Would the wanton degradation of half a million or a million of men like me, could it be effected, strengthen those defences, to secure which some eighteen or twenty millions of dollars are yearly expended in time of peace?

In order that we may the more clearly understand the characters of Van Buren, Marcy,\* Flagg, Wright, Bowne, Noah, Coleman, Earll, Keyes, Butler,

\* W. L. Marcy, in February, 1838, handed over the brothers Bamber, farmers from the north of Ireland, and citizens, nine or ten years resident here, for trial on a political charge of murder, to Buchanan the English Consul. This he did in the teeth of the law. Judge Brady, speaking of the Bambers, mentions that they were Presbyterians—old Mr. B. a United Irishman—and adds: "I waited on the Governor—produced papers which, if properly considered, should obliterate every feature of the offence for which they were doomed to be sacrificed, if delivered to the ready executioners of a corrupt Government. The Executive [Marcy], stern and inexorable, refused to grant their freedom." When the Senate of Hamburg, a corrupt and cringing body, gave up Blackwell and Tandy to the British, they excused themselves to Napoleon as being weak. His reply was this—"Courage and virtue are the preservers of states—cowardice and crime are their ruin. You have violated the laws of hospitality—a thing which never happened among the most savage hordes of the desert. Your fellow-citizens will forever reproach you with it. The two unfortunate men die with glory—but their blood will bring more evil upon their persecutors than it would be in the power of an army to do. If weak, had you not the resource of weak States? *Could you not have let them escape?*"

Governor Marcy was formerly editor and proprietor of the *Troy Budget*. It was afterwards published for the party by John W. Kemble, whom the leaders at Albany ordered to be run for state senator, and afterwards used him as their tool. Kemble joined Bishop, another gambling senator, and Edmonds, the Van Buren leader in the senate, in certain stockjobbing transactions; and Kemble and Bishop united with Barstow, a bank cashier, in secretly using the funds of his bank "to ripen a combination" by which the stocks of certain railroads would yield an unlawful profit. Their plot miscarried—Young moved to expel Bishop and Kemble from the Senate—Kemble resigned—and Charles L. Livingston, whose epistles to Hoyt speak for themselves in this volume, voted that Bishop was "guilty of moral and official misconduct," but refused to send him back to his constituents for their opinion on that conduct. Young and Van Schaick then very properly resigned, and left the Senate. Kemble's language in the *Troy Budget* of 1834, shows that he held the same opinions as Van Buren and Marcy.

[*From the Troy Budget.*]"To be frank, I shall be heartily glad when the election is over. To have the dirty whisky-swilling Irish thrusting themselves every hour between the 'wind and my nobility,' slobbering over me in every corner of our city, is more than I can endure, or my stomach bear, without the aid of disinfecting agents. If our case is to rest upon these vermin for success, much as I desire it, I shall rejoice to witness its overthrow."

When the people threw Marcy off, Polk and Van Buren took him up. The former saved him from ruin in 1845, and the latter in 1829. Bancroft's dislike to the Catholics was one of his chief recommendations to Polk's favor.



"Suppose [continues Cooper] Mr. Crawford were to say as General Dearborn once said to a citizen born abroad, but who has established two of the largest and most successful manufactories in our country: 'But, sir (says the General), you are not an American born.' 'Well, sir (replied my friend), and what then? 'How came I here?' 'At an age when I was able to choose my country, on mature consideration and reflection, I came here deliberately from choice. I became a citizen upon your own terms and proposals—according to your constitution and laws, which gave me equal rights with yourself. I brought wealth, knowledge, and industry with me. I have embarked all my fortune in your country; I have deliberately risked my happiness, and that of my wife and children, upon the same chance with yourself. I have renounced former connections to become one of you. I have made sacrifices to come here. I am rooted and Americanized here, and so is my family. We reflected and consulted on the subject, and, renouncing every other, have chosen this as our country. How came YOU here? Not by choice, but by chance; without your own knowledge, exertion, or consent, you found yourself here, because your parents chose to place you here. Your first appearance in America was as a weak, helpless, squalling, puling, dirty, naked infant, requiring the assistance of others to keep you alive; dependent upon the care of others for twenty years of your existence. You were born and staying in America, because you could not help it, you have remained here because you knew no better, without choice, notion, or reflection. And do you compare yourself, as an American, to me?' I would not like, as a *Yankee*, to acknowledge the whole of this reasoning, but there is something in it. I would take the liberty, sir, I dared take a liberty with so great a man, of asking Mr. Crawford, whether General Montgomery, General Gates, General Lafayette, Baron Steuben, Baron De Kalb, General Kosciusko, General Pulaski, General Hamilton, General St. Clair, General Lee, and General Stewart were not foreigners? Whether the officers and soldiers of the Pennsylvania line were not foreigners? Whether our financiers, Robert Morris and Alexander Hamilton, were not foreigners? Had our country any need to repent receiving, with open arms, these recipients of the old world? Does it become a man of yesterday, a man whose most distinguished act has been the famous report now under consideration, who is hardly known, but by the bigotry of his sentiments, and the imprudence of his conduct; does it become such a man, who amuses himself like an idiot boy in the woods, with pulling down a wasp's nest about his ears; does it become such a man to stigmatize, indirectly, these warriors and sages of the revolution? Is there one gleam of common sense in Mr. Crawford's warm insult of his colleagues in office, Mr. Dallas and Mr. Gallatin; and of you, sir, who appointed these well-informed and able men? Show me the foreigner who ever came to America, who has been or could have been guilty of such a needless, wanton, mischievous, mischief-making sarcasm upon the whole American people, their ancestors, their constitutions, their laws and usages, such as is implied substantially in this bravura finale of Mr. Crawford's Indian report?"

I have experienced much kindness from the American people, and am satisfied that, but for the malevolence of some of their rascally politicians, aided by lazy preachers,\* who have less of christianity in them than of jealousy of other more

showed his hand too early for a successful game. Van Buren and his confederates showed very little sagacity when they followed for eight long years the fortunes of Judge Crawford.

"It is a dirty bird that defouls its own nest," says Cooper. At this time (1816) a majority of the whole people of the U. S. consist of natives of Great Britain and Ireland, or the descendants of such. But 9-10ths of the parents of the American people, in 1816, were natives of the British dominions. Did not Crawford calumniate more than half the American people (of that day), and more than 9-10ths of their immediate ancestors? Add also the German, Swedish, and French parts of the population. Did not England well receive and encourage West, Copley, Count Rumford, Count Bowman, Dr. Solander, Mr. Planta, M. de Mazellan and the Abbe Cora? Have we five persons to the square mile? Has not England 200? Do we not want home manufactures? Wherever a skill in the arts, sciences and manufactures and improvements, in every profession, be found (out of America), more than in England, France and Germany? Do we not owe much to our immigration laws, encouraging men of skill to come here? Crawford had advised Americans to marry Indian savages in preference to the daughters of Scotsmen, Germans, English or Irishmen. He would have Yankee girls called Mrs. S. Bell, Mrs. Great Buffalo, Mrs. Little Turtle, Mrs. Mad-dog, Mrs. Tecumseth, &c., by way of increasing "our happiness on our frontiers."

"Mr. Secretary Crawford's disgraceful imbecility as ambassador abroad, appears to have made him secretary of war at home; for excepting his gross, his manifest want of talent and acquirement, his pompous egotism, his egregious vanity, his despotic measures while minister, his secret but not inefficient enmity to, and of Mr. Madison) and Mr. Monroe, and to the wishes of the republican party, joined to his double ended conduct on the late nomination of a future president to succeed yourself—*what qualification has this man?* Is there one person in the country in the least conversant with the characters and conduct of American politicians, who does not know that every American in Paris, was put to the perpetual blush from the ignorance and insignificance of Mr. Crawford as ambassador there! You could not have kept him there; and yet this man comes home, to undermine, and if he dare, oppose the republican candidate, [Monroe,] and to be made secretary of war! Thomas Jefferson would not have done this."

\* Though an admirer of the bold and dauntless Scottish reformer, Knox, I am not prejudiced against other sects. McCrie got more praise for his life of that eminent man than his work merited. It is a fact that Knox proposed, in Scotland, more than 250 years ago, in his second Blast, the maintenance of principles not a whit behind the glorious declaration of independence, in 1776. Moreover, he was, like me, many years a banished man, or outlaw from his native Scotland. There I can sympathize with him. Even England was shut against him by Queen Elizabeth on account of his first Blast. Dr. Johnson, the reviler of the American Revolution, calls Knox "the ruffian of the Reformation," but he never sanctioned that union of church and State which made a king or queen the spiritual head of both. "We find [says Dr. C. Pise] that no Catholic government ever united the King and the Church, making the King head of both Church and State. No. This was the effect of the liberty, as it is so termed, of the Reformation; for we find that after that event, Prussia, Sweden, Denmark, Holland, and England established this connection, and made the temporal sovereign at the same time their spiritual ruler; the King in these countries, or the Queen as it may be, being the head of government both temporal and spiritual. Rome has opened her gates even to the Jews. Rome has given protection to the unfortunate captives of Judea." When Van Buren

active priesthoods, the ill-will expressed towards our brethren from Canada, Europe, &c., would be unknown. Well might Greeley say, in his whig almanac for 1845, "Native Americanism struck us a hard blow." \* \* \* Mr. Polk, on this single question gained more than enough votes in the state of N. Y. to elect him." Nativeism killed off John Adams's administration, and assisted in undermining that bold, intelligent, and powerful party, the federalists; it turned the scale against Crawford in 1816 and \* 1824; a professed hatred of it, which, it is evident he did not feel, as I have shown in another place, secured to Polk an honor of which I think he has proved himself, thus far, not the most worthy.

was President, the Roman Catholic paper of N. Y., *The Truth Teller*, by William Denman, thus censured his intolerance. "What do we find during the Presidential contest? It was deemed by some person in one of the Western States, important to inquire whether Mr. Van Buren was a Catholic or not, and to this inquiry a reply was given *that he was in the habit of visiting several churches, but that he HAD NEVER YET ENTERED A CATHOLIC CHAPEL*." There was something in the reply well calculated to deeply wound the pride and feelings of those who had been educated in that faith. It seemed as if the Catholic Church had been avoided as a pestilence and a lazar house. The whole of the administration presses published the correspondence with exultation. Not only has the administration avoided taking up the defence of their persecuted friends, but has actually added insult to injury. It placed Mr. Bancroft, the open foe and reviler of Catholics, in office, as if to try how far their endurance would submit. After Gov. Marcy had committed a fatal error, in surrendering the Bannbers, and had made himself obnoxious to adopted citizens—what did the leaders of the party? Did they place another demoral in nomination for his place? No. He was put forth and was to have been crumpled down the throats of the rebellious Irish. Their wishes or dislikes were not to be considered."

Judge Irving (brother of Washington Irving) in his oration before the Tammany Society, May 12, 1840, offered the following philosophical remarks against intolerance.

"No error has been more productive of human misery, than that which in most countries has placed its religions, under the control of its civil institutions. There is no such thing as bending conscience—its texture is not malleable—it cannot be cooled and warmed at pleasure to different degrees of temperature. The most valuable members of a community are those who are in heart zealously attached, and scrupulously obedient, to their religious tenets. Among those are we to look for patient industry, strict frugality, correctness of morals, and regularity of life. Here are we to search for that honesty ingrafted on religion, which teaches the fulfilment of individual contracts, the preservation of order, the reverence of law, and the sacred allegiance due to our country. THE NATION THAT WARS AGAINST ANY MORAL SECT, WHATEVER MAY BE ITS CASE, WARS AGAINST ITS OWN PROSPERITY, AND SAPS THE FOUNDATIONS OF ITS STRENGTH."

\* Rufus King, though a federalist, and no friend to French politics or the Irish revolt, in 1798, was supported by Van Buren oftener than once for the highest offices, because of his dislike to foreigners. Van Buren, Root, and Young were King's leading supporters for the office of Senator to the U. S. in 1820, and he was re-elected, almost unanimously. Clarkson Collins, of N. Y., Cornelius Heney, of Brooklyn, and — Hunter, re-elected, although the same party the year before had chosen to let the state go without a full representation rather than appoint him. Mr. King was the federal senator for the state in 1789. In 1813, he was elected U. S. Senator, 68 to 61 votes for Gen. J. W. Wilkin, republican. This was Van Buren's act, for his party had the majority in senate. In 1816, Rufus King was the federal candidate for President. He supported the war effectually, low tids its close, and was a steady opponent of the extension of slavery in Missouri. Van Buren, when canvassing for King in 1819, thus wrote to a friend:

"I should sorely regret to find any flagging on the subject of Mr. King. We are committed to his support. It is both wise and honest, and we must have no flinching in our course. Mr. King's views towards us are honorable and correct. The Missouri question conceals, so far as he is concerned, no plot, and we shall give it a true direction. You know what the feelings and views of our friends were when I saw you; and you know what we then concluded to do. My 'Considerations,' &c., and the aspect of the Albany Argus, will show you that we have entered on the work in earnest. We cannot, therefore, look back. Let us not, therefore, have any halting. I will put my head on its propriety."

In 1824 Rufus King took a truly republican stand in the Senate, against Crawford and the central caucus *but* — Van Buren and his confederates were offended, and on the 7th of Jan., 1825, Mr. King declined a re-election, for he knew he could not be returned. His sons went with Adams's administration, and soon experienced the most bitter animosity from the Argus.

I have spoken of "Aristides," a pamphlet by W. P. Van Ness, Van Buren's law-teacher, who opposed Clinton, and abhorred foreigners. "Unless they [the immigrants to America from abroad, says Van Ness] are held in proper subordination by the general detestation of Americans, or controlled by law, the people of this country must prepare to surrender their rights, and suffer their opinions to be regulated, not by their own good sense, but by a people desperate and lawless foreigners." He wanted the alien and sedition laws back again, and, like Van Buren and Wright, was a Crawford man in 1824, as was his brother General Van Ness, the banker, Washington.

Another of Van Buren's followers, who was many years in the state senate through his influence, and that of his confederates, James Powers, of Catskill, thus described foreign citizens, in a 4th of July oration, delivered at Hudson:—"What is the evil that has reduced every republic to insignificance and infamy, to complete ruin? The introduction of foreign disorganizers; they who know no difference between a King and a President, between liberty and licentiousness; who are familiar with the guillotine, and insurrections at home and who know of no other fear but that which the gallows inspires."

It is a curious coincidence, that while Crawford was thus undervaluing and despising foreign mechanics, the English courts of law were busily employed, punishing them by fine and imprisonment for endeavoring to emigrate to the U. S. Albert Gallatin, always the advocate of a National Bank, was placed on the ticket with Crawford, as the candidate for Vice President, but his foreign birth seemed to have marred his fortune, insomuch that he had to leave the course before the race was over.\*

In March, 1816, at the close of that war, in which foreign born citizens—from Lawrence, who closed his eyes in death, exclaiming "Don't give up the ship!" to the gallant Capt. Blakely of the Wasp—and the sons of foreigners, from Commodore Charles Stewart to Commodore McDonough—distinguished themselves among the bravest of the brave, and the truest of the true of America's sons, William H. Crawford, being at that time Secretary at War, to which station he was called, after his European tour as Ambassador to Napoleon, gave vent to his hatred of the men of Europe in the following report to President Madison on Indian affairs. From that day forward, Noah, Van Buren, Wright, Butler, Cambreleng, Barker, and the NATIVE faction became his friends, and only deserted him when hope was lost.

"To James Madison, President of the United States:      x      x      x

If the system already devised has not produced all the effects which were expected from it, new experiments ought to be made; when every effort to introduce among them, [the Indian savages,] ideas of exclusive property in things real as well as personal shall fail, let intermarriages between them and the whites be encouraged by the Government. This cannot fail to preserve the race, with the modifications necessary to the enjoyment of civil liberty and social happiness. It is believed, that the principles of humanity in this instance, are in harmonious concert with the true interests of the nation. It will redound more to the national honor to incorporate, by a humane and benevolent policy, the natives of our forests in the great American family of freedom, THAN TO RECEIVE, WITH OPEN ARMS, THE FUGITIVES OF THE OLD WORLD, WHETHER THEIR FLIGHT HAS BEEN THE EFFECT OF THEIR CRIMES OR THEIR VIRTUES. I have the honor to be, &c.,

WILLIAM H. CRAWFORD."

We have shown the impartial reader, on the clearest evidence, that Van Buren, Cambreleng, Noah, Butler, Croswell, Wright and their confederates, trampled on the constitution, and violated the right of instruction, to place in Monroe's seat, in 1824, a man of a narrow, contracted mind, because he was prejudiced against the equal rights of our citizens of foreign birth, and the

\* Blair, of the Washington Globe, copied the following censure of Daniel Webster, when he was Secretary of State, from Bryant's Evening Post: (How sharp they look after us English, Irish, Dutch and Scotch!)

"The appointment of a man named Reynolds, *an alien*, by Mr. Webster, to a place in the department of state has astonished those who knew him in this city. . . . The indecency of this appointment of *an alien*, to a post in the department which has the charge of our foreign relations will surprise those who have not like us, ceased to be surprised at anything done by Mr. Webster."

What could be more edifying than to see these pretended friends of the stranger, almost in hysterics because *one* foreigner had obtained a petty clerkship to copy papers? Langtree and O'Sullivan were partners in trade at Washington. They supplied Congress with a vast amount of stationery, charging double what they themselves paid for many articles, and realizing enormous gains. I can prove it. They were, moreover, proprietors of the *Democratic Review*, which Andrew Jackson, M. Van Buren, the Globe, and the Albany Argus, had publicly recommended, as an organ and exponent of the principles of the party. All parties knew that Langtree was then an alien. When the Review failed in Washington, and Langtree had retired from it, he came to New York and was naturalized at the marine court shortly before his death, when he had completed his probation of five years. Langtree had excellent qualities of head and heart; but why praise him and abuse the other alien?

champion of the U. S. Bank. While Rufus King, in the Convention of 1821, was voting for universal suffrage, without regard to property, such was Van Buren's hatred of the Irish, and old country people generally, that he thwarted King and Young—went for restriction, and declared "that the character of the increased number of votes (in N. Y. city) would be such as would render the elections rather a curse than a blessing; which would drive from the polls all sober-minded people." Clinton was kind to the Irish, and unwearied in his efforts to educate all classes. What has Van Buren done for education? Louis McLane, now U. S. minister at London, told a friend one day, that during all the time he sat with Van Buren in Jackson's cabinet, he never knew him to propose or take much interest in any great measure for the public good, but where anything was to be done by intrigue or party management, he (V. B.) was always the most active.\* On referring to Van Buren's letter to Hoyt, Albany, January, 4, 1829, it will be seen that he would have avoided the appointment of Judge Swanton, one of the United Irishmen of '98, but as the city liked the Judge "he did not see how he could avoid the appointment."†

## CHAPTER XVIII.

*Two Pictures of a Politician.—Van Buren, Flagg, Butler and Marcy, friendly to the U. S. Bank.—They prove its Charter Constitutional.—Crawford and Gallatin's Crowning Merit.—Monroe, Crawford, Madison, and Marshall on the Bank.—The Albany Argus.—Thomas Ritchie and M. M. Noah on Jackson.—Van Buren on a National Bank.—The Albany Petition to Biddle for a Bank, and Who Signed it.*

In the *New York American*, of April, 1840, conducted by Charles King, the son of that same Rufus King, whom Van Buren had aided in 1813 and sup-

\* Van Buren was appointed, by the legislature, a Senator of the United States for N. Y., in February, 1821, and took his seat in the U. S. Senate, beside Rufus King, his colleague, at the opening of the 17th congress, on the 3d of December that year. He remained in the Senate till elected governor of N. Y. in 1824—and afterwards presided four years in it, from March, 1823, until March, 1837, as Vice President of the Republic. In 1821, being then, nearly 40 years old, at residence in Albany, and a Senator Elect at Washington, he was chosen by Oswego county a delegate to the State Convention to amend the Constitution.

In the U. S. Senate, he supported R. M. Johnson's very popular and humane proposition, to abolish imprisonment for debt, and gained public approbation by so doing—Noah and other editors copying his speeches, on this and the electoral law, more especially the latter, by request through Jesse Hoyt, or some other follower. He was for some time chairman of the judiciary committee, but his propositions for improvement, like the appointment of Taney and others did little good. He seems to have been for keeping the members of the Supreme Court on the Circuit, wherein this state he and his party separated the appellate jurisdiction altogether from the circuit and jury business. He very justly termed the power of impeachment, at Washington, "the *score crime* of the Constitution." In 1823 Van Buren opposed Adams's administration when it proposed to send commissioners or agents to the congress at Panama. His arguments, and those of President Polk are not much in accordance with the views of the State as to non-interference in our day. Clinton was a great friend to internal improvements by the national government—Clay, Adams, Calhoun, Van Buren, McDuffie, and other men of the democratic party, had been so—but on the 10th of December, 1825, Van Buren offered resolutions, declaring "that Congress should possess the power to make roads and canals within the respective States." He had just made the discovery, it seems, though his new light did not extend to forbid congress from voting any number of thousands of dollars to make a harbor at Oswego, where he has a valuable property that came easy to him. If Van Buren were aware that the United States could not lawfully make the roads, how is it that I find him voting in the Senate to erect toll on the Cumberland road? Strange indeed, that it is unlawful to make the road itself, and lawful to establish toll thereon, and exact perpetual taxation, after you have made it in defiance of all law! President Monroe kept him tight to practice, for he voted his trumpete till act.

† I might tell a volume with evidence of the heartful hostility to men of foreign birth, which Van Buren and his associates have tried to conceal since the advent of Jackson and demise of Clinton. The following extract from Van Buren's letter to Ganevoost McDuffie, of 12th March, 1834, sounds oddly, when read with some other passages in this work:

"Driven from all fatherland and its oppressions, the family of Gen. Jackson sought refuge in this now happy country, where, after a brief season they were unhappily again subjected to the same evils from which they had vainly hoped to escape. It was soon after their arrival and some years before the commencement of the war which grew out of the oppressive conduct of the mother country, that the future hero and statesman was born. A witness of the stirring scenes of that sanguinary contest, and to some extent a participator in its struggles, he at an early age, like his illustrious co-worker in the great cause of human rights, 'swore eternal enmity to every kind of tyranny over the mind of man.'"

Is not this the very essence of hypocrisy?

ported in 1819, as U. S. Senator for New York, and who, like Solomon Southwick, had had excellent means of ascertaining Van Buren's true character, the following article. The *Albany Argus* copied it on the 7th of that month, and replied by a torrent of abuse against King, for which Crosswell was prosecuted. I laid aside that number of the *Argus*, and resolved to judge of the charges it contained, by reference to facts only.

[From the N. Y. American—copied into the *Albany Argus*, April 7th, 1840.]

"Mr. Van Buren is a party politician merely. He has never been anything else; and to him, personal success, and the success of his party, are the first consideration always. If these happen to coincide with the public welfare, the two will be promoted together: if, on the other hand, they should conflict, as too much they have done, the public welfare would most assuredly be postponed or disregarded. Such has been Mr. Van Buren's past career, and there is nothing in his character or political morality, to authorize an expectation that the future will be actuated by any higher motives.

"We infer therefore, and we ask the attention of the public to this position, that the question of peace or war with Great Britain may, at this moment, mainly turn upon the calculations which Mr. Van Buren and his friends may make, as to the chances of his re-election with or without the aid of a war.

"WE ARE AWARE THAT THIS HYPOTHESIS IMPUTES TO MR. VAN BUREN A TOTAL ABSENCE OF MORAL PRINCIPLE, and presents him in the light of a man so intently bent upon his own success, as to play for it the desperate hazard of war, with all its losses, sufferings, and crime; but, we repeat, the past history of this gentleman justifies the hypothesis. HE HAS NO GENEROUS AMBITION—NO NOBLE DISINTERESTED, SELF-SACRIFICING PATRIOTISM—NO ENTHUSIASM FOR TRUTH AND RIGHT AS SUBSTANTIVE VIRTUES. HE IS A POLITICAL CALCULATOR AND SCHEMER, AND NOTHING MORE.

"It is, therefore, not unjust to him, as we view his character, to insist, that if war with Great Britain shall hold out a probability of sustaining the present administration in power, war may be provoked."

Southwick's opinion of Van Buren, after many years of personal and political intimacy, [p.263,] is essentially the same; and Mr. Bryant, in 1841, placed the following description of an ex-president under the editorial head of the *New York Evening Post*, as a communication:

"Mr. Van Buren HAS LITTLE MORAL FAITH OF ANY KIND; barely enough to need no artificial excitation of body or mind. This deficiency drives him into an artificial code of political practice, in which he refers all social actions to individual interests, and all political actions to combinations of those interests. HE BELIEVES FIRMLY IN THE force of management, or the COOL, CONSIDERATE, ARTFUL APPLICATION OF GENERAL PROPOSITIONS TO THE EXISTING TEMPER AND OPINIONS OF THE MASSES, as far as these can be ascertained, and WITHOUT ANY LEADING REFERENCE TO THEIR PROPRIETY or durability. His generalization of social phenomena never reaches so far as to A MORAL POWER, OR NECESSARY TRUTH in public opinion; but he simply deals with the collective opinions of men, as manifested by the representatives, or otherwise conspicuous individuals from, or among the people, by means of certain easy rules analogous to addition, subtraction, multiplication and division in arithmetic. He belongs wholly to the present time, AND MAY BE SAID TO REPRESENT TRADING OR BUSINESS POLITICS. HE IS THE VERY IMPERSONATION OF PARTY IN ITS STRICTEST FEATURES OF FORMAL DISCIPLINE AND EXCLUSIVE COMBINATION. He is ceremonious, polite, reserved in manner, very small, and extremely neat in person."

The history of Van Buren's connection with the United States Bank, and other institutions dealing in money, will, I think, satisfy every candid, inquiring mind, that he is the artful, unprincipled, political calculator, above described—the captain or chief of a band of hypocritical knaves, who assume the garb of democracy, and the name of patriots, the better and more effectually to deceive, impoverish, and injure the public.

If the reader will turn to page 190. he will find by Van Buren's letter, of

January 31, 1823, that the ALBANY ARGUS, which had been in the hands of his brother-in-law, Cantine, was considered by him as THE stronghold of his party, and that he had in it a pecuniary as well as a political interest. "WITHOUT A PAPER THUS EDITED IN ALBANY, WE MAY HANG OUR HARPS ON THE WILLOWS. WITH IT, THE PARTY CAN SURVIVE A THOUSAND SUCH CONVULSIONS," says Van Buren to his confederate, Jesse Hoyt;\* whom he instructed at the same time, with reference to the qualifications of the new editor to be sought after. Leake, Cantine's partner, was, as Hammond tells us, "in feeble health, and of an extremely nervous temperament; so much so as quite unfitted him for the political arena of Albany;"—but B. F. Butler, Jesse Hoyt, John Duer, and others, persuaded Edwin Croswell, an editor at Catskill, to allow himself to be nominated in the legislature as state printer; and a law passed the senate and assembly, March 31, 1823, appointing Croswell and Leake to that lucrative office, which Croswell has held from that day to this, with the exception of a few brief months of the term when the whigs were in the majority; and this is a proof that Van Buren's war-cry of rotation in office, is, like his other political machinery, false and hypocritical, in mockery and derision of the understanding of his countrymen.

Hammond truly describes Croswell as "cool, cautious, and calculating." Peruse his instructions to Noah, sent through Hoyt, No. 129, page 195, how to help forward Crawford, the *native* candidate, the minority congressional caucus candidate, the United States Bank candidate of 1824. What could be more artful and deceptive? B. F. Butler's epistle, perhaps; written two days before Croswell's, to the same person, and for the same purpose. [No. 51, p. 168.]

We have seen that Butler and his partner, Van Buren, with Campbell, Croswell, Wright, Hoyt, Noah, Livingston, Barker, Lot Clark, Flagg, Marcy, Skinner, Knower, Eaton, Van Ness, Ritchie, Forsyth, Barbour, Holmes of Maine, and Cambreleng, were, in 1824, in the front rank of the supporters of W. H. Crawford for President, in opposition to Jackson. In the fall of that year, just before the general election, a series of sketches, laudatory of Crawford, and advocating his superior claims to the presidency, over Clay, because, in 1811, and at all other times, he had defended the principle of a national bank, on the ground that it was both useful and constitutional, appeared in the *Albany Argus*.

It matters little who wrote the sketches, signed Americanus, and probably penned by B. F. Butler, who helped Croswell in the editorial way, in these times, as Flagg and Dix have done in more recent contests; their importance arises from the facts, that they appeared in the *paper* of Van Buren, his mouth-piece and property, and were deliberately endorsed by his editor, as being the sentiments of Van Buren democracy in 1824. Here is the endorsement by the *Argus*; and the editors of the National Intelligencer (always for the bank) copied it, Oct. 26; gave it their "full concurrence," and in those days announced, that Martin Van Buren was a "veteran republican."

[From the *Albany Argus*, October, 1824.]

"We ask the attention of Republicans to the sixth number of the *Sketches*, not because

\* "One of the cardinal features of a Democracy is rotation in office, and where a man like the Editor of the *Argus*, has for eighteen years, we believe, gleaned the enormous direct income of that appointment, without reference to the indirect advantages of his political position, he must be the beau ideal of meanness and avarice, in attempting to show that he is proscribed in his removal. Besides, the office was originally obtained for him by the doctrine of rotation in office is mere deception. B-sides, the office was originally obtained for him by meanness and trickery. I was nominated by a Democratic Legislature as State Printer, but Van Buren apprehending that I would not answer his objects and intentions, set Jesse Hoyt and other tools at work and defeated me, and brought up Croswell, then editing a paper at Catskill, and he was elected with no other claims than mere subservency to the views of his leader. Croswell's name was afterwards incorporated in the Revised Laws as State Printer, intending to confer the office on him for life."—*M. M. Noah*—*N. Y. Evening Star*, 1839.



it is the last, but because it has intrinsic worth, and, in the present posture of our political affairs, a peculiar interest. In parting with the author, and with his productions, we can only assure him, that IF UNDENIABLE AND COGENT TRUTHS, conveyed in the language of reason and candor, ably and clearly as it has been in this instance, CAN CONFIRM HONEST OPINIONS, or remove honest prejudices, *the satisfaction of having done much in this way is his.*"

I will now give the reader a specimen of the "undeniable and cogent truths" of *Americanus* in the *Albany Argus* of Oct., 1824, which Messrs. Gales and Seaton copied on the 11th of that month; and which are calculated, as Mr. Van Buren's cautious, cool, and calculating mouth-piece tells us, to "confirm HONEST opinions, or remove HONEST prejudices:"

[From the *Albany Argus*, copied into the *National Intelligencer*, Oct. 11, 1824.]

"It is undoubtedly true that a majority of the republican party in the Union were [in 1811], for various reasons, opposed to a renewal of the [United States Bank] Charter; and it is also probable that the opinions of those who voted in its favor were at variance with the sentiments of a majority of the nation. Furthermore, the opposition to the bank was, in a great degree, political, and many firm members of the democratic party deprecated its renewal, either on mere party grounds, or because they viewed it as a measure fraught with pernicious consequences. All this I cheerfully admit, and surely it is all that the most stubborn impartiality demands. On the other hand, IT IS NOT TRUE THAT THE OPPOSITION TO THE BANK BILL WAS EXCLUSIVELY POLITICAL, OR THAT ITS SUPPORT INVOLVED ANY DERELICTION OF REPUBLICAN PRINCIPLES, OR ANY ABANDONMENT OF THE ADMINISTRATION. On the contrary, the subject was connected with many grave questions of constitutional law and political economy, AND, SO FAR AS THE WISHES OF MR. MADISON WERE CONCERNED, THEY WOULD PROBABLY HAVE BEEN BEST ANSWERED BY THE INCORPORATION OF A NEW BANK\* on a judicious basis. And if any further evidence is required of the views of

\* In February, 1791, Mr. Jefferson delivered an elaborate opinion showing that an incorporated Bank of the U. S. was unconstitutional.

Mr. Monroe, in a letter to Silas E. Burrows, dated Jan. 20, 1831, states, that he had found, during the last war, that "until the union is threatened with ruin, no loans can be obtained in emergencies, without a National Bank, otherwise than at a great sacrifice. These considerations (said he) led to a change in my opinion, and induced me to concur with the President in the propriety of instituting such a bank, after the conclusion of the war in 1815. As to the constitutional objection, it formed no serious obstacle. In voting against it in the first instance, I was governed essentially by policy. The construction I gave to the constitution I considered a strict one. In the latter instance it was more liberal, but, according to my judgment, justified by its powers."

In December, 1831, Wm. H. Crawford, Cambreleng, Wright and Van Buren's favorite in 1824, wrote to Chas. J. Ingersol, in these words:—"The opinion which I formed of the Bank of the United States when I was a member of the Senate, was the result of a careful examination of the Constitution of the United States, made without any preconceived opinions. That opinion is recorded in two speeches which I made in the Senate in 1811. Since that time I have had no occasion of reviewing the question. *My opinion remains unaltered.* I was Secretary of the Treasury more than eight years, and during that time I had ample evidence of the great utility of a Bank of the United States, in managing the fiscal concerns of the Union. I am persuaded that no man, whatever his pre-conceived opinion may be, can preside over the treasury a year, without being deeply impressed with the expediency of the United States Bank in conducting the finances of the Union."

Mr. Allen, of Ohio, in the H. of R., Washington, June, 1840, in a discussion on the subtreasury, said: "When I recollect that thirty-two of the thirty-nine framers of the Constitution, at one time or another, officially sustained a National Bank, and that almost one-half of the thirty-nine were in the Congress of '91 that chartered the first Bank; when I recollect that Washington, and Jefferson, and Madison, and Monroe; and last, and least on constitutional points, Andrew Jackson himself, have supported such an institution, and that the Supreme Court, with John Marshall at its head, affirmed its constitutionality; and, too, what may have more influence than all with some gentlemen about me, when I recollect that the charter of the late Bank was passed as a party triumph, I could not doubt, if so disposed, that we have rightfully the power to make a third bank."

In 1831, in a letter to Chas. J. Ingersol, of Pa., President Madison thus states his reasons for signing the U. S. Bank charter, in 1816:

"The act, originally establishing the Bank, had undergone ample discussions in its passage through the several branches of the Government. It had been carried into execution throughout a period of twenty years, with annual legislative recognitions; in one instance, indeed, with a positive ratification of it into a new State, and with the entire acquiescence of all the local authorities, as well as the nation at large: to all of which may be added a decreasing prospect of any change in the public opinion adverse to the constitutionality of such an institution. A veto from the Executive, under these circumstances, with an admission of the expediency and precedents amounting to the requisite evidence of the national judgment and intention."

In 1819, the question of the constitutionality of the Bank of the United States came up for adjudication in

the administration, it will be found in the fact that the Secretary of the Treasury [Albert Gallatin], when applied to by the committee of the Senate for his opinion, expressly stated, that *he deemed a renewal of the bank as essentially necessary to the operations of government.*

"The opposition to the renewal of the bank grew out of various considerations. Many were opposed to the bill [of 1811], *because they were of opinion that Congress did not possess the constitutional power to pass it*; others, because they thought it, for political or other reasons, inexpedient and dangerous; and others, again, on both grounds. *Many republicans supported it [1.] because they deemed such an institution essential to the interests of the country, and the convenience of the government; and [2.] because they had no doubts as to the constitutionality of the measure.* Mr. Crawford was one of the number, perhaps the most prominent of the class. **EXPERIENCE HAS PROVED THE CORRECTNESS OF THE FIRST POSITION; AND THE PEOPLE, through their representatives, HAVE RESPONDED IN FAVOR OF THE OTHER.**

"In addition to these general views, there were others of a special character, which had a bearing on the question. In various parts of the Union, public sentiment was decidedly in favor of the renewal of the charter; this was especially the case in the smaller States, whose interests were supposed, by the advocates of the bank, to be somewhat concerned in the question. Hence, both the republican Senators from Georgia, and many of the republican representatives from other small States, in both Houses, voted for the bill. And it has never been doubted that the vote of Mr. Crawford was in strict accordance with the opinions and wishes of his constituents.

"*It is well known that the experience of the country, during the late war with Great Britain, wrought a change in the feelings of the nation, on several important questions of public policy.* **THE EXPEDIENCY OF A NATIONAL BANK IS AMONG THE NUMBER;** and, whatever opinions may have prevailed in 1811, it will not derogate at this time from the character of Mr. Crawford as a statesman, to have **FORESEEN THE NECESSITY OF PRESERVING THAT ORGAN OF THE GOVERNMENT, AND TO HAVE ANTICIPATED, IN THIS RESPECT, THE JUDGMENT OF THE NATION."**

To this defence of Crawford and the Bank, there is a note added, to say that "Mr. Adams was not a member of congress at the determination of this question [1811]. Had he been there is the highest reason to believe that he would have voted for the renewal of the [U. S. Bank] charter."

As the *Albany Argus* for 1824 is not in the state library, it is probable that in all the discussions of the bank question since 1828, the above strong declaration of Van Buren for the U. S. Bank, has not before been quoted. The *Argus* affirms, that "experience has proved" that a national bank is "essential to the interests of the country and the convenience of the government;" that the people have responded that the bank is constitutional—that the experience of the nation during the late war, (through bank suspensions and bank losses,) had changed the national feeling in favor of the expediency of a national bank—and that Crawford's wisdom had enabled him to foresee, what Clay had not then seen, "the necessity of preserving that organ of the government," in which he

the Supreme Court of the United States, in the case of *McCulloch vs. the State of Maryland*. The cause was elaborately argued, and in the Supreme Court of the U. S. Chief Justice Marshall delivered the judgment of the court, as follows, [4 Wheat. 316.]

"After the most mature deliberation, it is the unanimous and decided opinion of this court that the act to incorporate a Bank of the United States is a Law made in pursuance of the provisions of the Constitution, and is a part of the supreme Law of the Land."

It is said by some that the judges of this court, being sworn to support the constitution, must support it according to the meaning they suppose it to have, without regard to other men's opinions or the decisions of courts. "Has the wisest and most correct judge (says Mr. Madison) ever scrupled to acquiesce in decisions?" "Has the wisest and most correct judge ever scrupled to acquiesce in the majority of his colleagues; and subventions in which he has been overruled by the mature opinions of the majority of his colleagues; and subsequently to conform himself to the law as made by the majority of the court?" Mr. Taney set up his opinion against the law of Congress, successive presidents, and the unanimous decision of the supreme court of the United States. For so doing he was made the chief justice of that court!

had "anticipated the judgment of the nation." The *Argus* not only endorsed Crawford in the fall of 1824, but also the U. S. Bank charter of 1816, and the old U. S. Bank and its renewal in 1811—and Albert Gallatin was glorified for having, on the 30th of January that year, responded to W. H. Crawford's note of the 29th, that he desired to see the bank renewed—that the banking system was firmly fixed—that he had found banks necessary to the collection and safe-keeping of the revenue—that it was self-evident that the public moneys were safer when deposited weekly in the banks, than when allowed (subtreasury fashion) to accumulate in the hands of collectors (as Hoyt and Swartwout have since demonstrated)—that state (deposit or pet) banks would have to be used, if the U. S. Bank was put down, but would be less safe and convenient—that the government could control the U. S. Bank, but not the state banks—and that a system which had been tried, proved, and found to work well and safely for the public, should not be destroyed, and an experiment evidently less advantageous, substituted—that as the stock of the bank was partly owned by foreigners, provisions might be made in the new charter, giving that portion of the capital to new stockholders, and such other modifications as Congress might desire to make—that he believed the bank and its branches to be constitutional—and that as the merchants owed the bank fourteen millions, and ten or twelve more on bonds for duties to the United States, as trade had been unfavorable, and many losses met with abroad, as seven millions would be payable to foreign stockholders, if the bank stopped (whose *cash* would not he idle whether it were peace or war), and as the bank had thirteen millions of its paper afloat, which would not be succeeded by a better currency in the notes of the state banks, he [Gallatin] thought the U. S. Bank by far the best of the only alternatives he knew or had heard of.

All this Van Buren and his confederates believed in, in 1824; and Crawford for President, Gallatin for Vice President, and a national bank and branches, and down with Jackson! was the party cry. How changed in 1828-9! and without even a shadow of reason!!\*

\* Van Buren's official biographer, Holland, tells us that on the 20th of Feb., 1811, the Vice President of the U. S., General George Clinton, sealed the fate of the old U. S. Bank by giving his casting vote against Crawford's bill to renew its charter—and that this vote "was warmly defended and justified by Mr. Van Buren." (p. 85). "Mr. Van Buren ardently and vigorously sustained this bold act of patriotism."

It is very probable that Van Buren was opposed to the U. S. Bank in 1811, for he was at that time a respectful and aspiring follower or supporter of the Clinton family. He was just as strong and vigorous on behalf of the U. S. Bank in 1816, when Madison signed the 2d charter—and in 1824, when Crawford was his favorite candidate for the presidency, because he had been a consistent friend of a national bank. In 1829 he professed a strong antipathy to the Bank—but it was only with the view that his confederates and partisans might divide among them more securely, many millions of public plunder.

In his message of Dec. 5, 1840, Van Buren reasons thus:

"If a National Bank was, AS IS UNDENIABLE, REPUDIATED BY THE FRAMERS OF THE CONSTITUTION as incompatible with the rights of the States and the liberties of the people: if, from the beginning, it has been regarded by large portions of our citizens as coming in direct collision with that great and vital amendment of the constitution, which declares that all powers not conferred by that instrument on the General Government are reserved to the States and to the people; if it has been viewed by them as the first great step in the march of latitudinous construction, which, unchecked, would render that sacred instrument of as little value as an unwritten constitution, dependent as it would alone be, for its meaning, on the interested interpretation of a dominant party, and affording no security to the rights of the minority;—if such is undeniably the case, what rational grounds could have been conceived for anticipating aught but determined opposition to such an institution at the present day?"

In his letter to Sherrod Williams, Aug. 6, 1836, he says:

"The constitution does not give Congress power to erect corporations within the states. This was the main point of Mr. Jefferson's celebrated opinion against the establishment of the first National Bank. It is an objection which nothing short of an amendment to the constitution can remove. We know it to be an historical fact, that the convention refused to confer that power on Congress, and I am opposed to its assumption by it upon any pretence whatever. I hold it to be sufficiently certain that a vast majority of the people of the United States were opposed to the late Bank, and are equally opposed to a new one. They have had fearful proofs by overt acts of the correctness of Mr. Jefferson's opinion, that 'this institution is one of the most deadly hostilities existing against the principles and form of our constitution;' and of the reasonableness of his apprehensions, that 'penetrating by its branches every part of the Union, acting by command, and in phalanx, it might, in a critical moment, upset the government.'"

The democratic party held a state convention in Indiana, some time during the winter of 1842-3, and pronounced, among other questions, to presidential candidates, the query, Are you *for* or *against* a national bank? Van Buren replied from Kinderhook, Feb. 15, 1843, in this way:

"The question of a National Bank is still before the people, and will continue to be so, so long as avarice and

In 1824, Crawford and a national bank were Thomas Ritchie's watchwords; but the moment that he and Van Buren, and Flagg, and Noah, and Croswell, and Marcy, pious Ben. Butler, Knowler, and Wright, and their Swiss comrades, found that Jackson had the most votes, they prepared to worship the rising sun—and the mercenary presses which, in 1824, had assured us that Crawford, the champion of national banks, was the wisest man in the Union, turned round in 1828 to glorify Gen. Jackson, whose great achievement, if elected, would be to slay 'THE MONSTER,' hand over the treasury to the Washington and Warren Safety Fund Bankers, and give us a bank bankruptcy, a specie circular, the public lands gutted by Van Buren, Wright, Butler & Co., as a land company, with a sub-treasury, and Isaac Hill, Stephen Allen, Jesse Hoyt & Co., for our sub-treasurers!\*

ambition see in it the means of gratifying the love of money and the love of power. IT IS ONE OF THE GREAT LEADING MEASURES OF A PARTY WHICH WILL NEVER BE EXTINGUISHED IN THIS COUNTRY. It is essential to the acquisition, as well as to the preservation of its power, and will never be relinquished while there exists a hope of its attainment. I am opposed to the establishment of a National Bank in any form, or under any disguise, both on constitutional grounds and grounds of expediency. THE POWER TO CREATE SUCH AN INSTITUTION HAS NOT BEEN GIVEN TO CONGRESS BY THE CONSTITUTION. NEITHER IS IT NECESSARY TO THE EXERCISE OF ANY OF THE POWERS WHICH ARE GRANTED; and if exercised, would be, as it always has been, highly injurious to the public welfare. I am not one of those who believe that the long cherished project of re-establishing a National Bank is, or ever will be abandoned by that party which always has been, still is, and ever will be the advocate and support of such an institution. It may lie dormant for a season, from a conviction of its being inexpedient to revive it; but he must be blind to all indications of the future, who, seeing that even at the very period when the old bank was infecting the very air we breathed with its corruptions, and when public indignation was most heavily weighing on its long series of delinquencies—at that very moment, a successful effort was made in both houses of Congress to create a similar institution, should nevertheless lull his caution to sleep with the delusive idea that the project will ever be abandoned. Most assuredly nothing but the stern vigilance of the democracy will guard it against an institution which may thus be prostituted to the ruin of individuals, the disgrace of the country, and which, while so limited in its power to do good, is so potent for the perpetration of evil."

In the above declared opinions, Van Buren tells the public, that it "is undeniable" that a national bank was "repudiated by the framers of the constitution"—that "the constitution does not give congress the power to erect corporations within the states . . . the convention refused to confer that power on congress"—that (as Jefferson said), "this institution is one of the most deadly hostility existing against the principles and form of our constitution"—and "that the old bank was infecting the very air we breathed with its corruptions." In 1834 he sent, as a toast, to a 4th of July celebration at Fredericksburgh, "Unqualified and uncompromising opposition to the Bank of the United States—the interest and honor of the people demand it."

\* I am no champion of national banks, composed of private stockholders. If we must have paper, let it be the promises to pay of the nation, and let the nation have the profit of the issues; and if there is not national uprightness enough to manage an uniform currency of national paper, let us have specie. Clay and Webster asked Forsyth, Cambreleng, Wright, Van Buren, and their worthless allies, in 1834, to say what better system they were to build up, if they pulled down the national bank and removed the deposits. The party answer, in Congress, in the Globe, in the Argus, everywhere, was—"We go for the pets, but no sub-treasury." Thus far, Clay and Webster were right—the change was ruinous to commerce, to the public morals, to western settlers, to the widow and the orphan. Clay proposed the extraordinary, and, as I think, too sweeping measure of the Bankrupt Law of 1841; but it was the unprincipled profligacy of Van Buren, Wright, Butler, and their comrades, between 1828 and 1840, that secured the passage and sponging operation of that law. History tells us that originally the republicans stoutly resisted the introduction of paper money by the federalists; but, under Van Buren and his Swiss allies, the democrats have far outstripped their old opponents in spreading corporations over the land—corporations evidently too potent for evil, whatever of good may proceed from them.

Hearken to Van Buren, Flagg, Wright, and Croswell. This is their language to the democrats of 1824:

[From the National Advocate, of May 15, 1824.]

"The General [Jackson] preferring Monroe to Madison, because the former could stand blood and carnage better; his recommendation of military men generally to office; his avowal that he would have bent the laws to suit his purposes, and hanged Cabot, Otis, and Lyman, of the Hartford Convention, probably including their respectable secretary; all exhibits a FEROCIOUS disposition, trammelled by no constitutional or legal barriers; checked by no humane or just considerations. It is out of the question, out of all reason, to think of him even for a moment for president."—M. M. NOAH.

The editor of the *Albany Argus*, May 25th, 1824, thus spoke of General Jackson and his opinions:—"This most artful scheme for the destruction of the republican party [by the election of Jackson]—as secretly as it has been permitted to operate—as smoothly as it has been glossed over—and in as fine phrases as it is now given to the world—is fully understood. Re-

It is a well known fact, that in 1826, M. Van Buren, W. L. Marcy, B. F. Butler, and Charles E. Dudley, all of them residing in Albany, signed a very polite and respectful memorial, (which has been often published to show how utterly unprincipled they are,) asking that a branch bank of the U. S. Bank, might be located in Albany; Van Buren addressed a letter to Nicholas Biddle, warmly recommending the measure; and the Albany Argus, then a national bank paper, urged the claims of the memorialists, and conceded the constitutionality of branch banks. General Jackson, with almost equal consistency, asked that a branch might be located in Florida, when governor there. It is impossible not to see that Van Buren and his cabal must feel the utmost contempt for the intelligence of their countrymen, when they thus mock them with a pretended affection for a constitution which means anything, as by them explained, and can be applied to any and every purpose, however contradictory.\*

*publicans* in this state, whether the friends of Mr. Adams, of Mr. Clay, or of Mr. Crawford, discover the full extent of it—the hopes it is intended to encourage, and the designs it is intended to accomplish. They will be the last to find an apology for it, as they have been the first to condemn it.”

Holland's Life, which I purchased in Steele's store, Albany, ten years ago, and foolishly credited for truth, tells us, page 319, that, “In the election of General Jackson, Mr. Van Buren plainly foresaw that he should witness the triumph of those principles for which he had struggled from his earliest years.” What a mocker and scoffer at honesty, liberty, and the institutions of his native land, this Van Buren must be! Had he chosen the stage, he could have played any part well, but that of an honest man.

[From the Albany Argus, May 18, 1824.]

“The course adopted by Mr. Jackson is FOOD AND RAIMENT TO THE FEDERALISTS and the no-party men. It is pleasant to all who strive for the destruction of the democratic party. They will everywhere applaud it, as they have preached it; and will magnify the author of doctrines which are so well intended for their service.”

[From the Albany Argus, 31st August, 1824.]

“They [Jackson's supporters] profess to be *republicans*, and yet they support a man who is known to have been ALWAYS A FEDERALIST—they profess to be the friends of the people, and yet, in Tennessee, as in New York, they have always resisted the equal and just rights of the people, and the extension of those privileges which are most valuable to them. It is the duty of every republican to expose these contradictions and inconsistencies of conduct and profession; and, as far as possible, counteract the purposes they are intended to answer, namely, THE PROSTRATION OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY, the subversion of the real interests of the people, AND THE ELEVATION OF THE OLD ARISTOCRACY, and the disappointed, uneasy men of all parties.”

\*The following is a true copy of the petition of M. V. Buren and others to Nicholas Biddle and his brother directors, for a slice from the unconstitutional loaf.

“To the Directors of the Bank of the United States: The memorial of the subscribers, in behalf of themselves and their fellow citizens of Albany, respectfully sheweth—That, since the completion of the Northern and Western Canals of this State, such facilities are given to transportation, that the quantities of country produce brought to this market from the interior of this State are increased to an immense amount, and when to this is added the produce which will be brought to this market from the fertile regions of the northwestern parts of Pennsylvania, the State of Ohio, and the Territory of Michigan, some idea may be formed of the amount of business which might be done in this place, was there a sufficient monied capital located here, to give countenance and support to commercial enterprise. The capital of the Banks located here, under state incorporations, is entirely insufficient to afford those facilities to commercial enterprise which the business of the place would warrant, and which the most cautious prudence would justify. The limited capital of our banks forbids the extension of our trade. Merchants of moderate fortune are discouraged from taking up their abode amongst us, from a knowledge that the banking capital of the place is inadequate to the demands which are made upon it for the prosecuting of a sufficiently extensive business to render it profitable; and instances are not wanting of active, intelligent and enterprising merchants removing from this place to the city of New York, to participate in the benefits of an increased banking capital, tho' their business has principally been continued with the interior of this State. The western world is pouring its treasures into the market of Albany, but its citizens are doomed, with tantalized feelings, to behold a rich and profitable trade float past them to the city of New York, solely for the want of a sufficient banking capital located amongst them. Could the produce brought to this place be purchased here, such portion as is not wanted for home consumption might be exported directly from here to a foreign market, (as far as the navigation of the Hudson would permit,) and return cargoes, calculated for the interior of the country, might be imported, without the expense of transshipment at New York, or the profits of the importing merchant there. These considerations have induced the citizens of Albany once more to ask for the establishment of a Branch or office of discount and deposit of the Bank of the United States in this city. It is hoped this application will be favorably received, as the same causes which render it desirable to the citizens of Albany to have a Branch of the United States Bank established here, conclusively show that it would be a

So late as January 3, 1828, the Regency had not matured their grand safety-fund humbug. The Albany Argus of that date "commends to the perusal of all candid men," a letter to Mr. Walsh of the National Gazette, of Dec. 27, 1827, disapproving of "the singular and impolitic proposition of Mr. Barbour to sell the shares owned by government in the U. S. Bank. . . . You will rejoice at the final vote on the motion of Mr. Barbour: . . . there was no apprehension here, at any moment, that the resolution would be adopted; but there was an apprehension that the mere proposition would have an injurious effect upon the public pecuniary concerns of the nation; and there was, therefore, a determination to put the question at rest as soon as possible."

## CHAPTER XIX.

*Richard D. Davis on Van Buren's Policy.—His Ingratitude towards General Pitcher.—Southwick up for Governor.—Van Buren entraps Rochester, and the Argus goes for Clay and Adams.—Van Buren, King, and the Albany Post Office.—Kendall looking ahead.—The Jackson Campaign.—Isaac Hill on J. Q. Adams.*

RICHARD D. DAVIS, of Poughkeepsie, an anti-whig member of the last Congress for Dutchess county, was an early supporter of Jackson and opponent of Crawford, Butler and Van Buren. He was next a warm admirer of Calhoun, and upheld the Telegraph. Calhoun's course on nullification displeased him, and drove him round to Van Buren's camp. In 1840 and 1844, he gave Van Buren a powerful support, for he is energetic and eloquent. I think he is not at present very partial, either to Polk, Texas, or the extension of the area of slavery.

In Van Buren's letters to Hoyt, Nos. 163 and 165, page 207, he tells him that a certain zealous Jackson man could not then be removed without danger, and that Westervelt had saved the Albany Regency at the nominating convention of 1828, by throwing Governor Pitcher overboard, and setting up Throop. A letter of R. D. Davis, addressed to General Jackson, from Poughkeepsie, April 15th, 1831, throws a very clear light on Van Buren's policy. It was first published in the Washington Telegraph. After telling General Jackson that Mr. Van Kleeck, P. M. at Poughkeepsie, was one of those "rascally post-masters" who were for him and Clinton, when Van Buren was the enemy of both, he adds that his removal was threatened because he had not been a Buck-tail. He then describes Van Buren's policy, in these words:

"That policy and that distinction, was to make a difference between those of your friends who had been Clintonians and those who had been the tools and adherents of Mr. Van Buren—to persecute, oppress, and insult the former, and to aggrandize, promote, and favor the latter. As a memorable example of this, I need but mention the prescription of General Pitcher. The Herkimer Convention, which nominated Mr. Van Buren for Governor, and of which I was a member as one of the Delegates from this county, having, BY GREAT PREVIOUS MANAGEMENT, been made to embrace a bare majority of those under the influence of, or who were the personal adherents of Mr. Van Buren, in the fulfillment and furtherance of that

source of profit to the parent institution. Indeed, it is believed that a Branch here would be more profitable in reference to the extent of business done, than several of the branches located in sea port towns. The local situation of Albany renders it an entrepot between the Eastern States and the Western Countries: between the South and the North, and consequently a very extensive currency would be given to the bills issued from a branch here, and the nature of the trade which would be prosecuted here, would in a great measure render the bills of a Branch established in this place the circulating medium of the extensive regions whose produce would be brought to market. Inasmuch, therefore, as the establishment of a Branch here would not only be highly advantageous to this city, but a source of profit to the parent institution, we hope that the directors of the United States Bank will establish an office of discount and deposit at this place.

(Signed)

M. V. BUREN, B. F. BUTLER, W. L. MARCY, and others.

Albany July 10, 1836."

policy refused to nominate General Pitcher for the office of Lieut. Governor, when it was expected and wished by nine-tenths of your friends that he should have been. Gen. Pitcher had never been a Clintonian, but had been a uniform Bucktail; and when, by the demise of Mr. Clinton, the government of the state devolved upon him, his administration was conducted in an equal and impartial manner towards all your friends, and distinguished by a firm and honorable opposition to the policy which it was Mr. Van Buren's intention to enforce. Gen. Pitcher was proscribed and prostrated by the agency, management, and influence of Mr. Van Buren and his personal adherents, for the above reasons, and because it was well known that, in the event then contemplated, and now consummated, of Mr. Van Buren's being called into the cabinet, Gen. Pitcher would have continued to act on the same liberal and honest principles. His great zeal and valued services in your support, his popularity throughout the State, and the certain injury to your cause by the absence of his name from our ticket, had indeed caused the faction of which I am complaining, to conceal their dark designs from the great body of the Republican party until the moment of their execution; but they afforded him no protection against the vengeance of those who hold subserviency to their views as the only merit, and the refusal of it as the only and the inexpiable offence. No other single act was of such signal and lamentable injury to our cause throughout the State as this ingratitude and injustice to Gen. Pitcher. In all the ensuing measures of that election, and in every county of the State that I have heard of, the personal partisans of Mr. Van Buren pursued the same policy, and adhered to it with a pertinacity so preposterous, insolent, and oppressive, that nothing but your own personal popularity and the magnanimous devotion of your real friends saved us from an entire and universal overthrow. In many districts your earliest and constant friends, driven by their just indignation at such abuse, forsook your cause, because it had become identified with that of their inexorable and merciless persecutors. The result was, that from a party literally overwhelming at and immediately after Mr. Clinton's death, we were reduced to a mere minority, and Mr. Van Buren himself only escaped defeat by the accidental and collateral advantage which accrued to him from the anti-masonic excitement at the West; nor, was he now to renew the contest unaided by the implication of your interests in his election, could he avoid being defeated by a large majority." "Van Buren and his adherents are now reaping the reward of all that Clinton did in your behalf; and he and they, who came in at the eleventh hour, and when no man else would employ them, are now lording it in this State over those who bore the heat and burden of the day—and lording it with such an extremity of insolence and oppression, as is only commensurate with the power they have thus fortuitously obtained." "If the memory of Clinton and what he did, cannot preserve his friends from the remorseless and eternal hostility of Mr. Van Buren; if the patronage of the General Government, which we support, is to be used for our destruction and to fulfil the base purposes of Mr. Van Buren's personal and viperous malignity; if these things are to be, they must be, but they shall not be in this county, without at least one man's humble efforts to prevent them."

I have long been of opinion that Solomon Southwick was set up in 1828, as a candidate for governor, to make up for Van Buren's want of popularity and secure his election. The Albany Argus of March 8, 1828, says: "We publish, in another column, Mr. Southwick's acceptance of a nomination for governor, made by his friends, on the 26th ult. at Batavia. Notwithstanding this nomination is sneered at by the Daily Advertiser, and some who are very willing to receive the aid of Mr. Southwick's exertions in their behalf, so long as they are performed in another capacity; yet we know of nothing that debars the friends of any individual from avowing their preference, even if such avowal chance to cross other and conflicting views." In Van Buren's letter to Hoyt, page 205, he rests partly for success on the faith he has that "Southwick's vote will be large." When Southwick had the Albany post-office, Van Buren considered it *safe*, but he raised an awful tempest at Albany and Washington, when Southwick's insolvency led to the nomination of Van Rensselaer.\*

\* Solomon Southwick was successively in office as Clerk of the Legislature and State Printer, and was very popular. He got the Mechanics and Farmers' Bank under his control—acquired great wealth—took the federal and commercial side in the war, in 1812—and although he had abused Colonel Monroe and his friends unmercifully through his press, was appointed Postmaster at Albany, in which capacity I first saw him in February, 1821. Strange to tell, in January, 1822, he was a defaulter and a bankrupt, advertising for the benefit of the State insolvent act, as was, about the same time, another who has much more recently held the same office. Southwick, in those days, was complained of by Gov. Clinton and Judge Spencer—he was the confederate of Van Buren, whose "sufferings was not intolerable" till he heard

Van Buren, Knower, and Marcy nominated Rochester and Pitcher, for Governor and Lieut. Gov., at Herkimer, Oct. 1826—both against Clinton. Noah, as advised from Albany, came out for Clinton and Pitcher, and aided materially to defeat Rochester, as Van Buren wished he should. [See note to page 201.] "Mr. Van Buren defeated the election of Mr. Rochester," says the N. Y. American of Sept. 17, 1827; while *appearing* to support it, he

that President Monroe was about to appoint General Solomon Van Rensselaer, who had been wounded with six balls, one of which is still in his body, and suffered very severely at the battle of Queenston, where General Brock, President of Upper Canada, was killed. Van Buren got Rufus King to assist him in a protest against Van Rensselaer, and a recommendation of Ex-Chancellor Lansing for the vacant office. A meeting was called, Charles E. Dudley, Mayor, in the chair, Benjamin Knower, Secretary, with Chief Justice Savage, John O'Cole, Roger Skinner, and Moses I. Cantine, taking part in it, which resolved, that the conduct of the Postmaster General, Return J. Meigs (who had *forfeited their respect*), was "unjust and arbitrary, disrespectful" to Daniel D. Tompkins and M. Van Buren, "and not less insulting than oppressive to the community"—that Van Rensselaer was "a zealous and unrelenting enemy of the republican party"—and the office given him "one of the most important in the gift of the administration."

To explain these resolves, I may here mention that although Jefferson had laid it down as the rule, that the only questions to be solved in such a case, are, Is he capable? Is he honest? Is he faithful to the Constitution?—although Southwick was hopelessly insolvent, and yet collecting the revenue—and although twenty-two out of the twenty-six Congressmen for this State had recommended to the government to give Van Rensselaer the office, Van Buren wrote the President and the Postmaster General, asking that his (V. R.'s) appointment should be delayed a fortnight, to give time to organize an opposition to it. Col. Monroe would in no way interfere—Mr. Meigs would give no delay—Van Buren and Tompkins then wrote to the postmaster general, to this effect—"that his (Van Rensselaer's) conduct has been that of a gallant man we cheerfully admit," but "that the United States have granted him a liberal pension for life, which was allowed to commence many years back; independent of which he has for a long time held a lucrative office in the State [from which, by the way, Van Buren and his friends had ejected him the moment they had the power]—that Lansing was a firm and inflexible republican," but Van Rensselaer "a warm, active, and indefatigable opponent of THE PARTY." They asked whether the place ought not to be given to Lansing "because he belongs to the republican party;" or if not to him they would name others of THE PARTY—and they assured the postmaster and the president that the party in N. Y. "will regard it as a matter of great importance, that the postoffice at the seat of government should be in the hands of a gentleman of the same political character with themselves"—and that the general government was conferring an office which would give Van Rensselaer "much more political influence and consideration among them, than the one of which they (the party) have deemed fit to deprive him." Mr. Meigs, postmaster general, replied briefly, thus: "I regret that, on a view of the whole subject, I have not been able to accord with your views and opinions." A Kendall or a Niles would have been more pliable and ductile in such hands. The principle on which Van Rensselaer's appointment was made, was bad. He was then a member of congress from Albany—and to take a trusted representative of the people from his post as a public sentinel, and reward him with the post of a deputy-postmaster, is at variance with the spirit of our institutions. *That, however, was not one of Van Buren's objections.*

Another Albany meeting was held on the 25th of January, at which Lieut. Governor Tayler presided. Philip S. Parker remarked: "That Mr. King, a high toned federalist, and cidevant leader of the party, should object to the appointment of Gen. Van Rensselaer, as a deputy postmaster, *because he was a federalist*, is truly remarkable. It is a fact notorious in this city and in this state, that the vice president and Mr. Van Buren were zealous and active supporters, and contributed much to the election of Mr. King to the senate of the United States, notwithstanding he was a *federalist*; and that very many of that party, who, during the late war, used every exertion to thwart the views and operations of the general as well as the government of this state, while General Van Rensselaer was fighting the battles of his country, and spilling his blood in its defence, have been taken by Mr. Van Buren into full confidence, and through his controlling influence over the Council of Appointment of this state, have been appointed to honorable and lucrative offices. That the inconsistency of the vice president was still more glaring."

Col. R. M. Johnson and General Andrew Jackson were very friendly to the appointment of Van Rensselaer, nor would Jackson remove him, although the N. Y. Evening Post declared the office to be a very lucrative sinecure. At length Van Buren turned him out to make way for Flagg, and during the time he held the office, *the N. Y. Post, as respects that sinecure, was very silent,*



That Van Buren was for Adams in 1825 is clear, even from *the Albany Argus*, which, on the 15th of Feb said: "In relation to the choice we have only to repeat what we have declared on former occasions—that between the two prominent candidates, Messrs. JACKSON and ADAMS, a large majority of the republicans and of the electors of this state, gave Mr. ADAMS the preference."

its readers :  
 " We have heard within the few last days various speculations as to the probable formation of the cabinet of the President elect. It seems to be placed beyond a doubt that Mr. CLAY has been offered the office of Secretary of State, and it is the general impression that he will accept it. Messrs. SERGEANT and GALLATIN have been named as Secretaries of the Treasury ; and Gov. LEWIS CASS of the Michigan Territory, as Secretary at War. With a Cabinet *formed of such materials*, whichever of the gentlemen should be selected as the head of the Treasury Department, **THE ADMINISTRATION CAN SCARCELY FAIL TO ATTRACT THE CONFIDENCE OF THE COUNTRY.**"\*

[illegible]

"Our friend Van Buren has at length reconciled nearly all the most important jarring claims and interests. Gen. Andrew Jackson consents to accept of the Presidency of the United States, PLEDGING HIMSELF INVOLUBLY TO SUBSERVE THE PEOPLE OF THE SOUTH, and to resign at the end of four years. John C. Calhoun has been prevailed upon, in conformity to the wishes of some of our most influential friends, to relinquish his claims upon the Vice Presidency. Every effort is to be made to induce De Witt Clinton to accept of the Vice Presidency. Martin Van Buren to serve as Secretary of State under Gen. Jackson, and at the end of four years to be nominated and supported for the Presidency; with a perfect understanding that he will pursue THE SOUTHERN POLICY, in relation to domestic manufactures and internal improvements. If I am not much misinformed, a cabinet is so arranged as to command the greatest possible extent of political influence."

Clinton died—the rival candidates put Calhoun on their tickets—Jackson served eight years. With these exceptions, Ritchie showed what has since come to pass, in May, 1827—and “a political Grimaldine—purring over petty schemes—moning over sinister stratagems—without elevation of mind or dignity of character”—for thus did Clinton portray Van Buren—ruled the Union, to its deep and lasting injury, for twelve years!

Van Buren's Sub-Treasurer General for New England, Governor Isaac Hill, of N. H., was a hot Adams man

## CHAPTER XX.

*Croswell on the Safety Fund Law.—Bank-craft Described by those who understood it.—Desperate Bank Failures.—Who Suffered by them.—Van Buren's Proscription in 1829.—His Efforts to obtain Charters in 1828.—The Argus and Butler Murmur.—Mechanics and Farmers' Bank, Albany.—The Two-Third Rule at Fault.—Clinton's Warnings, 1816 and 1818.—Hammond on N. Y. Banking.—Flagg, Wright and Earll coining Charters.*

MR. EDWIN CROSWELL of the Albany Argus, sent me, in 1834, a pamphlet entitled "Origin, provisions and effect of the Safety Fund Law," with a request that I would notice it. For the first time, I have now given it a careful perusal. It professes to be a reply to Mr. Walsh's Quarterly Review, the Report of the Union Committee, and the strictures in Congress on what is termed a dangerous political deception by Van Buren, under whose short government of New York the fund and its commissioners were recommended. The pamphlet may be fairly assumed to be Van Buren's defence. It appeared, with high commendations in his press, the Argus, and was approvingly referred to by the presses controlled by bank democrats throughout the state.\*

in 1820. That year, Aug. 8, he said in his Patriot, "No man unites more of the qualities of the honest, upright, and able statesman, than John Quincy Adams. Mr. Adams' talents are fitted solely to rule in a republic, because *republican* government can only be sustained by integrity and plain dealing." In 1824, Hill went for Crawford, his nativism, and the minority caucus—but, said he, May, 1821, "Should he (Crawford) not be elected, we can trust our executive department in the hands of Adams or Clay. I wish I could say the same of General Jackson. \* \* \* \* \* We do not like to be hanged without rhyme or reason." By 1827 or '28, Isaac had veered round to Jackson, and in due time Jackson was 'the democracy,' and Clay and Adams about as bad men as Isaac knew of anywhere. Oh, what fat contracts Isaac got when he turned!

\* THE DEFENCE OF THE SAFETY FUND LAW, so called, to which Mr. Croswell had thus requested my attention, mentions, that prior to Van Buren's short administration, in 1829, there had been desperate bank failures—that the banks had paid in only part of their capital at starting, and that the directors gave "little or no further guaranty for the faithful execution of their trust than the obligation to pay their debts in specie"—that in some cases payments on shares had been made in specie, the money withdrawn again, and notes of hand substituted, with no other security than the unpaid shares held by the party—the fraudulent banks had thus gone into operation, and when failure followed, the capital was found to consist of the worthless notes of worthless individuals—that the *exclusive* legislative power to act as bankers, issue paper as money, &c., conferred by law on such banks, had induced honest people to take their notes for property and labor, and deposit money with their rascally managers, who generally placed their plunder, thus acquired, beyond the reach of the creditors of the institutions.

If reference be made to my account of the Hudson Bank, the old Buffalo Bank, the Washington and Warren Bank, the Bank at Plattburgh, and similar institutions, in this volume; and to Prosper M. Wetmore and P. W. Spicer's United States Lombard Co., the Morris Canal Bank, Tradesmen's Bank, Fulton Bank, the Life and Fire Co., Chemical Bank, and other kindred concerns, noticed in my Lives of Hoyt and Butler; as also to the reported bank fraud trials of 1826, of which Noah and Webb appear to retain a recollection, when speaking of President Polk's Navy Agent, Prosper M. Wetmore [pages 221 and 225], the reader will see that the public had been so cheated by Van Buren and his adherents, their exclusive legislation, rotten charters, and dishonest bank agents, that the cry was loud and universal for an efficient check upon such accumulated wrongs.

So far were Van Buren, Wright, Butler, Flagg, Croswell, and the party in power, from desiring to check charter granting (a disgrace and a scandal as they ever have been to the honored cause of popular government), that they did their very best in the session of 1828 (only 9 months before), to pass through the legislature of the state, without any new check or reform whatever, a variety of renewals of bank charters—and when Butler was defeated by the reluctance of two-thirds of the members any longer to countenance the odious system, Van Buren came out through his Argus, and vilified the two-thirds clause in the constitution of 1821. When it became apparent that some concession must be made to public sentiment, the mock-guaranty of the Safety Fund Bubble was introduced by Van Buren, as a scheme invented by Joshua Furman, an old federalist of Oneida. It pretended to make the banks enter into a sort of mutual insurance—the commissioner clause enabled the executive to pry into the concerns of

When we look back upon the dishonest bank legislation of Van Buren, Butler, Wright, Barker, Throop, Marcy, and their friends, previous to 1829, and compare it with this party account; and then look forward to 1837, and so up to 1841, at Van Buren, Cambreleng, Bowne, Butler & Co., denouncing as vile and infamous the fabric artfully reared in 1829, we are compelled to admit that the chief actors in the continued knavery of the last twenty years, must feel a degree of contempt for the people they have so successfully deceived, beyond anything to be met with on the records of monarchy, from the days of John Law to those of Cornelius W. Lawrence, C. C. Cambreleng, and Benjamin F. Butler.

The pamphlet, or rather Van Buren, Wright, Crosswell, &c., went on truly to state, that when a stockjobber (like Hoyt or Cambreleng) had got hold of a quantity of shares of one of these moonshine banks, and aided in rifling it, he could "hypothecate" his shares, raise cash on them, join a company of adventurers like himself, purchase as many of the shares of a sound, well managed bank as would secure the control of it, by the election of Butlerizing directors, and then push as many of the notes of the bank out among the people as possible, get as many deposits as they could, issue the post notes, or promises to pay at a distant time, of the bank, for money or property, sell out their shares at an

any bank—and it lulled the people into a false security, out of which the stockjobber and political stage manager reaped an abundant harvest of ill-gotten wealth. It was because not one charter could be got in 1826, 1827, and 1828, in consequence of the two-third rule, that the sleek party leader opened his budget in 1829, with the palæstra of a safety fund.

In 1831, Van Buren and his followers pretended that the Safety Fund Law of 1829 was intended as a protection to the people. Before believing that tale, be pleased to listen to Mr. Martin Van Buren, on a rather side of the question. I quote the Albany Argus of April 8, 1828:

"We had supposed that the question as to the expediency of a renewal of the solvent existing charters was conceded. Whether this be so or not, it appears to be urged by strong considerations of justice to the institutions and security to the public. It is conceded that Banks, with due limitations as to their number, have become so identified with our currency, and our business transactions, as to be indispensable. And the question now is, whether it is safer to recharter old and solvent Banks, which have passed through the first period of their incorporation advantageously to themselves and to the public, and which are known and confided in, or to break up the old foundations, and on their ruins build a SCORE OR TWO OF NEW BANKS, untried, unknown, possibly in irresponsible hands, and questionable as to their solvency or the character they may sustain! To this question there is an easy answer: and the only difference of opinion probably is as to the time and manner of the renewal. As to the time, what period more favorable than the present! It will not betray a hazardous or unnecessary haste, *whilst it will avoid the evils of a war approach to the expiration of the charters.* \* \* \* \* \* So fully convinced was the legislature of Massachusetts of the importance to the public interests and the stability of the institutions, that it volunteered to renew, and did renew the charters of the Banks in that state, SIX OR SEVEN YEARS before the limit of incorporation had expired. Delay, indeed, may serve the interests of the lobby, but can scarcely promote the interests of the community. \* \* \* \* \* We have no interest in the renewal of any charter, beyond what every citizen has," &c.

The Mechanics and Farmers' Bank at Albany, to whose manager, T. W. Gleason, Butler's letters and the Safety Fund gave additional notoriety, was incorporated in 1814, the moment the old U. S. Bank charter was vetoed by the casting vote of Gov. Clinton. At these times, bank dividends were often 9 to 18 per cent., and the premiums on *priviledged* stock 20 to 35 per cent. This bank was obtained on the plausible pretext of benefiting farmers and mechanics, and the president and a majority of the directors were required to be mechanics. Solomon Southwick was the first president, and Gorham A. Worth, the cashier. Worth's poetry is noticed by Butler (page 165), and Jacob Barker speaks of him as a friend (page 192). He is now, I believe, the cashier of a bank in this city. In due time the M. and F. fell into Regerney hands, and Marcy's father-in-law, Benj. Knower, became its president. When Knower stopped payment, in 1831, Van Buren's successor in the U. S. Senate, C. E. Dudley, succeeded him. This Bank has been always identified with Van Buren's interests, and his son John was a director and the bank attorney for it in 1836 or 1837.

In Assembly, March 19, 1828 (says the Argus), Mr. Butler called for the third reading of the bill to renew the Mechanics and Farmers' Bank in the city of Albany. Mr. A. Mann, Jr., desired to add a clause affecting the liability of stockholders, but was not permitted. To pass

advance, perhaps, on their original purchase money, and having exchanged the *credit* of the bank for substantial wealth in every shape, borrowed out its capital, and all the wealth that could be raised on its credit, retire from the wreck, and allow it to blow up and engulf the worthy and the good, the unsuspecting and unwary. Reports to the legislature were found to be deceptive, millions were plundered from the community, and in some cases the plan was to divide the funds of the bank among the (few) stockholders, as pretended profits, when in fact there were none to divide. This enabled them to sell their worthless shares for a goodly sum, as of a flourishing concern, well conducted. All was fraud; but so linked in with the system was the administration of justice—(there were Marcys, John Van Burens, Hoyts, W. W. Van Nesses, &c., in those days)—that if any rascal was prosecuted, he could afford, from his plunder, thousands of dollars for defence; and what with getting clear through flaws, through new trials, through appeals, through a brother knave on the jury, whose conscience could not convict, the law was inoperative, as respects 99 in 100. Cases, says the official pamphlet, “of each of the classes above mentioned, had actually occurred, exhibiting scenes of fraud and corruption, the details of which were spread before the community through the reports of our criminal courts, WHICH FOR A LONG TIME WERE CROWDED WITH CAUSES OF

the bill, 67 members voted, Butler, Cargill of N. Y., Michael Hoffman, Savage, Verplanck, &c.; against it there were 37 votes, General Porter, Spencer, Fillmore, &c. Not two-thirds—lost.

On the 8th of April the Assembly was in committee on renewing old bank charters and granting new ones. It was proposed to make the stockholders of banks individually responsible to double the amount of their shares, but Butler, Cargill, Dayton, Faulkner, and Hoffman, opposed the clause. Butler said he would take the new charters thus burdened, as a lesser evil than no renewals, but would vote down individual responsibility if he could. On the 16th, it was voted down, by Butler, Cargill, Dayton, Faulkner, Hoffman, &c.

Me-srs. Butler and Hoffman voted for special charters to some banks with, and to others without the responsibility clauses. Any way to get them. On the 16th, the Assembly in committee of the whole, passed bills to renew the Franklin Bank and the Tradesmen's Bank, N. Y., and the Catskill Bank; also ten new bank charters to be located at Kinderhook, Whitehall, &c. I believe the whole batch got swamped, and that charters were laid over till the new era of Van Buren and Reform (!) in 1829.

The following extract tells the feelings of the bank Democrats, in April, 1828:

[From the Albany Argus, April 14, 1828.]

“*The Bank Charters.*—The final question was taken in the Assembly, on Saturday, on the “bills for the renewal of the charters of the Geneva and Ontario Banks, and the Bank of New York, and they were severally lost; the former being deficient by three, and the latter by four votes, of a constitutional majority [86]. It seems to be an unequal constitutional rule, which “declares a vote to be in the negative, notwithstanding more than three to one of the members “PRESENT are in the affirmative; and it is particularly unfortunate to come so near and yet to “fail.”

Van Buren, Young, Wright, and their friends, had had very early lessons of the dangers to liberty, attending the vicious system of banking, which obtained in this state. In a letter to the republicans of the state, dated Albany, April 3, 1806, and signed by De Witt Clinton, Nathaniel Pitcher, John Craner, Caleb Tompkins, Clarkson Crolius, R. Riker, John McLean, John Herliker, John Taylor, Alex. Sheldon, Benjamin Ferris, and other members of the Legislature, they tell the people—“You turned with disgust from the scene of bribery and “corruption by which the Merchants’ Bank in the city of N. Y., secured its charter. If the “representatives of the people can, with impunity, receive or offer bribes, the virtue of our “government is blasted. If we permit its purity to be stained, we pave the way to destroy its “respect in the eyes of all good men. We shake the basis of our republican establishments, “and lay the foundation whereon is built the corrupt governments of the ancient world.”

In Jan., 1818, Governor Clinton solemnly warned the people of the dangers they were bringing on the country, through the vicious mode of transacting banking business, which Van Buren and his pupils had continually fostered. The Assembly appointed an honest, faithful committee, to whose able and useful report I would be glad to give a place here. Their chairman, Isaac Pierson, was also directed to propose a resolution for a joint committee of the legislature to inquire into the management of the affairs of the banks, whether their funds had been improperly applied, or their agents or directors been guilty of improper or

THAT CHARACTER. HUNDREDS OF OUR UNSUSPECTING CITIZENS WERE THE VICTIMS OF SUCH CONSPIRACIES; *and when they found their fortunes had been ruined by the frauds of these villains in the management of corporate institutions, and appealed to the law to bring them to merited punishment, such turned out to be the extent and intricacy of their combinations, and such the influence of the accused, AND THEIR SECRET ABETTERS, that public justice herself seemed to be almost set at defiance.*" This state of things, we are told, induced Governor Van Buren, when state physician in chief, to prescribe his grand nostrum of the Safety Fund Law.

usurious practices for covenous or oppressive purposes, and whether they had paid their bills in money according to their charters, or evaded doing so. The report of the committee, and the Governor's recommendation, well warranted the proposition.

"The committee believe, the present circulation in the state principally consists of the notes of those banks whose nominal capitals are small, and composed principally of the notes of the individual stockholders, called stock-notes: so that the security of the public consists of the private fortunes of individual stockholders, and those fortunes, in a great measure, consist of the stock of the bank. *Their influence too frequently, nay often already begins to assume a species of dictation altogether alarming, and unless some judicious remedy is provided by the legislative wisdom, we shall soon witness attempts to control all selections to office in our counties, nay the elections to this very legislature. Senators and members of assembly will be indebted to banks for their seats in this capitol, and thus the wise ends of our civil institutions will be prostrated in the dust by corporations of our own creation.*" It is therefore evident, the deleterious poison has already taken deep root, and requires immediate legislative interference with the utmost energy."

General Root and Messrs. Meigs, Edwards, and Sharpe, made able speeches for inquiry, but Mr. Oakley opposed it. The resolve was adopted, 70 to 30, and sent to the Senate, where they were carefully protecting the knavery of Washington and Warren, Buffalo, Hudson, Plattsburgh, and other rotten banks of the Van Buren family. Van Buren denounced inquiry, effectually crushed the Assembly's resolve and protected the banks in their villany, till their insolvency, and the breaking down of many others of like character, closed the scene. For proof take the printed journals of the Senate of N. Y. Look also into the secret correspondence of Van Buren, Butler, Hoyt, Barker, &c.

"During the November session [1824], a complaint was made that the passage of the bill for chartering [the Chemical bank of New York], had been procured by corrupt means. An investigation was ordered, and a committee appointed with power to send for persons and papers. The evidence given before the committee afforded a most disgusting picture of the depravity of the members of the legislature, and indeed, I might say, of the degradation of human nature itself. The attempt to corrupt, and in fact, corruption itself, was not confined to any one party. It extended to individuals of all parties, and it is not improbable that the interest of members in these applications for moneyed incorporations had an effect on the political action of some of them. Mr. Caldwell, a witness, testified that he heard a senator say, 'I am a Crawford man to-day, but unless the Chemical Bank passes, I shall be a people's man to-morrow.' In short, it was evident that the foul and sickening scenes of 1812, had been reenacted in 1824."—*Hammond*, vol. i., p. 178.

The old bank of Rochester, chartered 1824, was a regency favorite. It passed the Senate, Feb. 16, 1824, and among the yeas were our present Governor, Silas Wright, Jonas Earll, canal commissioner, John Cramer, Charles E. Dudley, Heman J. Redfield, and John Bowman. In the Assembly, 30th Jan., it was voted for by A. C. Flagg, our comptroller. Mr. Flagg also voted for the Fulton Bank, N. Y., that year; as in the Senate, April 1, 1824, did Silas Wright, Jasper Ward, Jonas Earll, Jr., John Lefferts, and Perley Keyes. This history of that charter is before the world. On same day, in Senate, the Long Island Bank passed, by the votes of Silas Wright, Jasper Ward, C. E. Dudley, Jonas Earll, Jr., Perley Keyes, and Farrand Stranahan. In the Assembly, A. C. Flagg, not having made up his mind, absented himself till the voting was over.

Did you ever see a cat watch a mouse, reader? Just so will the little country bank director, who has lent cash to a farmer on the mortgage of his place, watch him. Sixty day renewals, with fresh meals of interest, are an eating moth. The speculation fails—the note is now as big as half the value of the farm—the Daniel S. Dickenson of the law tightens the screws—the farm is the banker's, and its owner on his way to Iowa.

## CHAPTER XXI.

*Governor Van Buren for more Banks, and against them.—Judge Forman's report.—Dividing the spoils.—Blair goes for more Banks.—Webster on the Pels.—Throop succeeds Van Buren.—Hubbell's Prophecies.—Chandler Starr on their Fulfillment.—The Safety Fund Scheme a Fraud on the Country.—General George P. Barker.—Marcy on the Buffalo Bank.—Bank officers tried for Felony.—How Acquitted.*

At the opening of the legislature of 1829, [Jan. 7] Governor Van Buren said a great deal about banks,\* but very little about education. One paragraph of his message was in these words :

“To dispense with Banks altogether is an idea which seems to have no advocate; and to make ourselves wholly dependent on those established by federal authority deserves none. If these are correct views, the only alternative would seem to be, between a renewal of the charters of the sound part of the existing Banks, or to anticipate the winding up of these concerns by the incorporation of new institutions.”

When a few steps higher up preferment's ladder, he wrote Sherrod Williams in 1836, “I have always been opposed to the increase of Banks.”†

\* On the 15th of January, 1829, Van Buren wrote Judge Forman, at New York, for a popular version of his plan, sent his request through Jesse Hoyt [see No. 162.] and on the 27th laid it by message before the legislature. Next day it appeared in the Argus, and the impression is irresistible, that the scheme for passing a batch of new and old banks, to suit favorite interests, was, like Throop's succession, and Westervelt's “great salvation,” a matter of bargain and good understanding between Van Buren, Olcott, Throop, Marcy, Flagg, and certain of the party leaders, at Herkimer, in September, 1828. Forman puts forward his plan as of “a community something after the manner of our federal union—with a supervision over the whole, as perfect and more beneficial for the public than that of a general bank over its branches.” How Van Buren's scheme operated—how the charters were got—the stock distributed—who the men were who were most active in procuring charters—who and what the commissioners were—what proportions of stock went to legislators and prominent patriots, like Olcott, Marcy, Flagg, Vanderpool, Dix, Wright, Lawrence, Butler, Croswell, Porter, Corning, Beckman, Gould, Young, and Faulkner, or to men of straw for them—and whether those who profited by these safety fund speculations were not leagued together as Regency supporters, both before and after 1829—these are questions that could best be answered by a special work on N. Y. Banking, which would show in detail how the charters were log-rolled, and for and by whom. Such a work would be the Black Book of the Empire State in right earnest. Dr. Maxwell, a legislator, addressed Zeno Allen the postmaster of Sackett's Harbor, by letter, dated Albany, Jan. 7, 1832, thus “Dear Judge—Yours just received. There are more applications for banks this year than ever before. You must make out a complete list of directors, officers, &c., and if obtained you must know now. It must be a Jackson Bank; and the Bank junto in this place, must be allowed a finger in the pie.

Yours, truly,

PH. MAXWELL.”

Large fortunes have been made by apportioning the stock of new banks to favorites and followers of the government. Van Buren wished that corrupt power to be retained. In his January Message, he said, “Who are the particular recipients of your favor is a matter of minor importance. The number of the stockholders, in comparison with the great body of the people, is so very small, and the stock is so constantly changing hands, that THE EQUITY OF ITS ORIGINAL DISTRIBUTION becomes a comparatively unimportant matter.” That is to say, leave the party to select the commissioners to distribute the stock, and leave the distribution to the commissioners. Perhaps the premiums paid from 1829 to 1839, on bank stock, sold by the original favorites of the party, yielded them from two to three millions of dollars. All this, says Van Buren, is comparatively unimportant.

† This volume affords abundant evidence that Blair was Van Buren's confederate, and the Globe his mouth-piece.—Blair and Van Buren admit that. Turn to the Globe of Dec. 21, 1833, and you will find the following paragraph, promising a large crop of banks without any safety fund to protect their customers :

“This new coalition, however, have labored in vain. The intelligent people of the West know how to maintain their rights and independence, and to repel oppression. Although failed in the beginning, every Western State is about to establish a State banking institution. They are resolved to avail themselves of their own State credit as well as of the national credit to maintain a currency independent of foreign control. Mr. Clay's presses in Kentucky begin now to feel how vain are all their efforts to resist this determination of the people in the West. The Louisville (Kentucky) Herald says : ‘From the indications of public opinion, as contained in the papers from the States around us, there is every probability that banks will be chartered in the States of Ohio, Indiana, and Missouri, and that efforts will be made to charter in this State (Kentucky) not only a State bank, with four or five branches, but several independent banks.’

Highly approving of this promised crop of state banks, the Globe concludes by saying—“No Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, and Kentucky, are resolved to take care of themselves, and no longer depend on the kind guardianship of Biddle, Clay, and Co.” And Ohio did take care of herself by chartering at that same session

When he had worked his way to the Capitol, and become President of the Republic, he attempted to show that inland banks were dependent on those of New York, where the produce is sent and from whence the merchandize is received, and discoursed in one of his messages to Congress after this fashion ;

"But this chain of dependence does not stop here. It does not terminate at Philadelphia or New York. It reaches across the ocean, and ends in London the centre of the credit system. The same laws of trade which gave to the banks in our principal cities, power over the whole banking system of the United States, subject the former in their turn, to the money power of Great Britain. It is not denied that the suspension of the New York banks in 1837, which was followed in quick succession throughout the Union, was produced by an application of that power; and it is now alleged in extenuation of the present condition of so large a portion of our banks, that their embarrassments have arisen from the same cause. From this influence they cannot now entirely escape, for it has its origin in the credit currencies of the two countries; it is strengthened by the current of trade and exchange, which centres in London, and is rendered almost irresistible by the large debts contracted there by our merchants, our banks, and our States. It is thus that an introduction of a new bank into the most distant of our villages, places the business of that village within the influence of the money power in England. It is thus that every new debt which we contract in that country, seriously affects our own currency, and extends over the pursuits of our citizens its powerful influence."

On the 12th of March, Van Buren abdicated in favor of his lieutenant, Enos T. Throop, one of the most thoroughgoing U. S. Bank men in the state. He had voted for the bank in Congress in 1816, and resolutely defended it everywhere. "*If ample talents,*" said Van Buren, about Throop, "*and a sound discriminating judgment—if integrity and singleness of purpose, and truly republican principles furnish any just ground for expecting a safe administration of the government, that expectation, I am persuaded, may, in the present instance, be fully indulged.*" Throop had to reply, of course; and the journal tells us, that he arose in his place in the Senate, and, among other things, declared he was for banks, and plenty of them. "Their influence upon productive industry . . . have been more beneficial than the most sanguine projector could have anticipated," said Throop.

On the 19th of March, Mr. Hubbell, in the assembly, rose to oppose the bank bill of the Van Buren party.\* His speech I find in the New York Even-

ing of her Legislature, I believe, eleven new banks, with an aggregate capital of about four millions—the pet bank party leaving a majority in both branches.

Webster, in reply to a defence of the Pets and Safety Fund, by Governor Wright, in Senate, March 20, 1834, thus exposed the artful net into which pretended patriots had, spider-like, enticed the farmers and manufacturers of New York:

"Take all the banks in the country which have been incorporated since the Safety Fund system was established, and can the gentleman mention one which has not been studiously and designedly placed in the hands of political friends? Is there, now-a-days, any such thing as obtaining a bank charter from the Legislature of New York, without commissioners, named in the act itself, to distribute the stock; and is there any one instance, in which a majority of shares is not allotted to men of one particular political party? Will the gentleman say, that a hundred of the first merchants of New York, or Albany, or Utica, or Buffalo, could this day obtain a charter, for themselves, and their associates; the stock to be divided as they might choose? I am altogether misinformed if any such thing could be expected. With us, and I suppose elsewhere, banking is no monopoly. Certain general laws regulate the whole business, and one class of persons has the same right, and the same facility, in applying for and receiving charters as others, if they conform to the general law, and show a probable necessity for the institution which they ask for. No question is asked as to what school or what party the applicants belong; and this is as it should be. To place all bank circulation, and bank accommodation, and bank influence, into party hands, to be used for party purposes, would be, and is, if such a thing anywhere exists, an enormity, worthy only of the worst governments."

\* The Safety Fund Commissioners, Chandler Starr, Trumbull Cary, &c., in their report of Jan. 30, 1843, show how correct Mr. Hubbell's views were in 1829. They assure the legislature of their utter inability to prevent the plunder of banks by the negligence of directors and roguery of cashiers, or the villainy of both combined. 1. Because it is difficult, and often impossible, by the exercise of the greatest vigilance, to compel a bank to suspend till it is hopelessly insolvent. 2. Until a bank has violated a positive law, it is usually beyond their powers of interference, through an application for a chancery injunction. 3. Though the management is very improvident, the loans made in large sums to a few favorites, or badly secured and very doubtful—though the officers may be the principal borrowers, and the managers evidently hazarding the capital of a bank, yet the commissioners dare not interfere. 4.

ing Post, reported from the Albany Argus. He was convinced that the bank fund would prove only a splendid premium offered to dishonesty and fraud—that many expedients would be resorted to by the managers of a corrupt institution, in failing circumstances, to push as many of their bills into circulation as possible, the whole banking capital of the state being pledged for the redemption. He wanted to guard the honest stockholder, infants, widows, aged persons retired from business who had their funds in the banks, but this scheme

"It is true that an injunction will be granted when the ruin of the bank has been consummated by actual insolvency, or in cases where half the capital stock has been lost." 5. But these facts must be sworn to, as facts actually known to the commissioners, or proved on oath by others. 6. Even if a well founded belief of insolvency is the result of an investigation by the commissioner, Chancellor Walworth carries the matter to a future day, and this affords time to the bank officers to give preferences to those they may desire to favor, and to substitute worthless paper, or paper at long dates, for notes at short dates and well secured. The bank capital is then placed "in the hands of reckless and unprincipled managers, and unrestrained by either moral or legal obligation." 7. Examinations of banks take place but once in four months—the commissioner has often little knowledge of the debtors or of the real value of the other funds. "he is precluded from disclosing the names of the debtors," and has to believe whatever the managers may tell him. Even if the information is sworn to, it is not worth much. 8. "The selection of President and capable Directors must, of necessity, constitute the great safeguard of bank stockholders"—BUT THESE CONSIDERATIONS SELDOM INFLUENCE THE STOCKHOLDERS IN THEIR CHOICE. 9. Officers and managers put in, are fortified by proxies, which keep them in. They have lost much of late by speculating unwisely.

What a commentary on that grand humbug, the Safety Fund Law, by which false swearing is declared to be perjury, and the exhibition of false books, or entries, to the commissioners, a felony!! Justice to the guilty is a mockery, and even Benjamin Butler sneers at the idea of calling the knaves to account. Is this, can it be, free, enlightened, democratic America? The America of my early dreams it surely is not.

In 1836, George P. Barker was elected to the Assembly from Erie County, to electioneer for the charter of the City Bank of Buffalo. He did so, and obtained it, through the votes of Senators J. and L. Beardsley, Armstrong, Gansevoort, Coe S. Downing, Griffin, Hubbard, J. Hunter, Geo. Huntington, H. F. and J. P. Jones, Lacy, Lawyer, Livingston, Lounsbury, E. C. Mack, the party printer, Macon, Seger, the ex-clerk of assembly, Van Schaick, D. Wager, Sterling and Spraker. Samuel Young, with Loomis, James Powers (see page 70), and one or two more, formed the opposition. Prosper M. Wetmore was its supporter in the Assembly, and also the supporter of almost every other bank asked for. Polk sticks to him as Navy Agent here, like a brother. Van Buren's followers had their share of the plunder, by agreement. One prominent operator (Corning, I think), had \$30,000 of the stock, and when the bank failed, the Argus had the assurance to call the concern a "whig bank party" "machine."

From first to last, General George P. Barker, abolitionist, Canadian Patriot, stockjobber, and Van Buren's steady tool, was a director of the City Bank—he was also its attorney, transacting its law business. John B. Macy, another ex-Van Buren man, was the first president, and he and his partner, Isaac S. Smith, the loco-loco candidate for Governor, abstracted and lent themselves nearly \$150,000 of the funds of the bank; their securities were sold at Buffalo last Nov. for less than \$2,000—\$52,000 of discounted bills brought \$1,200—judgments in favor of the bank for \$235,000, were sold for \$21,500. Until Nov. 1839, the Safety Fund Commissioners reported the bank to be sound and healthy, though it was even then utterly worthless—so too, the state authorities had lent it more than \$100,000 of the public funds—a dead loss. The bank had not only issued the extra allowance of its notes mentioned in the statutes, but also many thousands of dollars beyond the legal limit—and when Macy was named as its receiver, he swore that not only would over \$300,000 of its notes be redeemable out of the state treasury, but that "it is supposed that a still larger amount of the fraudulent issues of that bank than is already redeemed is lurking yet in recesses only known to its corrupt managers."

Isaac S. Smith, in an official letter to Fitzwilliam Byrdsall, and others, dated Buffalo, September 26th, 1835, a month or two after the City Bank was set afloat there, thus proclaimed the faith that was in him:

"None of our institutions," said Isaac, "have so strong a tendency to create and perpetuate the odious distinctions between the rich and the poor, as the paper money banks. Those incorporations, and others not more meritorious, and yet equally monopolizing, have been the greatest cause of truckling and corruption in legislation. The worst feature in the proceedings of past legislatures, has been the wasteful appropriation of large sums, ostensibly



left the confiding stockholder without remedy, when a failure took place. He had no faith in the commissioners, who would rely on the statements to be given by bank officers, and prove no check at all to mismanagement. The commissioners would have an unbounded and very dangerous influence, and form a connecting link between all the institutions, for political or any other combinations they might think necessary; and the whole machinery prove an unsafe monopoly, nothing short of despotism.

I am very well satisfied, that an honest, efficient system could be devised without difficulty, by which this country would have a sound currency, portable,

“for public improvements, but in reality for party purposes, and the granting of charters for “banks, with which to strengthen the hands of party leaders. I would sanction nothing but “silver and gold as a circulating medium.” This fellow puts me in mind of the sharper Jenkinson, in the Vicar of Wakefield. He had silver on his tongue, but did not forget to abstract \$150,000 of the bank funds, with the aid of his more tolerant partner in leather, Macy. The bank, through a committee, gave up good securities to debtors, and took the Tonawanda Bank in lieu of them, capital \$150,000, but not worth one cent. In Nov. 1839, the bank, by Lewis Eaton (Van Buren's ex-safety fund com'r) its president, General Barker, attorney and director, L. F. Allen, no whig of '76, and the other directors, appointed three of themselves a committee “to take collateral securities, or extinguish doubtful debts.” Stephen White, L. F. Allen, and Jed. H. Lathrop were chosen, and went to work and made a settlement of the affairs of the bank, concerning which Marcy swears “that the same was made with intent to defraud.” I need not tell you that as their brother in the affair, Barker, was elected Attorney General by those who had got rich by such knavery, and their abettors and supporters, there were no convictions either at statute or common law. George P. Barker appears to have borrowed largely, \$13,000 with Vandervoort, \$10,000 on his stock, known to him to be utterly worthless, \$3,000 on Ohio city, &c. Let honest republicans keep in mind, that after Barker had brought forth and buried this infamous bank, Flagg, Marcy, O'Sullivan, Dix, Corning, Faullmer, Davezac, M. Hoffman, Van Buren, and the party leaders selected him for Attorney General of the State, while the Syracuse Convention that named Van Buren for president on a second term, put Attorney Barker and Col. Young on their ticket as state electors.

The Bank of Buffalo, another safety fund concern, of which Hiram Pratt was President and John R. Lee cashier, chose Orlando Allen as its President on the death of Pratt, whom a fear of premature discoveries of villainy hastened to his grave. It failed in 1840, and had issued many thousands of dollars of its paper, as money, beyond the limit allowed by law, its officers, Allen and Lee, solemnly swearing to the contrary before the commissioners. A Buffalo grand jury, on what was believed to be unquestionable testimony, indicted Lee and Allen for the perjury—they were arrested and held to bail, Allen, if memory serves me, being out of the way and brought back. It is reported that the banks lent their notes to the brokers at regular interest, with an understanding, &c., that the brokers shaved (exactd usury) as close as they could, that the profits were divided between the brokers and the president and directors of the banks, and that when discounts were applied for, they would say “we can't do it—Lee, the broker can—away to Lee.” Two per cent. a month, &c., followed, of course. This may or may not be so—but as Lee is a fair spoken, plausible person, and as Allen quotes Barker's case, and says they all do it, I wrote a friend in Buffalo to send me all the papers containing the trial or any part of the proceedings, as Barker was the prosecutor, and the case of unusual interest to the whole country. Here is the result. “Buffalo, Nov. 30, 1843. W. L. Mackenzie, Sir: General Barker has just concluded his speech in the trial of John R. Lee, the “cashier, for perjury in swearing to false returns. The evidence contains some strange “developments in banking. The judge proceeds with his charge—the verdict you will get “to-morrow. The trial excites much interest, and the newspapers containing the best report I “will send to you.” Soon after, the N. Y. papers said he was acquitted, and my friend wrote again—“Every Buffalo paper is silent on the details of Lee's trial—he was *acquitted*, but there “was perjury or its equivalent somewhere, and enough of it too. Why the public journals, “which often copy very unimportant issues in the courts, should have all omitted this very “important one, you can guess as near the truth as, yours truly.” The end of the Buffalo banks, 13 in all, was hopeless insolvency, fraud in not a few, and the honest part of the community in Ohio, New York, Canada, Indiana, &c., were cheated, as before by Van Buren's first bank, and by similar characters, too. Had the evidence in Lee's case justified the verdict, or had the attorney general been any other than a character steeped in bank corruption; had he been ardent to search for, produce, and duly examine the witnesses that might have been forthcoming, either would Lee's exculpatory testimony been heralded to his credit, or the verdict proved some atonement to a pillaged people. All may have been right—but I have witnessed trials in this state which were so managed as to make me more than suspicious.

suitable for commerce, and yet not be exclusively metallic; but it does not appear probable that Van Buren had any wish for such a currency at this time. General Jackson said he knew "a very good plan of a bank," but when I wrote some of his cabinet advisers, they had never seen it. Webster's language, in January, 1834, was very judicious. While he denounced the pets, he said to government, tell us of a better plan than the U. S. Bank, and we will adopt it. "For the convenience of the government and of the country," said he, "there must be some bank, and he should wish to hear the views of the administration. He was not so wedded to this bank, as not to be willing to hear any other plan which human ingenuity might devise, if any other feasible scheme could be devised."

The following extract from Jackson's Farewell Address of March, 1837, appears to me to exhibit other feelings and principles than those of 1829 and 1834. Why did he foster the state banks for eight years, and then condemn them?

"The planter, the farmer, the mechanic, and the laborer, all know that their success depends upon their own industry and economy, and that they must not expect to become suddenly rich by the fruits of their toil. Yet these classes of society form the great body of the people of the U. S., they are the bone and sinew of the country; men who love liberty and desire nothing but equal rights and equal laws, and who moreover hold the great mass of our national wealth, although it is distributed in moderate amounts among the millions of freemen who possess it. But, with overwhelming numbers and wealth on their side, they are in constant danger of losing their fair influence in the government, and with difficulty maintain their just rights against the incessant efforts daily made to encroach upon them. The mischief springs from the power which the moneyed interests derive from a paper currency, which they are able to control; from the multitude of corporations with exclusive privileges, which they have succeeded in obtaining in the different states, and which are employed together for their benefit; and unless you become more watchful in your states, and check this spirit of monopoly and thirst for exclusive privileges, you will in the end find that the most important powers of government have been given or bartered away, and that the control over your dearest interests has passed into the hands of these corporations."

## CHAPTER XXI.

*Albany Bank and State Union.—English mode of Bank Inquiries.—Silas Wright.—New York Banks protest against Van Buren's Mutual Insurance Company.—N. S. Benton, a steady Bank Man.—Correspondence on Banks.—Opinions of Old Safety Funders.—Charles Stebbins.—The Dry Dock Bank.—George R. Davis.—Peter Robinson.—The Electioneering Commission.—The Broken Banks, their Villainy and Rotteness.—The Waterliet Bank.—T. W. Olcott's Bond.—Bank of Lyons.—Dishonest Receivers.—Egbert Olcott.*

VAN BUREN'S Safety Fund Act of 1829, is a regular union of bank and state; the state was to protect the banks and to control them.\* He found that to carry

\* The Banks in New York—the Merchants', City, Mechanics', Farmers', Union, Trades-men's, and Bank of America—wished renewals, but they objected to the bill, in Senate, March 30, that it was wrong to make the whole of the banks responsible for each other's conduct and management—that in 30 years only five chartered city banks had failed—that without a paid up capital and faithful and capable directors, Van Buren's plan would be a remedy at all, and with those, it was not required—that the three commission's would be a delusion of the public, and a false, ill grounded security, because no three men could make the complete inspections, inquiries, and examinations necessary to fulfil the intention of the proposed law, and superficial inquiries would deceive the solvent, well managed banks, encourage fraud, and deeply injure the country in the long run—that the power given to the Secretary of the Treasury to inspect the conduct of the U. S. Bank had proved delusive, the vast amount of delinquency having nearly ruined it before he knew that anything was wrong—that no provision had been made that a real and competent capital should be required, when new charters were granted, nor that the stock should go into the hands of real bona fide stockholders, and not into the keeping of speculators. V. Buren & Co. would have lost, and the people saved millions by such a most provident step.

On the 4th of April, Mr T. L. Smith asked leave to withdraw the memorials from the N. Y. city banks; and Mr C. L. Livingston, whose free bank letters appear in this volume, truly remarked, that their managers were

his measures, the temper of the times required such a proposition to be artfully made then. In 1837, in special session, when the villainy, wholesale as it surely was, had been fully accomplished, and the people duly plundered in that form—he denounced his old scheme, pretended to be horror-struck at the rognery of bank and state unions, and advised their repeal. Young said that Roman despotism could not have done a tithe of the injury which the monopoly system had accomplished; but he forgot, like Van Buren, to tell that he had upheld, nursed, and gained gold by it, in the teeth of Tompkins and Clinton's solemn warnings. Van Buren had plundered one class by his sham safety fund; he was now prepared to plunder another by his subtreasury. That scheme would make money scarce, and oblige the man who had mortgaged his estate in times of plenty of paper, (for paper promises, to pay in gold and silver in times of scarcity,) or forfeit the inheritance of his fathers. The bankrupt law of 1842 was the closing scene. In 1816, 1825, and 1832, the British Parliament had questions affecting the currency before them, and special committees called before them, and carefully examined bankers, merchants, manufacturers, men of skill, science, and experience: the whole was taken down in shorthand and printed. Action followed at a future session. One of these reports and the evidence forms a large folio. Here the grand question is—What course will promote the interest of the leaders of the party? Tedious, though invaluable inquiries, like those made in London, might save millions to the people, but they would be too monarchical!

Such is the operation of Van Buren's deceptive Safety Fund, concerning which, Silas Wright, in reply to Henry Clay, in the U. S. Senate, Wednesday Feb. 26, 1834, said, "I verily believe, that in consulting the safety of the public, it has, IN THE BEST MANNER, consulted the greatest safety of the banks."\*

Now that "the train of disaster and embarrassment that would follow the adoption of the new fangled system would be" very great—and so it proved in the long run. I presume that Smith's opposition was not forgotten—that he is the Smith of whom Coddington felt afraid, (pages 208 and 209,) and the Smith whom Polk has removed from office to make way for Gillett.

In 1821, on Van Buren's principle of Safety (?) 29 banks were chartered—in 1830, only 8—18 in 1831—9 in 1832—7 in 1833, and 21 in 1834 and 1835—in all ninety. On the first of January, 1837, their *nominal* capital was \$31,511,490—their cash \$5,562,357, and their notes in circulation as money \$22,065,123. An official account gives their profits at more than five millions of dollars. In May they sought payment. The Senate Journal of 1829, shows the working of the machinery that year. N. S. Benton, of Little Falls, recently the U. S. District Attorney for Northern N. Y., and now Secretary of State, was then a Senator. He voted with the leaders, but went against the charters, all of which were rejected. Benton, S. Allen, Bogardus, Throop, Stebbins, and Hager, (who wrecked the Butchers and Drovers' Bank, but a better understanding with the regency was brought about and next year the bill passed. Nearly the same parties united against several other banks. Stephen Allen moved an excellent clause in the Safety Fund Law, that no director, officer or agent of any chartered bank shall purchase or be interested in the purchase by others, of any bank note, bond, or obligation issued by any bank for a less sum than the face of said note, bond, &c., under a penalty. N. S. Benton gave this honest proposition a decided negative, and with Lewis Eaton, Hayden, Hager, Stebbins, Wheeler, Waterman, and Boughton, voted it down! No wonder they made Eaton a bank commissioner, and president of the City Bank in Buffalo.

\* Our Secretary of State, N. S. Benton, is a very suitable incumbent for those who elected him. His votes in the Senate show that he is rotten to the very core. His office is the recompense of fictitious servitude. He is a duplicate of Dr. Sutherland of Philadelphia, whose letter forms No. 93, page 182 of Correspondence. The latter avowed frankly what all trading politicians think. They really hold the masses in contempt, and never hesitate as to means, provided they may gain their selfish ends. Yet these men are successful while little regard is paid by the people to honest, capable, unobtrusive persons. Dr. Sutherland's avowals, one would have thought, would have excluded him thereafter from political favor; and yet he has scarcely been out of office ever since! The people of Philadelphia and the U. S. government granting almost all his requests, both for himself and family! Is the reader surprised that Smith multiply? Does it not seem that, as the Bible tells us of old times, the people love to be cheated, and heap honors on their deceivers with their eyes open?

While Van Buren's general measure was before the Senate, Stephen Allen proposed to improve it by a provision, that each bank certify on oath that its capital was paid up and entire before its charter could be renewed, that no dividend be made out of real profits, that none of the capital be divided except by virtue of law, and that the funds of the bank should not be used by the managers in speculating in the stocks of other companies, and in fancy stocks in general. Secretary Benton was almost eloquent in his opposition to this proposal, and, with Porter, Hubbard, Hayden, Stebbins, and Geo. B. Throop, the Auburn banker, voted against it—but he voted for the bill itself, of course, and also for the charter of the Mohawk Bank, Bank of Monroe, Farmers and Mechanics', Lockport, Ithaca, Yates Co., Utica, Putnam Co., &c.

Charles Stebbins, too, was a steady, unprincipled instrument of Van Buren, in these times. He took his seat in the senate for the 5th district of New York, and stood steadily for the party charters in 1823, and against improvements for the protection of the real stockholder and billholder—proved himself fit to be a go-between for the Regency and the Banks—sat as president of the senate, when Throop took Van Buren's place—and when his

Twelve years after, at Albany, as Governor, (Jan. '46,) Mr. Wright changed his tone, and said that "That legislation which equalizes the benefits and burdens of government, and attempts to secure no special advantages to any, will diffuse prosperity throughout a community . . . attempts to confer favors by law upon classes or localities, produce a competition destructive to profitable industry; a strife, not to earn but to gain the earnings of others. . . . The tendency of this false system is to separate capital from productive labor, and, carried out to its full extent, will produce the singular result, that he who labors least may accumulate the most, and he who works the hardest may know the most want." These latter views are borrowed from Burke—are correct—and

term was out, Throop and the Senate made him the bank commissioner of the state, much to the delight of the banks, who wanted a bank-jobber and not a stern, upright agent, to exercise the inquisitorial powers, named in the bill to make it palatable to the million, but never meant to be used for their benefit. On the 6th of May, 1837, when the Dry Dock Bank, N. Y., shut its doors on the public, owing its stockholders \$450,000—to country banks \$260,000—to other city banks \$316,500—to depositors \$164,800—to the U. S. \$80,000, as a pet—to the N. Y. State treasury, as a pet at Albany also—and to its bill-holders \$200,000 nearly—one of the SAFETY Fund Commissioners stood on the steps of the Bank and assured the citizens that he had examined it, and all was safe!! It had just \$15,705 in specie—\$400,000 of its funds had been lent to three Wall street leeches, to speculate on, and the directors pretended that they did not know it!! Who suffered for the false books, false entries, false inspections, and false directors in this case? No one. The Argus and the Atlas babbled about equal rights, and mock the victims of party crime, *always with impunity.*

George R. Davis, of Troy, was little troubled with principle, not without ability, and paid his court assiduously to T. W. Olcott. In the Assembly, in the winter of 1830, he was fishing for the office of bank commissioner and declared in debate that he was the uncompromising enemy of the United States Bank, and would never cease his hostility till it ceased to exist. Olcott was delighted, and in 30 days Davis was a bank commissioner, through Olcott's influence, for the N. Y. banks had then no vote. In 1831, we find the banks sending their commissioner, to the legislature, as its Speaker, 91 to 30, while Peter Robinson, of Broome, the Speaker of 1829, who had voted against the whole scheme as injurious to his country, was ostracised.

Major Reese, the Commissioner appointed by the western banks, was not, like Stebbins and Davis, a follower of Van Buren, but the party located new banks west, changed the vote next time, displaced Reese, elected Lewis Eaton, a friend of Silas Wright, and the three bank commissioners then formed an available travelling, electioneering committee, to advance Van Buren, Marcy, Flagg, Hoyt, Butler and Wright's fortunes, duly salaried and paid by a generous public. Bills were passed from time to time for lending out the State funds to this pet bank, or that, at a low rate of interest, on which large profits were made by the borrowers, with a secret untold 1837, and then a new leaf was turned over to get more gain to the few by deceiving their brother men.

When the banks refused to redeem their issues, or repay the funds deposited in their vaults, in May, 1837, the people found no safety in the safety fund. Those who required specie had to sell bank notes for what they would fetch to obtain it. To meet absolute insolvencies nearly two millions of dollars have been paid since 1829, part by the banks and part by the state.

Erastus Corning, Albert Lester, and E. B. Talcott, the Senate's Committee, January, 1845, state that the directors and managers of the following broken banks, viz: the City Bank, Buffalo, [Attorney General Barker's,] the Bank of Buffalo, the Commercial Bank of Buffalo, the Wayne Co. Bank, the Bank of Lyons, the Commercial Bank of Oswego, and the Clinton Co. Bank, each of them insolvent safety fund concerns, took care to require neither bond nor security, either from their cashiers, tellers, clerks, or other officers, to ensure their faithful conduct, and protect the stockholders and the public against embezzlements. Van Buren's regency commissioners winked at all this, and their whig successors were not one whit more clear-sighted. The Watervliet Bank took an excellent security in the prudent and pious T. W. Olcott, but the understanding between the chancellor and his receiver seems to be that the creditors of the bank do not need that money. I find none of the reports of the Receivers on the Senate's journal, but enough of matter in which society have a much smaller interest. There were \$1,221,813 due to the Bank of Buffalo, when it failed, Nov. 1841; Walworth appointed S. Y. Austin, Receiver, in 1842, and up to Jan. 1845, he had collected only \$82,839. Out of \$543,430 of notes and obligations due by the public to the Clinton Bank, which failed, April, 1842, the receiver had collected but \$76,019 in several years—and the Lyons Bank (worse still) had yielded to T. R. Strong of Palmyra, the Receiver, only \$37,345, out of \$345,608 of debts. The Senate's Committee tell, that of the good notes, well secured, or good bonds, belonging to the Commercial Bank of Buffalo, the Bank of Buffalo, and the Clinton Co. Bank, and which could have been collected in full, the (democratic) Receivers had, in certain cases, sold the notes to the debtors or their friends, or shame, and causing the enemies of American freedom to rejoice at these new evidences of its feebleness. As if in mockery of the injured, Messrs. Corning, Lester, and Talcott gravely recommend that all further investigations needful to protect the people, may be referred to Attorney General John Van Buren! See Senate Doc. 18, 1845.

I find, by reference to Senate Doc. No. 114, of last year, that the Receiver of the Watervliet Bank, in which Colonel Young was a large stockholder, had informed the Senate's Committee that the cashier of that bank had fled the country, and that he "is supposed to have been guilty of official misconduct of the grossest character, and to have embezzled in various ways a large amount of the funds of the bank." The affairs of this Bank have been a long time in the hands of this Receiver, (appointed by Chancellor Walworth, whose duty it is to make him fulfill his obligations,) but although a bond signed by Thomas W. Olcott, and Theodore Olcott, his brother, in the penalty of \$20,000, is in his hands, as a security that Egbert Olcott, (the runaway delinquent cashier,) would do his duty, and act honestly to the Bank; and although the Olcotts are wealthy and the Bank insolvent through the misconduct of their relative, the Receiver's last report is, that "no part of said bond has been collected, nor any sum brought thereon." The Watervliet Bank failed in March, 1842; its assets amounted to \$292,379—and the Receiver (Who is he?) had up to January, 1845, collected only \$19,459 of the money. C. Murdock, who succeeded E. Olcott, as cashier, wrote Comptroller Flagg, April 27, 1842, that the Farmers and Mechanics' Bank then held \$50,062 of the paper of the Watervliet, on which it had agreed to pay interest. The assets of the Wayne Co. Bank, consisting of judgments, mortgages, bonds, notes, stocks, and real estate, amounting to \$235,000, were sold by auction at Rochester, for \$13,000, in July, 1845. This shows what safety funds, commissioners, receivers, and chancery injunctions are worth to the public as a protection from fraud.

at variance with the governor's conduct as a politician, for the last twenty-two years of his life.

To that valuable class of citizens who have the time and opportunity to read, reason, and reflect, the letters of Flagg, Livingston and Cutting, and the remarks of Marcy, in pages 174 to 182 of this volume, must prove very interesting. When the privileged system had been pushed to its utmost limit by the jaded hacks of party, and no more money could be made on that tack, they wheel about for pelf and popularity, abuse their own handywork, and go for banks, with a circulation founded on Arkansas, Illinois, Mississippi, Michigan, Pennsylvania, and other state debts, and with privileges, the character of which the North American Trust Co., and kindred coalitions of knavery, too soon developed. Marcy, page 174, boldly denounces the system that had placed Van Buren at the head of the nation, Flagg would blow "the lobby" sky high, and look forward from Plattsburgh banks and regency banking, with "scenes of log-rolling and corruption," to times to come, in which a "decent regard to moral and official purity" would be preserved by the party: Marcy (p. 175) would borrow Hoyt's experience to enable him to throw down Van Buren's step-ladder, now no longer needed: Flagg would demolish the usury laws, and allow the avaricious to exact cent per cent, if the necessities of their debtors would compel such conditions (p. 176): Livingston would put a stop to all legislation in favor of "chartered nuisances:" Young was ready to draw his "drippings of unclean legislation" from the banks, and lend cash on mortgage at usurious rates, denounced from Genesis to Revelations, if the usury law could be got rid of (p. 177, &c.): and Hoyt and Butler would squeeze from the merchants their last dollar, through the Custom House and Betts's Courts, to speculate with it, through the free bank of Beers, Stilwell & Co. in Wall street (p. 179).

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## CHAPTER XXIII.

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"Vice is undone if she forgets her birth,  
And stoops from Angels to the dregs of earth;  
But 'tis the fall degrades her to a whore;  
Let greatness own her, and she's mean no more.  
Her birth, her beauty, courts and crowds confess;  
Chaste Matrons praise her, and grave Bishops bless.  
Hear her black trumpet through the land proclaim  
That ~~NEVER~~ NOT TO BE CORRUPTED! ~~IS~~ is the shame.  
In soldier, churchman, patriot, man of power,  
'Tis avarice all, ambition is no more."

*Jackson Electioneering.—Jackson in the Saddle.—Keep Congress pure.—Stevenson's Genuine Golden Bait.—Wickliffe's Experience.—Duane's Thoughts.—King George's Slave Market.—Who's the Story Teller.—Stevenson fond of Wheeling.—Blair and Ritchie, or a Peep behind the Screen.—Clay's Puzzle, and Wright's and Benton's Votes.—Stevenson gets to London.—Polk and Slidell.—Ritchie's Hypocrisy.—He swallows the Gilded Bait.—A Peep at Walker.—Ritchie 40 years ago.—The Washington Slave Mart.—Congress Shambles.—Wilkins, Buchanan, Barbour, Old Garrow, Cambreleng, Ellis, Mc Lane, Muhlenburg, &c.*

AFTER the election of John Quincy Adams by the House of Representatives, and when General Jackson had been again announced as a candidate for the

office of President, he resigned his seat in the senate, and left the people to infer what he would do if elected, by placing on record certain principles in his letter of resignation. The following is an extract :

“ With a view to sustain more effectually, in practice, the axiom which divides the three great classes of power into independent constitutional checks, I would impose a provision rendering any member of congress ineligible to office under the general government, during the term for which he was elected, and for two years thereafter. The effect of such a constitutional provision is obvious. By it Congress, in a considerable degree, would be free from the connection with the Executive Department, which at present gives strong grounds of apprehension and jealousy on the part of the people. But if this change in the constitution should not be obtained, and important appointments continue to devolve on the Representatives in Congress, it requires no depth of thought to be convinced that corruption will be the order of the day.”\*

Mr. Adams had appointed Henry Clay, a Senator, his Secretary of State. The above was meant as a rebuke to Adams, and no doubt written with the view of injuring the popularity of Adams and Clay, and with reference to the next election. Like Polk's pledge to stand by the Baltimore resolutions on the 54th degree and naturalization, it was perfectly fair if it had been done in sincerity and good faith.

I have shown that Jackson was so forgetful of principle as to attempt to seduce Duane to abandon his principles or resign, by offering him the rich bait of the Russian embassy. What course did he pursue with Andrew Stevenson?†

\* Complaint seems as unavailing here as it was belied to be in England thirty years ago. In a letter to the editor of the Ky. Observer, dated April 8, 1837, R. Wickliffe frankly admits, that “extravagance has increased in the public expenditures until they amount to nearly forty millions annually; MEMBERS OF CONGRESS ARE ALIKE BOUGHT AND SOLD IN THE EXECUTIVE MARKET HOUSE, THE WHOLE REVENUE AND RESOURCES OF THE COUNTRY HAVE BEEN DEVOTED TO THE CORRUPTION AND POLLUTION OF THE ELECTIVE FRANCHISE, in subsidizing the press and in the organization of corps of office hunters and office holders, with means to carry our elections by bribery and falsehood.” It is the same now, and worse than it was when Wickliffe penned his “scathing evils of our present form of government, obviously arise from this difference of characters, between the *representatives among the people*, and the *representatives assembled together*! The sympathies of ambition, self-interest, vanity, pride, bind all the members of government together; they have a *common interest* to keep faithful to one another—to elect the people—to oppress them, and strip them of all power and privileges, that can any way interfere with the gratification of their passions. Like the monks in their cloister, consecrated in the name of God, the case of the *bank system*, we might almost say, a *band of robbers*. All governments are naturally jealous of the power of the people, and ours is not a whit less so than the most despotic in Europe or Asia!”

We boast of our political purity, as compared to Europe. Have we cause for so doing? It is true we are not quite so bad in some respects as the Irish government. We do not get our executives to lend members of congress money without interest, as Pitt did, but the money is placed where able and plausible tools in Congress will celebrate father, Henry Grattan; and from that work I select the following passage, in order that Americans may compare the old mode of buying knaves with the new:

“The letters of Lord Buckingham (Lord Lieutenant of Ireland), show by what means the cause of the people was defeated, and what the Viceroy considered to be *RENDERING A SERVICE TO HIS SOVEREIGN*. Cotinuing prostituting the pension list—that gulf in which he proposed that his majesty should buy the turbulent phantom of public spirit in Ireland; these were the fitting occupations of the Viceroy; this was what he calls ‘*EMPLOYING HIS TIME TO THE BEST OF HIS MAJESTY'S SERVICE*.’ The Declaration of Rights proposed by Mr. Grattan, he sided greed for the King's service; and so intent on his object did he seem to be, that he declared ‘no difficulty himself, but embarrassed the King’ having, as he said, ‘*CONTRACTED ABSOLUTE ENGAGEMENTS TO SECURE A MAJORITY IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS*.’ He had thus involved his royal master in this direct bribery, for it appears that the Viceroy would not have acted in the trade of corruption without positive orders; and he accordingly stated that ‘he had received the KING'S DIRECTIONS to oppose the measures of the patriots TO THE UTMOST WADED!’ The King's commands were not to transmit the bills; and for such services men were to be re-

4 ANDREW STEVENSON is now an old man—he is a native of Virginia, where he was long a practising lawyer, his practice being his sole dependence. He was long in Congress, and was elected Speaker of the House of Representatives, in December, 1827, over J. W. Taylor, of N. Y., the Adams candidate. He had the support of the Albany Regency, or Van Buren men. I think he took his seat in Congress six years before, in December, 1821, for his native state. In 1821, he was vehement in his opposition to Jackson, and Crawford was his favorite—he voted for him in the House, February, 1825. In a letter, in the National Intelligencer, Oct. 11, 1828, by John Sloane, M. C. of Ohio, [from Richmond Enquirer,] Sloane states, that at the beginning of the session of 1825-6, just as the House was about to ballot for Speaker,

On the 22d of May, 1834, President Jackson nominated Andrew Stevenson, then *presiding in the H. of R.*, to be Envoy Extraordinary to the court of London, doubtless as the reward of his subservience to the Executive. Mr. Clay moved an inquiry as to when Stevenson was first promised this \$9,000 a year and \$9,000 outfit, by a president who, when he wanted the people's votes, had a holy horror at influencing the free deliberations of the people's representatives by holding out expectations of wealth and power to leading congressmen who would be pliant and servile. The documents were produced by the President.

Stevenson, who with Taylor and Campbell were candidates for the chair, said, "Elect me Speaker, and by God I'll sustain the administration"—(Adams and Clay.) He was not elected, and he turned to Jackson and against the men then in power. Stevenson denied that he had so said; but Governor Branch, when the unit cabinet broke up, stated that Jackson had expressed great contempt for Stevenson. If so, he took a sober second thought, and Stevenson proved such a strict and steady partisan that the party kept him seven years in the Speaker's chair. He resigned on June 2d, 1834, his office and seat, under the pressure of a "severe and continued indisposition," which Jackson appears to have cured by the offer of a mission to London.

Jackson set a less value on Stevenson than Van Buren did. Stevenson's cunning, in-triguing turn, suited Van Buren. Governor Branch says: "When, sir, I separated from General Jackson, but a short time previous to his determination to appoint Mr. Stevenson minister to the Court of St. James, he did not regard him as 'worth the powder and ball it would take to kill him.' This very expression I have heard used or assented to by him, and candor compels me to admit that I heartily concurred with General Jackson in his estimate of Mr. Stevenson's worth."

When the dispute arose in Congress about which set of New Jersey members were, or would be admitted to be, *true sitting members*, and it became apparent that the decision would give one party or the other the selection of a Speaker, Van Buren's editor, Blair, through *the Globe*, gave the uninitiated a hint of the uses to which Speakers are put, in the words and sentences which follow:

“*Organization of the House of Representatives.*—We perceive that the public mind is strongly awakened in regard to the preparations of the Federal party to get command of the House of Representatives by their fraud in the election of members and falsification of returns afterwards. If they can foist on the Representative body spurious members enough to make a majority in the opening, there is no doubt they will hold it to the end. The command of the Speakership will give them the committees—among them the Committee of Elections. Their report will conform to the interest of the appointing party, and the same dishonest majority which would conspire to get a control of the House by counterfeiting members, would vote to maintain it.”

Polk's editor, Ritchie, then of the Richmond Enquirer, was equally off his guard. In terror he exclaimed—"Have the whig party become desperate? Are they determined at all events to seize the reins—TO CARRY A SPEAKER for the next congress—AND HE TO SHAPE OUT THE WHOLE STANDING COMMITTEES OF THE HOUSE FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE WHIGS!"—*Enquirer*, Nov. 6, 1838.

"The command of the Speakership will give them the committees," and the report of the committees "will conform to the interest of the appointing party." Van Buren writes from Kinderhook that Blair is the very best of authority—and hence it is evident that it was the usage of Speaker Stevenson's committees, and, of course, Speaker Polk's, to make their reforms to suit "the interest of the appointing party!" Here is the reason why the administration of justice is too often a reproach and a by-word, and the profligate expenditures and appropriations of the party always sustained, and inquiry stilled in the grand inquest of the nation. The majority, who elect the President, send congressmen, who elect a Speaker who will appoint committees to suit the Jackson, Polk or Van Buren of the day—and these committees will be deaf to the dishonesty of the worst men their leader may appoint. A Butler, Hoyt, Wetmore, Stevenson, Lawrence, Edmonds, Woodbury, McNulty, or J. Van Buren, is impregnable under such a system, by which the popular part of our free constitution becomes a screen for iniquity and crime. "Sir," said J. Q. Adams, to the Speaker, during the Texas debate, June 16, 1838, "the Standing Committees are the eyes, the ears, and in a very great degree, the judgment of this House. They are instituted for that very end. They are appointed to meet the subjects sent to us, to consider them, and mature them for our action." General Dromgoole admitted the correctness of the *Globe's* statement, when he owned that his committee had reported on many resolutions of legislatures and petitions from citizens, without opening or looking at or into one of them!

One of them was a letter from E. Livingston, sec. of state, to Speaker Stevenson, dated 15th of March, 1833, (FIFTEEN MONTHS BEFORE HIS NOMINATION!!!) in these words—"Sir: I am directed by the President to inform you, *CONFIDENTIALLY*, that as soon as advices shall be received that the British government consent to open negotiations with this, which are daily expected, it is his intention to offer you the place of Minister to the Court of St. James, and he requests that, should this appointment be agreeable to you, you would hold yourself in readiness to embark in the course of the summer." Another letter was from T. Ritchie to W. B. Lewis, objecting to filling up of Van Buren's London berth with a congressman, without letting the senate know about it. The President declared that he never knew that Stevenson had answered the letter of Livingston. On June 24th, the senate, 23 to 22, negatived Stevenson's appointment, made under such suspicious circumstances. But among the Senators who approved of Jackson's plan of offering an American Speaker a high office, "confidentially," 15 months before he left the chair to accept it, and thus keeping the golden bait always before his eyes, although he and his fellow members might be CALLED to take a bold stand against executive encroachments, were ⚡ Silas Wright, ⚡ T. H. Benton, ⚡ King of Ala. (now minister to France), ⚡ Wilkins, ⚡ Polk's teacher, Grundy, ⚡ Isaac Hill, ⚡ Tallmadge, ⚡ Van Buren's Sec., Forsyth, ⚡ and John Tyler! Among the nays were Clay, Calhoun, Ewing, Clayton, Webster, and Poindexter. But the Senate was defeated in the long run. In May, 1835, Andrew Stevenson might have been seen presiding in that mockery of a people's convention for the nation which nominated Martin Van Buren for the next presidency—and in due time Jackson's pledge to his unworthy confederate was redeemed, and Stevenson sent ambassador to London. It was Stevenson that put Polk \* at the head of

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\* Since 1835, President Polk's mentor and advocate, Ritchie, has so veered about from Jackson's principles to Jackson's practice as to consent that congressmen and editors may be rewarded by the executive, as ambassadors, judges, and cabinet ministers [see Correspondence, p. 214 to 216]—he has even admitted that on a rare occasion, one of them, at least, may accept \$10,000 a year (himself, for instance), as printer to senate, house of representatives, and president. In accordance with this new definition of a boundary or fence against corruption, President Polk gave James Buchanan the vast power and patronage of the secretary of state's office; and perhaps that was settled, like the presidential candidate question, *about the time* of the last Baltimore Convention. That Buchanan knew the use of that power may be inferred from his speech in senate, 1838, where he said that "When a man is once appointed to office, all the selfish passions of his nature are enlisted for the purpose of retaining it. The office-holders are the enlisted soldiers of that administration by which they are sustained. Their comfortable existence often depends upon the re-election of their patron." The Secretaryship of the Treasury, with its ten to twelve millions of patronage, he gave to Robert J. Walker. Thus did he enlist two very conspicuous members of congress, and by so doing gave "strong grounds of apprehension and jealousy on the part of the people," "that corruption will be the order of the day" with him, however regular he may have been at college prayers in North Carolina, or his man Butler at "stated preachings" at Sandy Hill.

Secretary Walker is a native of Northumberland, Pa., in which state his father, Jonathan Walker, was a county judge, and I believe a teacher of youth. The Secretary is a lawyer; began his political career in his native state; and, on his emigration to Mississippi, entered into many speculations, partly in lands and contracts. He is said to have owned \$10,000 worth of lands in Texas, and he certainly gave its annexation to the U. S., as a new field for the cultivation of slavery, all the support that Polk or Johnson could have desired. In the Senate, he was friendly to the principle of the last bankrupt law—perhaps, for a like reason with Solwell, the U. S. Marshal here—for Horace Greeley, in the Tribune of Dec. 8th, says he "has been deep enough in credit, speculation, and paper money—is now a bankrupt—and in 1834 wrote in favor of a national bank, and the restoration of the deposit" thereto. The Tribune publishes a letter of his, dated Natchez, March 1, 1834, as follows:

"Dear Sir: As I promised at our parting to give you my views on any subject which might be interesting to our common constituents, I hasten to say that Mississippi will with great unanimity sustain you on the Deposit Question. In fact, the public voice demands a restoration of the Deposits, and the creating a Bank to supply a general currency. A State Bank can no



the Ways and Means in 1834. It was Polk who, when John Slidell had been elected to Congress from La., closed his trust with the people by sending him out to Mexico, without asking the senate's consent. How many salaries, outfits, and Mexican and Russian ambassadors has the Union paid since 1828, Mr. C's inclusive?

more supply and govern the general currency than a State Government can direct and control the affairs of the Nation. Go on; your constituents are with you; the country must be relieved from the frightful scenes of distress which have visited us.

Yours truly,

R. J. WALKER.

Walker's appointments in this State have been much influenced by his colleague, Marcy. In general, they could not well be worse than they are. Our custom-house, the headquarters of intrigue and corruption for the city, is under his especial supervision and care. The pious Polk invokes providence, omnipotence, heaven, and all that is good and great, to guide him—and then pitches upon a secretary of the treasury from the repudiating state of Mississippi—that secretary the prince of speculators—and whose moneyed transactions were so situated that he could not pay Van Buren for his furniture, and had judgments against him advertised for sale in the *Naïchez Courier*, by the Union Bank of Mississippi, for some twenty-five to fifty thousand dollars, which that paragon of banks sadly needed to pay the gulled and cheated people. I say nothing of the *lost note of hand*. If the spirit of seventy-six is the spirit that now animates American bosoms, I shall be justified in these strictures, even upon those who sit highest in the confidence of the freemen of America.

In John C. Spencer's edition of De Tocqueville, I find the remark, "I have heard of patriotism in the United States, and it is a virtue which may be found among the people, but never among the leaders of the people. In all governments, whatever their nature may be, servility will cower to force, and adulation will cling to power. It would have been impossible for the sycophants of Louis XIV. to flatter more dexterously" than the courtiers of America. Jefferson, writing to Thomas M'Kean, Feb. 2, 1801, tells him that "Interference at elections, whether of the state or federal government, by officers of the State, should be deemed cause of removal; because the constitutional remedy by the elective principle becomes nothing if it may be smothered by the enormous patronage of the general government." Now, if interference with the freedom of elections is bad, are not temptations to the electors, by the executive, to betray those who elected them much worse?

In a letter to President Madison, which I find in the *Richmond Examiner*, by T. Ritchie, dated June 29, 1810, the appointment of Buckner Thurston and Benjamin Howard, both members of Congress, the one to be a judge, and the other the governor of a territory (by the President), is sternly reprobated, because that so long as they were "invested with the legislative character, it is the duty of the President to leave it around them."

President Madison is reminded that the patriot, Macon, had moved the following amendment to the constitution a few months previous: "No senator or representative, after having taken his seat, shall, during the time for which he was elected, be eligible to any civil appointment under the authority of the United States, nor shall any person be eligible to any such appointment until the expiration of the Presidential term, during which such person shall have been a senator or representative."

The editor of *The Union*, that now is—the man whose son is lessening the number of opposition writers, by violence, and who himself abused me, at the desire of President Polk, for braving the danger of exposing state criminals high in power, through their own confessions—promulgated the following pure doctrines in 1810:

"Sir, if ever the Executive branch, in this country, acquires an undue ascendancy over the legislature, it will not be, as it is now in France, through the sword—but by *corruption*, as it is in Great Britain. It is true, sir, that no *placeman* or *pensioner* can sit on the floor of Congress, as they do in Parliament—but places and appointments may now be scattered among those who sit on that floor.

"Will you mark the danger of this distribution of offices? Will not the senator or representative, who wishes for an executive gift, always take care to consult the executive wishes, in his measures or votes? Instead of watching the misconduct of the President, will he not connive at it? Will not Cerberus sleep because he wishes for a sop? If the President should have evil designs to accomplish, here then are instruments disciplined to his hand—a fair exchange is struck between them. The one barter his conscience for the office—just as much, as if he were to barter a piece of land for a piece of gold. I know it is impossible to bribe both houses of Congress by such temptations. I know that there are some of them who are too virtuous to catch the contagion, but it is certain that in proportion to the extent of this corruption, will be the ruin of public morals and of public spirit. Are not offices of almost every description within the Executive Patronage? During the year 1798, Mr. Gallatin estimated the amount within his gift at \$2,000,000. And were there lust of lucre could not sway the man, there

## CHAPTER XXIV.

I shall ever regard my situation in that cabinet as one of the most fortunate events of my life, placing me as it did in close and familiar relations with one who has been well described by Mr. Jefferson as possessing more of the Roman in his character than any man living, and whose administration will be looked to, in *future* times, as a *golden era* in our history. To have served under such a chief, at such a time, and to have won his confidence and esteem is a sufficient glory.—*Van Buren's letter to Walter Bourne, James Campbell. Preserved Fish, Wm. M. Price, Elisha Tibbets, Gideon Lee, C. W. Lawrence, &c., London, Feb. 24, 1832, on his position in Jackson's first cabinet.*

*Van Buren presented by Bourne with the Freedom of N. Y. and a good Character—C. C. Cambreleng.—Jackson's First Cabinet.—Some facts about Lewis Cass.—His War Exploits, Politeness, Notions of Slavery, Friendship to the Indians, Vast Wealth, Indian Agencies, Laws, Eloquence in Senate, and Notions about Texas.—Calhoun's Position.—The Seminole War.—Monroe's Secret Letters to Jackson.—Johnny Ray.—Intrigues by Hamilton, Crawford, Forsyth and others, to injure Calhoun and benefit Van Buren.—Jackson Quarrels with Calhoun.—On the Publication of Political Secrets.—John Henry Eaton and Wife.—Jackson Quarrels with three of his Cabinet about her.—The Russian Mission.—Branch on Van Buren.—John Tyler and a Second Term.—Van Buren sent as Envoy to London, but Rejected by the Senate.—Opinions of Webster, Clay, Frelinghuysen, Root, &c.—The Colonial Trade.—Van Buren elected Vice President.*

HAVING resigned his office as governor, on the 12th of March, 1829, Van Buren left Albany, accompanied by his friend and confederate, B. F. Butler, on the forenoon of the 17th, to take upon himself the duties of Premier, Secretary

are offices of distinction to invite and soothe his ambition. \* \* \* In the making of Laws, it is for the members of Congress to have a simple eye to the interests of their country. It is for them to decide upon the merits of every question that comes before them, without either hope or fear, without compulsion or reward. From the moment that they are led astray by such inducements, they are shorn of their representative character—they cease to be the agents of the people, to become the tools of the Executive."

Will it be believed that the man who could publish these truths in 1810, is now grown so grey in sin that he has for sixteen years upheld the violators of right, and at length accepted office from those who practise what is here so justly condemned!

Jackson, to get popularity for himself and his friends, recommended Macon's measure of 1809, to prohibit this buying and bribing of needy and greedy congressmen; but it was a deception, for he practised continually the baiting system. Benton, too, when he and Van Buren were seeking power and popularity in 1826, made, with the help of Van Buren, a grand report against those abuses which have brought free institutions into disgrace all over the world, but the report was never acted on, nor meant to be. It was an electioneering trap to catch voters.

I have seen a list of congressmen whom Van Buren and Jackson tempted to leave the people and take offices of far more emolument under the executive, but I am not sure that it was correct. It contained seventy-five names, and among these were, for the Russian mission sinecure, John Randolph, James Buchanan, W. Wilkins, \$9,000 a year, and \$9,000 outfit, for a trip to the continent. Cambreleng and Wilkins's brother-in-law, V. P. Dallas, had also the \$18,000 godsend to Petersburg, but were out of Congress before being rewarded. There is another *Russian minister* sinecure, and doubtless we will soon have one more, if not half a dozen. [Duane of Pennsylvania, as a bribe or inducement to take an unfair course, was offered by Jackson, the Russian mission, and so was Samuel D. Ingham, by way of "a sop to Pennsylvania," as he tells in his letter to the President, July 26, 1831, in which he accuses Jackson with duplicity and falsehood; with secretly cherished hostility to him, and with credulity and imbecility. There is no doubt but that he was *managed* by Van Buren and his associates to great advantage for themselves.] Eli Moore, S. H. Gholson, Arnold Plummer, Felix Grundy, Leonard Jarvis, and Gorham Parks, and C. C. Cambreleng were rejected as candidates for Congress, and instantly placed in lucrative offices by Van Buren.

of State, or Minister of Foreign Affairs, at Washington. He stopt a short time at Kinderhook, Hudson, Poughkeepsie, &c., and soon after his arrival at New York, was presented by the Mayor and Aldermen with "the freedom of the city," which had been voted to him on the 23d, on motion of Jesse Hoyt's friend, Cebra, who is said to have had a hint from Cambreleng.\* Corporations

John Forsyth was taken out of Congress by Jackson and Van Buren, to be Secretary of State—R. T. Lytle to be Surveyor General of Ohio—Jesse Miller to be first auditor [and such an auditor!]—H. H. Leavitt to be a district judge—J. M. Wayne to be a judge [\$4,500]—Geo. Loyall to be a navy agent—John Branch to be secretary of the navy—John H. Eaton to be secretary at war—Thomas P. Moore to be ambassador to Columbia—Louis M'Lane to be ambassador to London—William C. Rives to be ambassador to France—E. Livingston and Levi Woodbury to cabinet offices—Jeromus Johnson [see him in correspondence!] to be an appraiser—J. S. Pennybacker to be a judge, and it is my impression that H. A. Muhlenberg was a member of Congress when sent to Austria—Philip P. Barbour when placed on the Supreme Court Bench—Powhattan Ellis when sent to Mexico—and Nathaniel Garrow when appointed marshal—but it may be that in one or two instances the executive reward was not conferred till the recipient had been rejected at the hustings, or had retired.

One grand secret was soon found out by Stevenson, namely, to pay court to Van Buren and his confederates. He is uncle to the wife of one of Van Buren's sons, and one of his steadiest supporters. On the 9th of May, 1834, J. Q. Adams moved to refuse that part of the money vote of the year which granted \$18,000 to ambassadors in Russia and England, as there were none, and these honors and emoluments held in terrorem, as attractions to members of Congress. The yeas were 69, and among them Wise, Selden, Slade, Vance, Gilmer, Corwin, and Lincoln. The nays were Vanderpool, Gillet, Cambreleng, J. B. Sutherland, Polk, &c., 123. About a month afterwards it was found that Speaker Stevenson had had the promise of the London mission for fifteen months!!! Have I not shown that Jackson was right, when, in 1825, he declared that if congressmen were not kept out of executive offices until two years after the term for which the people had elected them, "corruption would be the order of the day;" as also that he, his confederates, Van Buren, Polk, Ritchie, and their partisans were guilty of the practices they affected to condemn? The more I look into the past, into facts, the more I see the necessity, not only of a stake, but also of a national convention. If we have not reform, we shall have worse: while England is really improving her defective institutions, we are allowing bad men to trample our more pure system into the very dust. In the language of Webster, "Our political institutions—our government itself, is made an engine of corruption, and undoes what our social institutions perform. The patronage of government, offices, and emoluments, are considered as rewards, instead of being regarded as necessary agencies of the people; the hopes and fears attendant upon this state of things; the desire to get office and the apprehension of losing it, all become motives of action, and lead many to a course never dictated by feelings of patriotism, if such people ever feel patriotism."

\* **CHURCHILL CALDOM CAMBRELENG.**—This gentleman's letters require no comment. If he is not an unscrupulous, unprincipled partisan, where shall we find one? His motives in attacking the 35 million bank at Philadelphia were to get a 35 million bank at New York, or a new United States Bank, through the Boston and Portland people, who were leading the way. On the 16th of October, 1832, he hinted to Hoyt that the stockjobbers of Wall Street ought to "follow the Bostonians and Portland people ~~in~~ in asking for A NEW BANK from the federal government, but on the plan they propose." His notions of honor and confidence, with respect to private letters, need no remark. His stock speculations as one of the Van Buren, Hoyt, and Butler clique, are well known; and his efforts to mock the workies, and make them his instruments, for no noble and worthy purpose, show that, like Van Buren, he has quite enough of the cunning of the fox. He wanted to be Consul at Liverpool, but Frank Ogden's interest was too heavy for him there. The Custom House, in Hoyt's and Swartwout's time, was a political machine for raining milled dollars into the palms of his parasites, and as Lawrence is the old confederate of Hoyt and Swartwout, Cambreleng's influence there now must be very considerable. That sinecure, the Russian embassy, which is used so cleverly for paying off "old and active politicians," produced to him, in his turn, \$18,000 and the et ceteras. He was for the pets in '34, for the sub-treasury in '37—for Jesse Hoyt as collector, and for Coddington as postmaster. When Van Buren took his southern tour, in 1827, Cambreleng was his companion or pilot-fish. He was an old Crawford man, and treated Calhoun, in 1827, about as honorably as he did Webb, a few years later. The confidential letter to which Cambreleng refers, page 234, No. 225, as one which A. S. Clayton, of Georgia, would publish, was written by Webb, and appears in the *Courier and Enquirer* of Sept. 25, 1832, credited to the Milledgeville papers. Webb there says, "We have alone and single-handed fought the battle of the SOUTH. In us Georgia has found a bold and steadfast friend," &c. Mohawk and Hudson Railroad stock was actually puffed up to 196 by

worship rising luminaries, seemingly from habit—and the resolution in Van Buren's case, declared him to be one of the state's "brightest sons," whose pure republicanism, patriotism and public spirit caused the corporators to "deeply deplore" the necessity which had called on them "to surrender" him to Andrew Jackson. Walter Bowne, the mayor who afterwards whined so piteously for a few bags of the public treasure from that "revered chief," said to the secretary elect, "you have had to encounter the persecution of enemies and the treachery of friends—but your *uprightness*, your wisdom, and courage, have borne you in triumph through every conflict. The same powerful intellect, untiring industry, and devoted patriotism, constituting at once your glory and your strength. During the whole of your career, not a single event has occurred to dim for one moment, the lustre of a reputation, which has been continually increasing in brightness." The mayor then presented "the freedom," in a golden box, and Van Buren delivered a suitable response about harmony, "liberality, moderation, justice and firmness," remarking, rather quaintly, "WE ARE ALL EMBARKED IN THE SAME BOTTOM." After giving audiences to office-seekers, political schemers, holders of French claims, bankers, brokers, and blacklegs; arranging plans for the future with the party leaders; receiving judicious hints from the merchants; and very probably settling with some of his most interested partisans, how best to open the future campaign against the United States Bank, he departed for the south to begin that twelve years course of daring and successful intrigue which had scarcely closed when he landed at the battery, in the midst of storms, and tempests, leaving the fickle dame called Fortune with her new "favorite son," William Henry Harrison, who, like Nelson at Trafalgar, was soon to expire in the arms of victory.

Jackson's first cabinet [which soon gave place to Messrs. Livingston, McLane, Cass,\* Woodbury and Barry,] consisted of Messrs. Van Buren, Eaton, Ingham,

holders, who then sold out, and down went the shares to 117. Webb and Noah explain Cambreleng's course in this and other stock operations. He is a candidate in Suffolk for a seat in the state convention of next June. He was anxious to secure the extension of slavery to Missouri in 1819, and to Florida and Texas in 1826; and he reported from the Ways and Means, in Congress, December, 1826, that "the commence of a confederacy, internal and external, should be wholly free." Noah says of him, Oct. 21, 1831, "It is now more than 12 years since Cambreleng has been foisted upon this community, and we challenge any man to point out a single measure of his recommendation, calculated to benefit the country. Having no wife, no child, no domicile—no interest, nothing to attach him to the soil here, *except some hypothecated Mohawk stock*, and being very useful to Van Buren in more ways than one, he is to have a perpetual seat in Congress." If I could not state one particular of V. B.'s life, the characters he associates with would show very clearly what he is. Like Polk, with whom he is very intimate, Cambreleng is a native of North Carolina—old in years, very short made, and very stout—no great orator, but well acquainted with business and politics. Messrs. Webb and Noah, in the Courier and Enquirer of 10th September, 1832, say:

"It is well known here, that Mr. [This is] Tabbs and the little gentleman (Cambreleng) are stock speculators, who profess to be in the United States is *purely mercenary*. They are opposed to a re-charter simply because they want a new Bank for the purpose of speculating upon new stock. For twelve years Cambreleng has lived upon the democratic party \* \* \* he was no sooner admitted into the money changing firm of Criswell, Ogden & Co., than his powers expended. \* \* \* We admit that not an individual in the State but Mr. Cambreleng could have succeeded in raising the Mohawk and Hudson Rail Road Stock to 136. He managed that well through the agency of the Albany firm—sold out at the nick of time—assigned his appointment, and ran off to Washington. His stock is now worth 113, having depreciated 8 1/2 per cent in less than a year."

If Cambreleng believed that the U. S. Bank could not establish a branch in any state without a gross violation of the constitution, why did he accept a fee of \$1000 from Biddle, for locating a branch at Buffalo? He voted against Jackson for President, in 1825, in Congress, and for Van Buren as governor at the Herkimer Convention of 1828.

\* Lewis Cass was born at Exeter, N. H.—removed with his father and family to the state of Delaware, in or about the year 1795 or '6—remained several years there, and thence emigrated west to Marietta, Ohio, in 1799—studied law there, and began to practise in 1802. In 1806 he was elected to the Ohio legislature, and on the 11th of December introduced a bill to suspend the writ of *habeas corpus*, on account of Burr's conspiracy. Next year he was appointed United States Marshal, which office he held till 1813. The 3d Ohio Volunteers elected him

Branch and Berrien; of whom the three last named were warm friends of Calhoun. The President and Eaton were, at heart, opposed to Calhoun, and in the

their colonel, and with that regiment he joined General Hull and marched from Dayton to Detroit. Hull sent him across to Sandwich, with 280 men, and Lieut. Col. Miller, to see what the British were about, and afterwards crossed to Canada himself, but being old and the fire of youth all gone, if he ever had any, he soon retreated before a very inferior force, and surrendered Detroit. Cass was sent to Washington, where he gave Dr. Eustis, in September, an account of the campaign. My impression is, that he behaved well; but a militia colonel without a military education had not much chance to distinguish himself. It was great cruelty to the country not to shoot Hull, as sentenced. The example was much wanted in those days, and it was the fate he richly merited, by his bullying proclamations and base cowardice. Cass was appointed Governor of Michigan by Madison, in 1813. He held that office eighteen years, and, being considered more suitable for the purposes and policy of Van Buren and Jackson, than Berrien, Branch and Ingham, succeeded to the war department immediately after the blow up in the first cabinet. In 1836, Jackson sent him to represent his government at the court of Louis Philippe, where he remained till December, 1842, and has since been elected to the United States Senate from Michigan. In 1811, he was named as a candidate for the presidency. Ritchie was then rather friendly to him, and published in his *Enquirer* many letters in his favour. Heiss, now Ritchie's partner in the *Union*, but then of the Nashville *Union*, copied a long sketch of his [Cass's] life, "by request," as he took care to state. Cass was, and is, a favorite in Ohio, with what is called the conservative, "or pet banks for ever" party—and having made a few flourishes while in France about the tyranny of England, and all that, *à la caplandum vulgus*, he was set down by the war folks in the west as very favorable to another 18th of July, 1812, policy. In the senate he keeps up this 'free and independent' character, but, at 65 or 66 years of age, it is to be presumed that his fighting days are all over. His opposition to the quintuple treaty against slavery, and affected or real indignation at England's "determination to persevere in her plans of suppressing the slave trade, until slavery itself was extirpated from the world," affords the very best proof, that like the cold and calculating Van Buren, he was quite ready to barter New Hampshire and Ohio feelings for a phalanx of southern votes, and to exhibit in the presidential chair the revolting spectacle of a truckling New Englander, playing the hireling, as the attorney of a set of men whose notions of liberty are better realized in Texas as it is, than as it ought to be. Ritchie and his clique would have preferred Cass to Van Buren, but Polk was still better. The yoke over three millions of unlucky necks in North America was likely to be grasped the tightest by one who, with his ancestors, had always bought and sold our fellow creatures like cattle, and never even dreamt of the slightest amelioration of their hapless lot. How well Cass knew the south and the west! His tact was really admirable. How naturally he put on the guise of a horror-struck freeman, at the very idea of a *mutual* right to search for human cargoes of kidnapped Africans! What a blow to our liberties, should we suffer it! Van Buren, in his inaugural, vetoed in advance every effort to enforce the constitution in its purity in the District of Columbia. That was part of *his bargain*. No man in America would more cheerfully have offered or accepted just such terms as his were, than Lewis Cass.

His humanity to the Indians was on a par with his kindly feelings for the serfs. When the Supreme Court of the Union had decided that the Cherokees or Creeks were entitled to the independent and quiet possession of the lands of their fathers, which they justly claimed, Cass, like Van Buren and Butler, was for getting rid of them. He is a good writer, thanks to his Yankee education; (he was the schoolmate of Webster and Saltonstall;) and he filled the *Globe* for weeks with attacks on the humane doctrine of the Judges. Jackson's policy prevailed—the poor Indians were virtually banished—the nation was heavily taxed to pay for driving them west, far from the graves of their fathers—the Georgia slave-owners were conciliated, and Cass had his splendid reward in the French embassy, and became as supple and oily a courtier to the polite Bourbon as he had proved himself before to the passionate Tennesseean.

General Cass is rich—very rich—and, like Van Buren, very fond of money. He made a fortune by monopolising, through his station, means, and superior credit, much of the lands close to and around Detroit, at an early day—kept a sort of land office, and sold them out in lots at immense profits, on bond and mortgage, gradually, as the city increased. When Wise, in Congress, had accused him of having got rich through government jobs, agencies and contracts, the *Globe*, Blair, in April, 1849, replied, that "General Cass, while Governor of the territory of Michigan, bought a tract of land on the verge of the then infant city of Detroit. The sudden and rapid growth of the city converted this farm into city lots, which General Cass sold for an immense sum of money. His fortune consists in the bonds and mortgages obtained on the public sale of real estate which he purchased in the early settlement of Michigan." How he manages with his wallet of "bonds and mortgages" I can only guess from the fact, as stated in the *Albany Argus*, that in December, 1843, the first ward of Detroit, in which he resides, sent three *Van Buren* men to the county convention there, the delegates in which

interest of Van Buren. I do not at all doubt that Van Buren's letter to Hoyt, page 216, truly describes his standing with General Jackson: "*I have found*

stood, 29 for Van Buren, and but 22 for Cass, of which the city sent a majority opposed to him. If this is so, his popularity among those who had had most dealings with him, was not very strong.

When he left Detroit for Washington, in June, 1831, he became, as Secretary of War, the official principal in settling the accounts of his five Indian Agencies, and of immense disbursements made by him for the U. S. government. He settled his own accounts; perhaps with the aid of some dependent auditor, and perhaps not. With Andrew Stevenson as Speaker, regulating the committees, and the gilded bait of a London mission placed *ever before his eyes*, congressional inquiry was but an imaginary check. Yet all may have been perfectly correct. Who can know anything to the contrary? As settled with, Cass was assuredly no defaulter. The *Portland Advertiser* remarks, that prior to the time of being Secretary of War, he was Governor of Michigan—then a territory—and superintendent of Indian affairs. Both offices were given by the general government, and both salary offices. The business of the Superintendent was with the Secretary of War. Coming from this office, therefore, to the War department, Governor Cass had the power to settle his own accounts with his own hands, and almost upon his own terms. He had been a contractor, receiver and disbursing officer, and became debtor and creditor and examiner of his own accounts."

John Bell, Harrison's War Secretary, winds up his annual or other report with some very left-handed compliments to Indian Agents relative to their honesty, but names nobody. He was soon ousted.

In the matter of the U. S. Bank, Cass, in the cabinet, was assuredly no Duane. The president had no need to offer to compound with his tender conscience by an offer of 'the Russian mission.' Long after the bank was defunct, society ascertained through a letter to G. O. Whittemore, that Lewis Cass "had never seen in the constitution of the U. S. a sufficient grant of power" to establish a national bank. Of course he thought Madison very wrong indeed, when he signed the national bank charter in 1816, and also Crawford, Monroe, Calhoun, Clay, Van Buren and the Supreme Court, in defending the act, but, being Governor of Michigan, by Madison's appointment, just then, he was far too polite and civil to say so. So he was, but he *always* thought so. So he did. In Sept. 1831, in the *Telegraph*, General Green described Cass, as "FOR A BANK—for internal improvements—tariff so-so—a little anti-Supreme Court—friend of the Indians, AND NO FRIEND."


General Cass's laws, when Governor of the territory of Michigan, were, some of them, as peculiar as 'the peculiar institution' of the south. The following enactment, if extended to justices of the peace here, would much delight many *honest* men who may have been so unfortunate as to break the commandment number eight, as also their worshipers of the quorum, who would be sure of heavy fees, prompt pay, and no need to tax bills. Poor sinners, as usual, would be excluded from the benefits. No pay, no pardon!

"An Act for Pardoning Alexander Odion.—Be it enacted by the governor and judges of the territory of Michigan, that Alexander Odion, now imprisoned in the county gaol of the county of Wayne, upon a conviction for larceny, be pardoned and released from gaol upon condition that he pay to the Sheriff of the said county, the costs and expenses which have accrued from the time of his apprehension till his discharge. The same being adopted from the laws of one of the original states, to wit, the state of New York, as far as necessary and suitable to the circumstances of the territory of Michigan. Made, adopted and published at the city of Detroit, in the territory of Michigan, this 7th day of August in the year of our Lord, 1817.

(Signed)

LEWIS CASS, Governor of the territory of Michigan."

A few months before General Harrison died, one would have thought that if the official newspaper of the Union at Washington was entitled to credit for veracity, he must have been one of the greatest of monsters, one of the worst of men. When he died, Cass, at Paris, delivered a very long oration to his memory, from which one would have judged that he must have been "one of the greatest and best" of men—all this, too, on personal knowledge.

When defeated in what some suppose to have been the great object of his wishes, by the decision in favour of Polk, Cass wrote to E. Worrell and others, that he was delighted with the choice the Baltimore Convention had made of such "firm, consistent, able, and honest" citizens as Messrs. Polk and Dallas, both of whom he knew intimately, and that "they would never disappoint the expectations of OUR party, nor of the country." Perhaps he really was delighted. He had written from Paris, 16 Aug. 1841, "My conviction is, that there is nothing in my present position, NOTHING in my past career, which should lead to my selection for such a mark of confidence. My repugnance is great,  ALMOST invincible." How sorry the friends of Peace must be! That is, in case Polk should set the world in a blaze. Mr. Richard Rush wrote Aaron Hobart, of Boston, Jan. 4, 1844, that, after an acquaintance of more than thirty years, he wanted General Cass to be elected, "Because to have a

him," says he, "affectionate, confidential, and kind to the last degree; and am entirely satisfied that there is no degree of good feeling or confidence which he does not entertain for me."

The first measures of consequence in which Van Buren was engaged, appear to have been the preparation of suitable instructions relative to commerce, tariffs, navigation, and boundaries, and the adjustment of claims, for the guidance of the U. S. envoys and other agents in England, France, Mexico, Spain, &c.

In the prosecution of the U. S. claims on France, he seems to have persuaded Jackson to assume a tone of menace and defiance, very unlike indeed to his honied accents when addressing imperial England. The aggrandizement of those banks and mercantile concerns on which he placed dependence, as forming material for the construction of a step-ladder by which, in time, he might be elevated to the Presidency, was not forgotten; nor did he hesitate to intrigue for the destruction of the U. S. Bank, from the moment in which he saw Jackson

man like him President, would be the most likely means of keeping us OUT OF WAR, under menacing questions that hang over us." Methinks friend Rush would have left this *because* out of his catalogue, had he heard the gallant general's trumpet tongued notes in the capitol this session, all ending in 51° 40', for which, however, some wicked wags affirm that he don't care a *rash*. Brougham said of Cass's efforts to please the cotton growing states by opposing the anti-slavery treaty, "And he has done all this for what? For the sake of furthering his own electioneering interest in America, and helping himself to that seat the possession of which he envied Mr. Tyler—the seat of the first magistrate of that mighty republic. My lords (continued Brougham), I hope and trust, for the sake of America, of England, and of humanity and mankind at large, that the prosperity and happiness of that great people will be perpetuated for ever."

In his protest, Cass accused England of duplicity. Webster replied: "You will perceive that, in the opinion of this Government, cruising against slave dealers on the coast of Africa is not all that is necessary to be done, in order to put an end to the traffic. There are markets for slaves, or the unhappy natives of Africa would not be seized, chained, and carried over the ocean into slavery. These markets ought to be shut. And in the treaty, the high contracting parties have stipulated 'that they will unite in all becoming representations and remonstrances with any and all powers within whose dominions such markets are allowed to exist; and that they will urge the propriety and duty of closing such markets at once and for ever.'"

Cass's efforts in France prevented the ratification, by that nation, of a mutual concession treaty, by representing England as insincere, and desirous to enforce her old designs of imprisonment, searching for her seamen, &c. President Tyler approved highly of Cass's conduct. Webb, of the *Courier and Enquirer*, rarely misses a defence of Cass or of Marcy. He evidently likes many of his brother editors of the Whig party much worse than he does the democracy of Cass and Marcy. He and they are thorough-going friends of negro-slavery in its very worst forms.

General Cass is the Secretary who issued orders to Gaines to invade Texas. Of course he approved of these orders. Had it not been so, he could have resigned his place. He is by no means the equal in ability of Clay and Calhoun, nor does he possess the excellent heart, the kindly feelings of Col. Johnson. Van Buren has less mental power than either Clay, Calhoun or Cass; yet, notwithstanding a life of intrigue and demagoguism, chance did the most for him. Van Buren preferred Cass to Calhoun, and Calhoun preferred Polk to Cass. The new divisions of party are north and south, slave owner and freeman. Southern policy is to give to us northerners a master, and to ensure our bondage to the spread of their system by dividing us, and engaging and bargaining with the Marceys, Walkers, and other cunning men who have popularity without liberality. Calhoun was hot for Texas, but, as to Oregon, he urged us to be still. Polk does not differ from him. Had I voted in Nov. 1844, Polk would have had my suffrage, because he stood pledged to act with perfect equality to the foreign born and the native, while Clay stood silent, with our native bigots, the foreigner's avowed enemies, in his front ranks. If there is to be a slave class, and a master class, I shall not willingly forge my own fetters. Had I supported Polk, however, which I did not, I would have been, as others are, his dupe. Those who are intimate with Gov. Cass, tell me, that his manners are pleasing; that he is courteous; a good scholar; an amiable man; a good husband and father. He is a large sized, portly man, with a big head; and carries his political principles, like a country doctor's wallet of medicines, in a convenient, portable form. He played his card well in the game of present making, in 1844—and, after Van Buren's election, there's no knowing what may happen two years hence. Cass is, by trade, a politician, and has mind and great experience.

in possession of substantial power. The President was speedily involved in a quarrel with the directors of the U. S. branch at Portsmouth, N. H., and the breach when made was easily widened.

The influence of the cabinet; its patronage; the means its members had of giving a direction to public opinion on certain important subjects; their views, connections, expectations, wishes; the majority of them desirous to see Calhoun the next President; Calhoun himself already at the head of the Senate as Vice President; with the Telegraph press and patronage of Congress in the hands of its indefatigable editor, General Duff Green, at his back; presented a state of things which neither Jackson nor Van Buren liked, so they resolved upon a dissolution of the cabinet, as the only plausible means of getting rid of Branch, Ingham, and Berrien. One pretext for a quarrel was found, in the fact that President Monroe, and his Secretary of War, Calhoun, had not been altogether satisfied with Jackson's mode of conducting the Seminole war,\*—and this was

\* WHAT ARE THE FACTS ON THE SEMINOLE QUESTION? They are these. Jackson was employed by Monroe, and his cabinet, which then consisted of Crawford, Adams, Calhoun, Wirt, and Crowninshield, to chastise certain Indian tribes or bands, whose home was in Florida, a possession of Spain. He disobeyed, or rather transcended his orders, and on the 19th of July, 1818, President Monroe wrote him privately, that when called into service against the Seminoles, "the views and intentions of the government were fully disclosed in respect to the operations in Florida. IN TRANSCENDING THE LIMIT PRESCRIBED BY THOSE ORDERS, you acted on your own responsibility." Mr. Monroe said, it was right to attack the Seminoles in Florida, for they had a sort of sovereignty there, "but an order by the government to attack a Spanish post would assume another character. IT WOULD AUTHORIZE WAR. CONGRESS ALONE POSSESS THAT POWER." Jackson had seized and held the posts or forts of Spain in time of peace. Hill had denounced him, so had Ritchie, and North. Coleman of the Post, Feb. 8, 1819, said, that "in spite of the votes which one branch of the legislature have passed, we shall continue to think that the conduct of General Jackson, in forcibly entering the Spanish territory, and seizing upon the civil authority; in decoying, by means of false colors, two Indian chiefs on board of an American vessel, and then hanging them at the yardarm, one of whom, too, had spared the life of an American captive, at the intercession of his daughters; and in hurrying to a violent and ignominious death, two prisoners, after quarter had been granted, can never be justified by any authority to be found in any civil or religious code." In the British cabinet it was seriously debated whether satisfaction or war ought not to be the alternative demanded for the hanging of Capt. Arbuthnot, who advised the English authorities that Jackson's war mission was occasioned by persons who were grasping after the lands of the Indians, and the southern planters desiring to seize and punish their black bondsmen for seeking that freedom in a Spanish colony which the land of liberty denied. Crawford, in one of his letters, mentioned that, about this time Jackson wrote to Monroe, and "gave it as his opinion that the Floridas ought to be taken by the United States." He (Jackson) added, "it might be a delicate matter for the Executive to decide; but the President [Monroe] had only to give a hint to some confidential member of Congress, say Johnny Ray, and he would take it, and take the responsibility upon himself." Was Senator Houston, Jackson's Johnny Ray, in the Texas affair? Was Senator Yulee, Polk's Johnny Ray, when he introduced a resolution recently to annex Cuba, after the highest officials in Illinois had met and advised that measure? Who are to be the Oregon and California Rays? That President is not very particular in the matter of sincerity who pledges himself to all Oregon before an election, offers to give up 15,000 square miles after it, declares to the American people that our title is clear and unquestionable to 51° 43', and then offers a compromise for latitude 49°.

To return to Monroe's letter to Jackson. He told him that his seizing the fortresses of Spain, might involve the Union in a war with that power, when British privateers would harass American commerce, and this country not have one European power on its side—and that such a state of things ought not to be lightly hazarded. He advised Jackson to amend his reasons—and in another private letter, dated Oct. 20, added, "I was sorry to find that you understood your instructions relative to operations in Florida DIFFERENTLY FROM WHAT WE INTENDED." Here he speaks for himself and his cabinet, especially for Calhoun, who was then at the head of the department of war, and had issued these instructions. Mr. Monroe bids the general write out his views, adding, "This will be answered, so as to explain ours, in a friendly manner, by Mr. Calhoun, WHO HAS VERY JUST AND LIBERAL SENTIMENTS ON THE SUBJECT. This will be necessary in the case of a call for papers by Congress, or may be. Thus we shall all stand on the ground of honor,



furnished by the confederates of Van Buren, and urged through Hamilton and Forsyth upon Jackson at the fitting moment, who feigned a feeling of indignation, evidently put on, and acted, for to rouse Calhoun and bring on an angry dispute. I say feigned a feeling, for after Jackson had quarrelled with Calhoun on this matter, he remained upon the most cordial and kindly terms with many other leading politicians, who, as he well knew, had in 1818 and 1819, been among

**EACH DOING JUSTICE TO THE OTHER**, which is the ground on which we wish to place each other."

Adams's vindication of Jackson is on record—Monroe's manly conduct towards him in his public capacity, was only equalled by his kind and friendly consideration in private. Here we see that he frankly told Jackson, that Calhoun's sentiments in the whole matter were very just and very liberal, and that his (Jackson's) conduct was not approved, but that reasons were sought for its justification that the evils of an unnecessary war might be avoided. How could Jackson, when in possession of these secret letters for ten years, pretend, *after his election* had been secured through the gigantic efforts of Vice President Calhoun and his friends, that he had always understood that Calhoun, as war secretary, had approved of the hangings and fortress seizures in a friendly country without war! Jackson was enraged at Calhoun and Crawford in 1818, for not thinking as he did, but Calhoun gave him a party, and the quarrel was revived at the convenient interval of ten years, to serve Van Buren. As a proof that Messrs. Monroe and Calhoun continued to confide in Jackson, and that their ulterior views were believed to be his, they offered him, in 1823, the mission to Mexico, which he would have accepted, had not Burr and others more influential, induced him to set his cap for the Presidency of the Union.

Crawford, when he reported, as he had a perfect right to do, at a proper interval of time, the secret conversations in Monroe's cabinet, ought to have told the truth. Does not his own statement show that he did not do so? and knowing that, how could Jackson or Van Buren pretend to depend more on his vindictive yet treacherous memory than on the confidential assurances of James Monroe?

In 1823, we find John Forsyth, Van Buren's confederate, writing Major James A. Hamilton as follows: "Milledgeville, Feb. 8th. Dear Sir: Our friend W. H. Crawford was in this 'place a few hours yesterday. By his authority I state, in reply to your inquiry, that, at a 'meeting of Mr. Monroe's cabinet to discuss the course to be pursued towards Spain, in consequence of General Jackson's proceedings in Florida, during the Seminole war, MR. CALHOUN SUBMITTED TO AND URGED UPON THE PRESIDENT THE 'PROPRIETY AND NECESSITY OF ARRESTING AND TRYING GENERAL JACKSON. MR. MONROE WAS VERY MUCH ANNOYED BY IT.'"

Hamilton had previously asked Calhoun the same question. In his letter to him of Feb. 25, 1823, he says—"In reply to my inquiry, 'Whether at any meeting of Mr. Monroe's cabinet the propriety of ARRESTING GENERAL JACKSON for anything done by him during the Seminole war, had been at any time discussed,' you answered, 'SUCH A MEASURE WAS NOT THOUGHT OF—much less discussed. *The only point before the cabinet it is the answer to be given to the Spanish government.*'"

Hamilton was the dependant of Van Buren—he was fond of money—had been an anti-war federalist, and required Van Buren's aid, as Van Buren did his. At the proper moment, the information which he had secretly obtained from Crawford's friend, Forsyth, about THE ARREST, was communicated to Jackson. The election was now sure—Branch, Ingham and Berrien were true to their principles and their friends—Duff Green stood by Calhoun, who had no means of rewarding him, though by so doing he knew that Jackson's and Van Buren's indignation and the loss of office and its vast emoluments, would be the certain results. The apples of discord had now to be scattered—and Jackson, professing astonishment about the ARREST, and not contented with Calhoun's explicit disclaimer to Hamilton, applied to Crawford, the political enemy of Calhoun, and who had voted in the cabinet to punish him by a disavowal of his Seminole proceedings!

Finding that matters were taking this new turn, Crawford wrote Forsyth from Woodlawn, 30 April, 1839, "I recollect distinctly what passed in the cabinet meeting referred to in your 'letter to Mr. ———. Mr. Calhoun's proposition in the cabinet was that General Jackson 'should be ARRESTED IN SOME FORM OR REPRIMANDED IN SOME FORM. I 'AM NOT POSITIVELY CERTAIN WHICH. AS MR. CALHOUN DID NOT 'PROPOSE TO ARREST GENERAL JACKSON, I feel confident that I could not have 'made use of that word in my relation to you,' &c. Here's a disclaimer for you! He had told Forsyth secretly that Calhoun did propose to arrest Jackson. Now he tells him he did not say that. In one sentence of the above quoted letter, he says he recollects distinctly what passed, but in the next he says he does not recollect distinctly whether Calhoun spoke of reprimand or of punishment!

the most hostile to him in the matter of that same Florida campaign. Jackson was perfectly aware that Van Buren, with the presses under his control, and also some of his friends in the U. S. Senate, had really been his deadliest enemies in 1818, and long after it—yet, now that it suited his purpose, he could profess to forget all this, while Calhoun, who had acted most honorably toward him, was made to feel the effect of what assuredly was a rooted hatred.

Jackson, urged on by Van Buren's creatures, goes to a man for facts, who is filled with envy and hatred of Calhoun; and who cannot withhold the details of his own petty griefs, even in an appeal to the public. Calhoun (says he) established the Washington Republican to slander and vilify me—he set on Ninian Edwards to break down my character, &c. He goes on to say, that he was for Jackson as president if it wouldn't help Calhoun, and that Calhoun's family had called Jackson a "military chieftain," with more of such gossip and twaddle; adding what had probably the greatest weight of any, "I know personally that Mr. Calhoun favored Mr. Adams's pretensions till Mr. Clay declared for him." In his letter to Balch, 14th Dec. 1827, Crawford also says, "My opinions upon the next presidential election are generally known. When Mr. Van Buren and Mr. Cambreleng made me a visit last April, I authorized them upon every proper occasion to make those opinions known." On turning to page 200, letter 144, it will be seen that "my friend Col. Hayne" is the word with Van Buren. In 1832, we meet with the Colonel's vote to recall him from London. When the Van Buren party nominated Jackson, in this state, in 1828, they omitted to name Calhoun for vice president—meantime the plot was ripening, and a very deep plot it was. How like to the persecution of Clinton in 1819 and 1820, by Van Buren, Butler and the "high minded;" a persecution, the principle involved in which, even Hammond could not see; for Clinton's measures, like those of Jackson's insulted secretaries, had given entire satisfaction.

Calhoun's letter to Jackson, dated May 29, 1830, is a specimen of his manly straight-forwardness, and consistency, which one would wish to see rewarded, even on earth. He goes fully into the merits of the Seminole case—is master of both facts and arguments—and after having stated that he approved, that they all approved, of Monroe's private letter of July 19, 1818, I cannot perceive how, at an interval of twelve years, Jackson should have singled out him—the man to whom, when aspersed and slandered from Maine to Missouri, he owed so much—as an enemy—unless it was, that he (Calhoun) stood in the way of measures, public or personal, which Jackson and Van Buren had at heart; and must be injured, if that were possible. Calhoun's idea appears from his letters. He says to Jackson, "I should be blind not to see that this whole affair is a political manoeuvre, in which the design is that you should be the instrument and myself the victim, but in which the real actors are carefully concealed by an artful movement." In the hands of Clinton, Duane, Calhoun, and men of their honorable dispositions, Jackson's administration might have become a blessing to society, and Van Buren been compelled to suspend his intrigues. Soon after the dissolution, at a public dinner in Pendleton, S. C., one of the toasts was "Martin Van Buren." "Ah! that deceit should steal such gentle shapes, and with a virtuous visor, hide deep vices."

Calhoun never could find out the name of Jackson's first informer—he who referred to Hamilton, who in his turn referred to Crawford. He was justified in holding Forsyth up in that detestable character, and did so—but Van Buren remembered the service done him, and in course of time Forsyth became his Secretary of State. This was his reward.

Because I gave to the public the secret correspondence of Van Buren and his confederates, instead of turning it into money, as some poor men like me would have been tempted to do, Van Buren's friends have slandered and persecuted me. In a letter from his favorite candidate, W. H. Crawford, dated Woodlawn, 2d Oct., 1830, and addressed to J. C. Calhoun, I find the following paragraph on political secrets:

"I shall first notice your observations upon the disclosure of the secrets of the cabinet, which you say is the first which has occurred, at least in this country. Do you really believe this assertion, Mr. Calhoun? How did the written opinions of Messrs. Jefferson and Hamilton, on the first bank bill, ever see the light? How were the facts and circumstances which preceded and accompanied the removal of Edmund Randolph from the State Department by General Washington, disclosed and made known to the public? If your assertion be true, those facts and circumstances would, at this moment, be buried in Egyptian darkness. While a cabinet is in existence and its usefulness liable to be impaired, reason and common sense point out the propriety of keeping its proceedings secret. But after the cabinet no longer exists, when its usefulness cannot be impaired by a disclosure of its proceedings, neither reason, common sense, nor patriotism, requires that these proceedings should be shrouded in impenetrable darkness. The acts of such a cabinet become history, and the nation has the same right to a knowledge of them, that it has to any other historical fact. It is presumed that all nations have entertained this opinion and have acted upon it. Hence the secret history of cabinets, the most despotic in Europe. Hence the history of the house of Stuart, by Charles James Fox, which discloses the most secret intercourse between Charles II., and the French Minister, by which it was proved that Charles was a pensioner of Louis XIV., King of France, and had secretly engaged to re-establish Popery in England. Yet in the face of all these facts, you dare presume upon the ignorance of the distinguished person you were addressing, so far as to insinuate that such disclosures had never been made in any country, but certainly not in this republic."

The Seminole question was but the nominal one, on which they differed—a means taken to effect a much desired end.

Another cause of strife was Mrs. Eaton. She had been the widow of Purser Timberlake, of the Constitution; and was married to Mr. J. H. Eaton, Jackson's biographer and war secretary, in 1829. While Mrs. Timberlake, the ladies of character, in Washington, had refused to associate with her for several years, alleging that her conduct and reputation were too bad. General Robert Desha had warned Eaton of all this before their marriage—and, as Eaton was a favorite of Jackson's, and the families of Messrs. Calhoun, Branch, Berrien and Ingham neither visited his wife nor invited her to their parties, while Van Buren, being a widower, with no daughters, was unremitting in his attentions to her, an effort was made to coerce Messrs. Branch, Ingham and Berrien into a different course, coupled with a threat of removal from office, in case Mrs. E. was not, by their families, placed on a more friendly footing.\* In all this, the

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\* WHAT INFLUENCE DID MR. AND MRS. EATON EXERCISE OVER JACKSON? I place much confidence in the statements of Messrs. Branch, Berrien, and Ingham, because they were democrats of high character, the choice of Jackson, in accordance with public sentiment, and because they chose, like Duane, to retire from the offices they held, and refuse other offices offered them as bribes, rather than become the base instruments of Van Buren, and through his influence to enjoy a monopoly, as it were, of the power and patronage of this great republic. I place confidence in them because, like Calhoun, they would descend to nothing mean—because they spurned Jackson's offer, for such it was, on condition that their families would associate with Mrs. Eaton, the wife of Jackson's personal friend and war minister, a woman whom the citizens' wives would neither receive nor visit, on account of her mode of life as they had witnessed it; and I confide in them, because they were acknowledged to have been good and faithful stewards to the public, by Jackson, while not a whisper did even the breath of slander utter to their prejudice. I wish we could say as much of their well known successors, Kendall, Taney, Woodbury, Van Buren and Butler.

John Henry Eaton married the Widow Timberlake in January, 1829. I suppose he had been a long time a widower. Either General Macomb or John Van Buren introduced me that year, in the department of state, to Mr. Eaton's sons, one at least of whom must have been 19 or 20 years old. William B. Lewis, of Tennessee, whom Polk dismissed from office a few months since, another personal friend of Jackson's, was Eaton's brother-in-law, and appears to have approved of this second marriage. When the cabinet broke up, Eaton wrote a letter to Blair, stating that soon after their marriage, Mr. and Mrs. Calhoun called and left their card, and that he and Mrs. Eaton returned the visit, and were, by Mrs. C., received with much politeness. To this, a reply was made by Calhoun, that his wife had never called on Mrs. E. at any time, never left her card, nor authorized another to do so for her—that Mrs. C. conceived it to be the duty of Mrs. E., if innocent, to open her intercourse with the ladies who resided in the place—that "it was not, in fact, a question of the exclusion of one already admitted into society, but the admission of one already excluded. Before the marriage, while she was Mrs. Timberlake, she had not been admitted into the society of Washington; and the real question was, whether her marriage with Major Eaton should open the door already closed on her; or, in other words, whether official rank and patronage should, or should not, prove paramount to that censorship, which the sex exercises over itself; and on which, all must acknowledge, the purity and dignity of the female character mainly depend."

I have recently perused with as much attention as I could give to them, the correspondence and other newspaper statements concerning Jackson, his secretaries, and Mrs. Eaton and Van Buren. They are full of gall and bitterness. The Secretary of War (Eaton) publicly addresses his late colleagues, the great exemplars of the new world, thus: "These two men, Ingham and Berrien, will stand together in after time, and with honorable men, monuments of duplicity, ingratitude and baseness—traitors to their friends, and destroyers of themselves—a memorable illustration of the melancholy truth, that a man may smile and smile, and be a villain!" Betwixt his angry word and artful monitor, Van Buren, poor Eaton must have been in a bad way. To repeat the charges of deceit, falsehood, hypocrisy, and other vices—the threats of assassination, vengeance, chastisement, &c.—the challenges to fight duels or bear the brand of cowardice, would be tedious—but a few extracts from the narrative of Governor Branch of North Carolina, who had been Jackson's Secretary of the Navy, may help us to a right estimate of Van Buren's agency in the affair.

"Mr. Van Buren, it must be borne in mind, [says Gov. Branch.] was a widower without daughters; and he adroitly availed himself of all his privileges as such. His attentions to Mrs. Eaton were of the most marked character. Polite and assiduous on all occasions, he was particularly so in the presence of Gen. Jackson or

point aimed at, both by Van Buren and Jackson, was to get rid of Calhoun's friends, and to fill their places with more pliable politicians. On the 7th of April, 1831, Eaton resigned the War Department. Van Buren gave up the Department of State on the 11th, and Jackson wrote him after this manner:—"To say that I deeply regret to lose you is but feebly to express my feelings." Ingham was sent for next—the two resignations shown him by the President, and a wish expressed that he would go out. The RUSSIAN MISSION was offered as usual, which he indignantly refused, but resigned forthwith, giving, as his

Maj. Eaton. His influence, in every variety of form, both official and unofficial, was exerted to make it apparent to those gentlemen that he entered deeply into their feelings; not, in fact, that he cared anything about them; but he foresaw the power to be acquired by pursuing such a course, and had no scruples to restrain him. At length, Gen. Jackson, after the meeting of Congress in December, 1829, finding the ladies of Washington to be impracticable, determined that the families of his Cabinet should submit to terms or be dismissed. \* \* \* Congress was in session; the ladies of the members from Tennessee, even, held no intercourse with Mrs. Eaton; nor, in fact, the President's own family. The friends of the administration became alarmed, lest the exercise of such despotic power should overwhelm them all, and warned off the impending blow. The situation of Mrs. Eaton, however, engrossed the President's whole soul, and he continued to be much occupied in collecting certificates, principally from office seekers, to sustain her. This book of certificates, for a while did it soon become, was that on which office seekers first qualified for office. In the meantime, Mr. Van Buren, who had artfully contributed to inflame the President's mind, doubtless, in part, inducing him to believe that Mrs. Calhoun's refusal to return Mrs. Eaton's card in February, 1829, had influenced the families of the Cabinet to pursue the course they had adopted towards her, finding him wrought up to the mad fury of a 'roaring lion,' to use Col. Johnson's description, thought it a good time to engage and turn him loose on his most formidable rival, Mr. Calhoun, who was then Vice President, and participated with him in the renown which he (Van Buren) attached to service under such a chief. The manner in which the unfriendly correspondence commenced between Gen. Jackson and Mr. Calhoun, taken in connection with the time, is sufficient to convince any intelligent mind that it was instigated by Van Buren. I exerted every nerve to defeat his purpose. Often have I entreated General Jackson to avoid a rupture with Mr. Calhoun, as no good could result from such a quarrel. His allegation against Mr. Calhoun was a mere pretext; you see him now in sweet communion with those who, in 1819, were his most bitter assailants. By this time, I well understood the character of Mr. Van Buren. With him, I found that the end justified the means; and, as the destruction of Mr. Calhoun was the object nearest his heart, he was very willing the old Chief, for whom he professed so much love and veneration, should accomplish this work for him at any and every hazard to himself. I believed then that Mr. Van Buren placed too low an estimate on the virtue, patriotism and intelligence of the American people, and that his reliance on General Jackson to accomplish his purposes would prove delusive. \* \* \* His skirts have proved strong enough to bear Mr. Van Buren into the Vice Presidency, and recent indications have induced me to fear that the country is sufficiently corrupt to enable him, through the patronage of the Government, to reach the great object of his ambition. It does surpass all belief that the cool, dispassionate and unprincipled wire-worker in this plot should, by such means, render himself acceptable to a free, generous, patriotic, and enlightened people."

One thing must be said here, in favor of Jackson, but it tells so much the worse for Van Buren. His party had basely slandered Mrs. Jackson during the canvass of 1824; Jackson was tenderly attached to her; she had gone to her grave, just before he left Tennessee to assume the duties of President; and there were those who wounded his feelings by telling him that the conduct pursued towards his Tennessee friend's wife, was one way of insulting himself. Jackson had not forgotten the Benton pamphlets. On the 9th of May, 1831, Jesse Speight, M. C., who afterwards adhered to Van Buren, thus addressed Governor Leitch:

"MY DEAR FRIEND:—Yours of the 4th inst., has this moment come to hand. I am at present in the opinion I had formed as to the cause of the blow out at Washington (as we call it here.) It is impossible for me to express the deep and heartfelt mortification I have and continue to feel for the honor of my country. I too, sir, am disappointed. Never did I believe that the high-minded chivalrous Independence of Andrew Jackson could be made to bow at the shrine of selfish ambition. Ah! and so as to forsake old long tried friends at the polls, and moved by the deceitful artifices of such men as Martin Van Buren, and seduced by the instigation of Mrs. Eaton. So far as I have understood, the feelings of your friends are with you. \* \* \* God bless you  
"J. SPEIGHT."

Col. James Watson Webb was, as the reader will perceive by reference to his letter and card, pages 231 and 232, so friendly to Van Buren, that he was ready to fight any number of duels to his honor and glory. Having since, like me, cooled down a little, he tells his readers, through the Courier & Enquirer of July 7, 1837, that Van Buren became Jackson's favorite "by his base sycophancy and unscrupulous truckling to the mandates of his master"—that, to worm himself into Jackson's favor, he gave a grand entertainment, to which all the families of distinction were invited—that "at the appointed time, the doors of the supper-room were thrown open, the music struck up, and Martin Van Buren led to the head of his table, and seated upon his right hand, the lady whom General Jackson had commanded to be received," but whom the rest of the cabinet objected to countenance.

As early as Nov. 24, 1828, the National Advocate, N. Y., notices the singular fact, that "immediately after the combined powers have effected the security of Jackson's election, the forces of Van Buren and Calhoun should assume a hostile attitude towards each other." Van Buren and his followers, well knowing Jackson's pledge not to be re-elected, were the first to nominate him for a second term—they saw he wished it and that it would throw him more and more into Van Buren's power. How few Kings, Popes, and Presidents we find who willingly lay

reason, Jackson's wishes that he should do so. Jackson replied to his note, bore testimony to his "integrity and zeal," and declared that he had been "fully satisfied" with his conduct. This was not the truth. If the officer was true and faithful, did he merit, as a reward, to be turned rudely out of place, or what was thereto equivalent? If he had said to the three cabinet ministers, whom he asked to go away, "You are faithful, capable and zealous in the public service, but you are also fond of Calhoun, whom Van Buren has made me believe not to be my friend; this is your offence, and it is unpardonable;" he would have told more of the truth in that matter. How could he DEEPLY REGRET to part with Van Buren as an officer, when he had already resolved to send him to London, and give McLane Ingham's place? Congress broke up on the 3d of March, and by the 7th of next month, the actors in the cabinet plot had their parts perfectly prepared.

That same year, Louis McLane took charge of the Treasury, and Van Buren left for England as the new envoy. His letter to Hoyt, page 229, shows that he liked the British capital, all but the expense of living in it. His nomination as minister was sent to the Senate in December; and, on the 25th of January, 1832, by a vote of 23 against 23, and the casting voice of \*Calhoun,

down power! I think John Tyler was honest and meant to do right, and I am glad he did not give us a national bank, for I think we may do better—but he ought to have declined a re-election, and positively declared that he would not be a candidate. Why did he advocate the one term principle, and afterwards, like Jackson, decline to lay down the cup till he had drank to the very dregs? I am not sure that his conduct in asking his cabinet officers, whether he ought to be a candidate for a second term, was the surest evidence of a great soul or a lofty spirit. He must have known, when he asked his cabinet, What shall I do? that the answer would be, Hold the reins as long as possible. One good to him resulted from the course he took. He learnt what a hollow, deceitful tribe, courtiers are. There are, in reality, but two parties in this republic; and it would have been glorious, indeed, if the people had shaken off the harness of demagogues, and constituted a party for the country and for liberty. I once thought that it was Mr. Tyler's ambition to rise upon the ruins of prostrate selfishness. Perhaps I was mistaken. When he left Washington, his successor seemed wanting in respect to the office he had held. No matter. It taught him a lesson. I honor him for signing the cheap postage bill, malgré all southern opposition.

\* WHY WAS VAN BUREN REJECTED BY THE SENATE? When the Van Buren party at Albany heard of his rejection as minister to London, where, as Dr Holland tells us, on the best authority, "he arrived in September, 1831, and was received, with distinguished favor, by the Court of St. James," the legislators friendly to him met at Albany, in the Assembly Chamber, where Senator Kemble, whose subsequent adventures will be found in my *Lives of Hoyt and Butler*, came forward with a series of resolutions for a national convention at Baltimore, a state convention at Albany, &c., and the meeting also appointed Levi Beardsley, John W. Edmonds, N. P. Talmadge, C. L. Livingston, W. H. Angel, and others, a committee to address General Jackson; who, in his reply, took occasion to say to them that Van Buren, on the question of trade, respecting which he had been blamed, had acted under his directions, and that his conduct had his approbation—that he held him in high esteem as a man of ability and integrity—that, as far as he (Jackson) knew, he had taken no part in the difficulties between him (Jackson) and Calhoun, nor advised the dissolution of his first cabinet, but been the friend of harmony—and that, when asked to go to London, he "yielded a reluctant consent."

In Senate, Mr. Webster thought Van Buren's instructions to McLane, of 29th of July, 1829, derogatory to the national character, and showed a disposition in the writer to persuade Lord Aberdeen that the English government had an interest in maintaining in the U. S. the ascendancy of the party to which he (V. B.) belonged; thus establishing abroad a distinction between his country and his party. Mr. Frelinghuysen took a similar view. Van Buren's instructions commissioned McLane to apprise the British Court of who triumphed last election, and who were defeated—to put his party in the right and his country in the wrong—to seek as a favor, as a privilege to the party now dominant, what had been refused as a right in Mr. Adams' time—and to separate the administration of the country from the country, for, said he, Mr. Van Buren argues that "to set up the acts of the LATE ADMINISTRATION, as the cause of the FORFEITURE OF PRIVILEGES which would otherwise be extended to the people of the U. S., would be unjust," because we, the new men in office, took sides with England, and opposed that administration. This is very humiliating indeed.

On the matter of colonial trade, Adams and Clay, when in power, had agitated in every

"New York's favorite son" was permitted to exchange the classic banks of the Thames, and the smiles of royalty in the old world, for his rural residence at

possible way the question of the free navigation of the great St. Lawrence. They asserted that England, by her colonial trade act, wanted to monopolize the whole carrying trade for American produce, which is very bulky, to the British West Indies, and reasoned with her on the unfairness of high discriminating or protecting duties. Jackson and Van Buren abandoned the free use of the St. Lawrence and the carrying trade, and obtained a reduction of duties on articles sent through Canada—they declaring that if the farmer found a new or improved market at his own door, it mattered little to him where his produce went to. I must own that Van Buren's conduct in this trade question does not appear to me to be deserving of censure *in itself*—and as the instructions were by the President, and had been before Congress for many months—as the terms agreed to by Lord Aberdeen and Louis McLane, in 1829, I think, had been accepted by this country, and the trade opened under a legislative enactment, it seems to me that it was too late to censure, in 1832, language which had been passed over without remark 18 months before. The cringing, apologetic tone of the instructions tells who the real author was; and contrasts strangely with the bold and haughty defiance given to ancient, friendly, warm-hearted France, on another memorable occasion, from the same quarter—but I do think the arrangement made was advantageous to the U. S. Soon after this, I moved in the Canada Assembly for the appointment of a Committee on Trade: and, after some six weeks of inquiries, I drew up the report, which the legislature printed in the form of a pamphlet of a hundred pages. Here is an extract: "England claims an exclusive monopoly in our markets; she allows us none in hers. Our beef and pork are prohibited in her home dominions, and our pot and pearl-ashes subjected to the same rates of duty at Liverpool as the pot and pearl-ashes of the southern shores of Ontario and Erie. The shipping of Britain at Quebec give no preference to timber, live stock, flour, beef, and pork, brought from Upper Canada, over similar articles brought from the United States. The monopoly is all in favor of England and the United States, the Congress of which latter country, by an act passed in July, 1832, subjects our wheat, wheat flour, beef and pork, ashes, and other staples, to an impost tax of £15 on every £100 value." In all this there was not much of reciprocity—but I do not see how complaint could be made at Washington of an arrangement which excluded Canada from the ports of the United States, and opened those of Canada and the West Indies to the farmers of this Union. In every conversation I had, when in England, with Lord Goderich, who introduced the corn bill into parliament, and with Lord Sydenham, V. P. of the Board of Trade, in 1832-33, I complained grievously of the liberality shown to the U. S. for the benefit of English shipping, while no care had been taken to obtain the like favors for Canada here. The late drawback act is an amendment, however, and there are many improvements on both sides—but I have proposed to myself to avoid saying much on tariff questions. There is not room here.

A charge made against Van Buren, that he was the parent of the proscriptive system, which Clay and Adams had disdained to resort to, would have been ably sustained, had the Senators who made it had, in addition to the facts in their possession, the Custom House rubbish left on deposit, or to be swept out, when Jesse Hoyt ceased to be first lord of the Van Buren treasury here. Senator Foot, of Connecticut, said, "I sincerely believe that Gen. Jackson came to this place fully determined to remove no man from office, but for good cause of removal. I am fully convinced the whole 'system of proscription' owes its existence to Martin Van Buren! That the dissolution of the Cabinet was effected by his management and for his benefit! and that the hand of the late Secretary of State may be traced distinctly in another affair, which has produced an alienation between the first and second Officers of the Government; and also in relation to the present 'improved condition of the public press,' and the great abuse of the patronage of the Government!"

On Tuesday, Jan. 31, Tammany Hall met to sustain Van Buren, and the committee of resolves consisted of W. Bowne, James Campbell [see pages 193, 203, &c.], Saul Alley, C. W. Lawrence, W. P. Hallett, Preserved Fish, Wm. M. Price, F. B. Cutting [see pages 177, 180, 182], Gideon Lee, Elisha Tibbets, &c. They glorified Jackson and Van Buren, censured the Senate as intriguers, and read John C. Calhoun out of the democratic party by due process of political excommunication.

Among the 23 rejecting votes in the Senate, I notice Holmes of Maine, Clay, Webster, Seymour of Vt., Prellinghuysen, Clayton, R. Y. Hayne, Gabriel Moore, Thomas Ewing, and B. Ruggles. Among the 23 affirming votes were Isaac Hill, Felix Grundy, Dudley and Marey, G. M. Dallas and W. Wilkins, his brother-in-law, Benton, Tyler, Powhattan Ellis, and King, now at Paris. I have seen a table showing that the States voting in favor of Van Buren had a population of 6,635,571, and those opposed only 3,500,000, yet the majority was one against. Nullification came next, then the pet banks, the sub-treasury followed. On New Year's day, 1840, Clay and Calhoun attended President Van Buren's levée; and in November next, South Carolina, with consent of Calhoun, McDuffie, Pickens and Rhett, honored with her vote, for a second term, the re-elected minister of 1832.

Kinderhook, in the lovely valley of the Hudson, near the base of the Catskill; and relieved, for a brief season, from the cares of public life. He left England for France in March, made a hasty tour over the continent, and embarked, on the 10th of May, at Havre, for New York.

Early in 1833, he came again into possession of power as Vice President of the Union; as President of the Senate, which had refused to place confidence in him a twelvemonth before; and as the successor of Calhoun, whose casting voice had ensured his rejection. Had Van Buren been a truly great and good man, his triumphs would have been a pleasant theme for the historian to dwell upon; but, as they were obtained, like Butler's, by deceit and hypocrisy, by seeming to be the man he was not, and by the "judicious puffs" of artful followers, interested in his fortunes by personal ties, they are a source of regret. Blair's press, a donation from Van Buren's financial confederates in New York, did him good service—as did the trusty types of his ancient advocate, the editor of the *Argus*. Jealousies, bickerings, and some lack of tact among his opponents, the cry of persecution, and the fact, well known to "waiters on Providence," that Jackson's popularity was at his back, did the rest. That the agitation of the colonial trade question at the time of his rejection, and the speeches of General Samuel Smith on that *home* topic, did him no injury, I am well persuaded. He took his seat at the head of the Senate, for the first time, on the 16th of December, 1833.

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## CHAPTER XXV.

"Gold, still gold—it flew like dust! it tipp'd the post-boy, and paid the trust;  
In each open palm it was freely thrust; there was nothing but giving and taking!  
And if gold could insure the future hour, what hopes attended that Bride to her bower;  
But alas! even hearts with a four-horse power of opulence, end in breaking."

*Removal of the Deposits in 1833.—Bank of the Metropolis.—Root, Jackson, and Van Buren, on the Pets.—N. Biddle.—Ingersoll on Charters and Slavery.—Col. Duane.—W. J. Duane.—Polk and Lawrence.—Kendall in Kentucky.—His treatment of H. Clay.—Kendall and the Bank, Tariff, Mackenzie, &c.—Duane opposes the Pet Bank Conspiracy.—His reasons.—Louis McLane's views.—Silas Wright and the Bank.—Calhoun's Prophetic Address in 1834.—Land Speculations.—The Globe.—Jackson, Duane, and the Mission to Siberia.—Chief Justice Taney.—Wonderful effects of Flattery.—Bennett upon Kendall.*

I HAVE shown, that, in 1824, Van Buren, his presses, and his partisans, were among the most thoroughgoing advocates of the United States Bank, and of the Presidential candidate who had been its most consistent, zealous, and uniform advocate—that, in 1826, Van Buren, Marcy, and Butler, admitted that it had a right to establish branches in the states, and that they petitioned Nicholas Biddle and his brother directors for a branch at Albany—that Van Buren was friendly to Adams and Clay's administration in the first instance, and that the presses in his interest had abused Jackson in harsher terms than even Ritchie used—that he was connected with the most corrupt and infamous banks and bankers in the State of New York, the opponent of inquiry into their misconduct, and the advocate of new charters without check or responsibility—that the Albany *Argus* was his official organ—and that when the swindling establishments of previous years had pillaged the people of millions, and no two-thirds majority could be found to recharter the Mechanics and Farmers', and other

favorite banks of his, in 1826, '27, and '28, he put forward his Safety Fund nostrum, and went for banks by the score, in January, 1829. I have also shown what that fund was and how it operated.

The authentic secret correspondence, which providence has thrown in my way, will help the historian not a little in his efforts to discover the motives which influenced Van Buren\* and his confederates to tamper with the currency, as they did, from 1829 to 1841. The letters of C. W. Lawrence, C. C. Cambreleng, S. Wright, B. F. Butler, R. H. Nevins, John Van Buren, Joseph Kernochan, W. L. Marcy, E. and C. L. Livingston, F. B. Cutting, S. Swartwout, E. Crosswell, A. C. Flagg, Thad. Phelps, Stephen Allen, and T. W. Olcott, when compared with certain facts and circumstances previously made public, too clearly prove that the war against the U. S. Bank, the detestable scheme of the pet banks, with the bribery, fraud, bankruptcy, and other accumulated miseries inflicted on the public through the derangement of business, had their origin at Albany. Jackson, though cunning himself, was but the ready instrument of still more artful men. Lady Hester Stanhope tells, that when Pitt was premier, large sums, hundreds of thousands of pounds, were offered to him in presents, by men deeply engaged in commerce, speculation, banking, &c., doubtless with the hope that he would favor their interests. In the absence of proof to the contrary, we may venture to assume that bucktail virtue, like English pride, would have spurned all such *Potosian* temptations.

The United States Bank had paid \$1,500,000 for the use of the public money, during the continuance of its charter;† the Supreme Court of the Union

\* In Van Buren's message to Congress, Dec. 5, 1840, he says:

"When I entered upon the discharge of my official duties in March, 1837, the act for the distribution of the surplus revenue was in a course of rapid execution. Nearly twenty-eight millions of dollars of the public moneys were, in pursuance of its provisions, deposited with the States in the months of January, April, and July, of that year. In May there occurred a general suspension of specie payments by the banks, including, with very few exceptions, those in which the public moneys were deposited, and upon whose fidelity the Government had unfortunately made itself dependent for the revenues which had been collected from the people, and were indispensable to the public service. This suspension, and the excesses in banking and commerce out of which it arose, and which were greatly aggravated by its occurrence, made, to a great extent, unavailable the principal part of the public money then on hand; suspended the collection of many millions accruing on merchants' bonds; and greatly reduced the revenue arising from customs and the public lands."

"The Treasury has it in its power to exert a salutary influence, first over the deposit banks, which will always be selected from the principal Banks in the States, and through them, over the residue. Whatever check was exercised by the United States Bank on the issues of the State banks, was done either by refusing to take their notes in deposit, or if taken, by returning them quickly for specie, if it believed their issues to be excessive. The deposit banks have a right to do the same thing, and are in the habit of exercising it, when, in their opinions, an occasion for its exercise exists. Over the deposit banks themselves, the Secretary of the Treasury has liberal supervisory powers. He may in his discretion direct, as before remarked, an increase of their specie, when it appears by the returns which they are obliged to make to him at short intervals, that their issues are large and disproportionate to their specie on hand; and a constant and great check is exercised over them by the actual public knowledge of their condition obtained through their reports, and the regular publication of them."—*Van Buren's Letter to Sherrod Williams, August 8, 1836.*

In his message of 1833, Jackson told Congress, that "the State Banks selected are all Institutions of high character and undoubted strength, and are under the management and control of men of unquestioned probity and intelligence." In his message of 1837, he said that "a number of the Deposit Banks have, with a commendable zeal to aid in the improvement of the currency, imported from abroad at their own expense, large sums of the precious metals for coinage and circulation." The explosion and bankruptcy of 1837 followed, and Wright & Co. were ready with their new nostrum, the sub-treasury. Ritchie, of the Union, like Tallmadge, kicked a little, being up to the chin in speculation. His press designated the honest locos who met in the Park, N. Y., "the rabble rout."

In a letter to S. D. Hastings, dated Forest Hill, Sept. 26, 1840, Charles J. Ingersoll, Chairman of the Com. on Foreign Affairs, H. of R., says that "the chartered power given by our laws to make paper money by banks of discount **TOLERATED IN ALL THEIR VIOLATIONS OF EVERY PRINCIPLE OF RIGHT**, is at this moment demoralizing Pennsylvania, and particularly Philadelphia, by more folly, ignorance, breach of faith and of law, luxury, intemperance, vice, crime, and misery, than can be justly imputed to slavery anywhere. Slavery, I entirely believe with you, distempers any Commonwealth; but the blood of ours is fatally poisoned by what renders liberty and equality hardly worth having."

In Webster's report on Finance, in U. S. Senate, June 27, 1834, he states that the Bank of the Metropolis, Washington, had not \$100,000 of its notes in circulation—that its credit was so bad that its bills had been sold at a discount near its doors—that more than \$900,000 of the public treasure was deposited with it—and that those who took its notes as payment from government, and carried them to a distance, suffered loss. General Hunt explains that its funds were used in land jobbing in the west, to realize fortunes for Polk's party patriots. This bank and its confederate pets gave no security to the country—they paid no bonus nor interest—they pay none now—they made immense sums by using the national revenue—they were recommended by Woodbury and Tancy to lead it out, so that the merchants borrowing might be compelled to uphold their party however



had unanimously decided that that charter was constitutional; a committee of Congress, and finally the House of Representatives, had declared, after inquiry, that the national treasure was safe in its vaults; the high tariff of 1828, supported by Wright and Van Buren with the view of obtaining a surplus of many millions of revenue for political distribution and personal aggrandizement, had done its work; Jackson had been elected a second time to the Presidency; and now was the time to go into "the general scramble for plunder," as Swartwout calls it, in right earnest.

The first step of the conspirators was to advise the appointment of William J. Duane to the office of Secretary of the Treasury. The offer was made, and it was accepted. Mr. Duane was the son of one of the most upright, energetic, zealous and consistent democrats ever known to this Union. He had sown the good seed of manly, truthful principles in India, England, Ireland, and America—had suffered persecution for the love he bore to freedom—had upheld the good, and been a terror to the evil doer in high station, during half a century—was vigilant for his country as a trusted military officer in war—and the foe of United States Banks and other monopolies at variance with his ideas of equal rights and laws. In Poland, he would have followed Kosciuszko; in France, been ready to tear down the Bastille, or participate in the glorious days of 1830. What he thought of last and least was the acquisition of wealth; and he died in old age, very poor, with a heart warmed by love and kindness toward his fellow-men. Cobbett, who disliked his antipathy to the English system of war, taxation, finance, conquests and ill treatment of Ireland, frankly acknowledged that William Duane was the most efficient and sleepless opponent England had on this continent. I have read the files of the *Aurora*, no matter how old, with real delight, for it was impossible not to see great sincerity united with true patriotism, and an informed and reflecting mind, in the remarks of its conductor, who, with "Montague on Republics," believed that "There cannot be a more certain symptom of the approaching ruin of a state, than when a firm adherence to party is fixed upon as the only test of merit, and when all the qualifications, requisite to the discharge of every employment, are reduced to that single standard."

His son,\* William John Duane, whom Jackson called to his cabinet, in May,

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wrong. General Root, in N. Y. Senate, Feb. 7, 1841, said that "the deposit banks were expected to support the Government even in the local elections—in short, to do all its dirty work. The customers of these Banks were required to support the Administration, otherwise they could get no accommodation. The New York merchants sell their goods to the country merchants on credit. When the merchants from the country went to the city, they were told, we cannot give you credit unless we can get accommodation at the banks. The Banks will not discount to those who are opposed to the Government. The consequence was, that the merchants were compelled to support the Administration. Thirty or forty Pet. Banks were appointed for the express purpose of doing the work of the Administration. There was no need of proof of this—it was open, palpable, visible bribery—obvious to every man, woman and child in the country. Was there ever such an attempt to overwhelm the whole land in a sea of corruption?"

Wherein did this system, which may have made fortunes for Polk, Butler, Van Buren, Lawrence, Cambreleng, Murey, White & Co., its creators, differ from that in operation now, as presided over by Walker, Bancroft, Murey and Polk?

Who was Nicholas Biddle, whom Blair, Crosswell, Green, and Bennett, so systematically abused at the word of command from Van Buren, Polk & Co.? The favorite of Monroe, of Adams, of Jackson, a democratic congressman, affluent before he entered the bank, and nominated by Andrew Jackson, and confirmed by the Senate, in 1820, in 1831, and a third time, in 1832, as a government director of the Bank as he had been for seven years before by Monroe and Adams. The moment Mr. Alth Van Buren coveted Mr. Nicholas Biddle's vineyard he raised such a dust about his ears, through the collar presses, that many persons, myself among the number, believed him to be as great a monster as his bank was said to be.

\* As Secretary, Duane gives evidence of a sound judgment, first rate business talent, and great uprightness. Of his title to superior ability as a statesman, when compared to Jackson, Polk, Van Buren, Lawrence, Wright, Butler, Taney, Cambreleng, and the rest of the pet bank junta, let his conduct, and his reasons for it, be compared with the result of THE EXPERIMENT, and the tardy confessions of the men who made it.

In a letter to Moses Dawson, dated in 1837, General Jackson, after saying that he had confidence in the honesty of state banks at the time he placed in their vaults the deposits, adds:

1833, was a lawyer of eminence in Philadelphia, one of the executors of the generous French banker, Girard, who, as if to shame the intolerant *native* party of our day, left millions of dollars, to educate American children, while Smithson, an Englishman, sent \$500,000 across the ocean for a like generous purpose. Duane wrote Girard's will, was long his adviser, was opposed to the United States Bank, in 1811 and 1816, *always* and on principle; and, with his father, threw their great popularity in Pennsylvania into the Jackson scale, in 1824, when Van Buren, Ritchie, and the selfish politicians, into whose hands he fell in 1833, were slandering his name, and ridiculing his pretensions.

Mr. Duane had represented the Philadelphia democrats in the Legislature of Pennsylvania, had written much that was useful, was married to a grand-daughter of that eminent American, Benjamin Franklin;\* and, with his father, had given the war of 1812, an early, efficient, and continued support. He was opposed to congressional caucuses, and had no need to *turn* to the winning side, when Jackson was victorious, in 1828. For twelve years has this great and good man been allowed to remain in private life, traduced and slandered by the *Globe*, *Argus*, and kindred presses in the pay of Van Burenism, while his great experience, true patriotism, and sterling honesty would have been of vast importance in the Congress of the Union.

No doubt, Van Buren, Kendall, and their confederates deceived themselves

"But was this confidence well founded, and whose fault is it that it was not? Let their treachery to the government and the people answer. Every day that the directors of these banks met at their boards, they knew their liabilities, and their assets to meet them. They were repeatedly and earnestly cautioned by the treasury department not to over-issue—their charters prohibited it—their solemn obligations to the government and the people, and every principle of moral honesty, forbade it. Still, in open violation of all obligations, they suspended specie payments in a time of profound peace, robbed the treasury of many millions of dollars, and cried out, at the same time, that the treasury was bankrupt.

"The history of the world never has recorded such base treachery and perfidy, as has been committed by the deposit banks against the government, and purely with the view of gratifying Biddle and the Barings, and by the suspension of specie payments, embarrass and *ruin*, if they could, *their own country*, for the selfish views of making large profits by throwing out millions of depreciated paper upon the people—selling their specie at large premiums, and buying up their own paper at discounts of from 25 to 50 per cent., and now looking forward to be indulged in these speculations for years to come, before they resume specie payments."

Cornelius W. Lawrence, the apocryphal President of perhaps the most corrupt of these banks, thus denounced by Jackson, is selected by Polk in 1845, as Collector of the Port of N. Y., and confirmed in 1846 by the Senate! His letters to Hoyt and others show that he acted contrary to his oath (which was, to vote according to his best judgment), in supporting the spoliation of the U. S. Bank. A two million charter was handed to him, from Albany, in 1836, as some pecuniary recompense for tear and wear of conscience—some two millions of the plunder of the national bank were placed in the custody of the new concern—Lawrence became its president, as a matter of course—and, with over \$1,000,000 of a paid up capital and United States deposits, its doors were shut upon the people and their government, while the ink with which its charter had been written was yet scarcely dry. When Lawrence became Collector, through the friendship of President Polk, his brother Joseph slipped into office as bank president: and their defaulting paper factory, though denounced by Jackson, is once more a pet of Polk and Walker, with the use of millions of the public treasure to its managers, without bonus or interest! Who can doubt the result! Not the authorities at Washington.

\* Sarah, daughter of Benjamin Franklin, married Richard Bache, editor of the *Aurora*, Philadelphia. Colonel William Duane, a native of the Province of N. Y., succeeded Mr. Bache in the management of that popular journal, and was appointed by Madison, in 1813, a brigadier-general in the armies of the Union. His son, the fearless secretary of the treasury, married a daughter of Mr. Bache, and her mother, Mrs. Sarah Bache, died in Oct., 1808, aged 64 years. I have long and anxiously wished that some able, well-informed friend of the family, who has access to the necessary materials, would compile and publish the *Life and Times* of William Duane. To the Union, to Britain, and to Ireland, the land of his forefathers, the lessons that that work would teach would be invaluable.

into a belief, that Duane's known dislike to the principle on which the U. S. Bank was chartered, would enable them to make of him a powerful and popular instrument, for the achievement of their grand scheme of bank plunder, already resolved upon. But they had mistaken their man.\*

Previous to the loss of liberty in Greece, as Thucydides tells us, "while each party endeavored, by every possible method, to get the better of its antagonist, the most flagrant acts of injustice were perpetrated on both sides. Mo-

\* AMOS KENDALL.—I have, in former chapters, and in a separate work, endeavored to analyze the pietism of Benjamin F. Butler. It now becomes necessary that I should formally introduce his twin brother in politics, piety, and principle, Amos Kendall, Postmaster General to Martin Van Buren, Director of the Commonwealth Bank, Kentucky, Fourth Auditor of the U. S. Treasury, an editor of the *Globe*, the *Expositor*, and the *Kentucky Argus*, and special agent for Jackson's advisers in bargaining with the Pet Banks for the use of the public revenue, 1833-34. If it be true, as we are told in *Gil Blas*, that "there are few breasts capacious enough to afford house room for two such opposite innates as political ambition and gratitude," some excuse may be found for the conduct of Amos Kendall towards his early benefactor, Henry Clay.

In Kendall's own account of his life and adventures, which shows that he was born on that day in the year in which Hull surrendered his army, he makes strong professions of meekness, humility, and Christian forbearance—"Deacon Zebedee Kendall, of Dunstable," his honored sire, is introduced singing David's psalms, saying grace before meat and grace after meat, and offering up to heaven prayer and praise—pious appeals are made to the Lord, to conscience, and to the world—and the *Democratic Review* for March, 1838, paints Amos as "EXTREMELY SIMPLE in character—plain, mild, and unassuming in manners—estimable and amiable."

O'Sullivan elevates Kendall into a very Father Mathew of temperance while he was at college, but we are reminded of Butler's famous patroom scene at the Sandy Hill bank, where Kendall himself, in his journal, pictures the Yankee lawyers who had gone to Kentucky to mend their fortunes. "We again returned to the tavern where there were three or four Yankee emigrant lawyers, and we made ourselves MERRY WITH BRANDY."

Amos landed in Kentucky in 1814, a lean, gaunt, hungry adventurer, and, as the event proved, an unprincipled and ungrateful one—he was received into the family of Henry Clay when absent in Europe, as the instructor of his children—treated by Mrs. Clay with great kindness both in health and sickness—assisted by Mr. Clay, on his return, to get forward in the world, accommodated by him with a loan of \$1500, introduced to his political friends, patronized as an editor, aided in obtaining the public printing in Kentucky, and when, in 1825, Clay became Secretary of State, offered a situation in the state department. Why did he not accept it? His letter to Mr. Clay, in 1828, will explain. "You afterwards offered me (says he) a clerkship with a salary of \$1000, which I declined, expressing a willingness to accept one of \$1500." Amos was ready to join the democratic administration of Clay and Adams, at \$1500, but couldn't take \$1000. Jackson's friends, through Green, had outbid that. They hastened to buy Amos up—and enabled him to turn his marketable talents with effect against the character and standing of his early friend. Trading politicians may applaud his worldly prudence—the parasite of power will award him a vulgar sympathy—but from pure-minded Americans, such conduct as I am about to describe will ever meet with unqualified reprobation and deserved contempt.

Kendall denies that he was once for a Bank of the United States and a protective tariff, or that he owes a debt of gratitude to Henry Clay. He assures the readers of the *Expositor* that his "opposition to Mr. Clay was forced on by the heartlessness and ingratitude of Mr. Clay himself."

A letter of Kendall's to John C. Knowlton, of Lowell, dated Washington, July 11th, 1829, appeared in the *New York Evening Post*. Here is an extract:

"—this feeling predisposed me to think well of Mr. Clay, and READILY FALL INTO THE SUPPORT OF HIS POLITICAL VIEWS. Accordingly, when he became a candidate for the presidency, I ESPOUSED HIS CAUSE with alacrity and zeal. — My time, my labour, and my money were all lavished *without expectation of reward* TO ADVANCE MR. CLAY. If I owed him or his family any obligations they were richly repaid in that contest.—AMOS KENDALL."

Mr. Clay was then, as he is now, the champion of one *regulating* bank—the United States Bank—in preference to one thousand of them—favored, as now, a protective tariff, and internal improvements by vote of Congress—and had disapproved of General Jackson's conduct in Florida, and pronounced it tyrannical and unjust. Kendall tells us that he preferred Clay to Jackson, for President—"readily fell into the support of his POLITICAL views," and "espoused his cause with alacrity and zeal." Why then deny that he was "once for the bank?"

derate men, who refused to join with either, were alike the objects of their resentment, and equally proscribed by either faction." Where is the difference here, in Duane's case? He was induced to support Jackson, through a belief that he would act up to the manly principles laid down in his letters to Monroe. Did he try to do it?

Duane took office in June, 1833, and was *afterwards* informed that it was the wish of the President that he should remove the national treasure from the

Kendall addressed a long letter to Clay, through the Frankfort Argus, which was copied into the Evening Post of Nov. 1827, in which he assures him that he preferred him as Secretary, with Adams as President, to the election of Jackson, and that he and Blair, since of the Globe, wrote in 1825 to the members of Congress, from Kentucky, urging them to vote *against Jackson and in favor of Adams, with this view*. Kendall also wrote to Clay before the presidential election was decided, that he preferred Jackson to Adams, all things being equal—but, said he, "if OUR INTERESTS can be promoted by any other arrangement, I shall be content." "Our interests" are uppermost still.

In Kendall's evidence before the Kentucky Legislature, he says that Mr. Clay intended to give him a situation at Washington, in 1825, and that he (Kendall) stood ready to defend with his pen the political character of his early friend. In a letter to David White, who had voted in Congress for Mr. Adams as President, dated March 8th, 1828, he says, "We knew that Mr. Clay was to be Secretary of State, and FOR THAT REASON promoted Mr. Adams's election," and prevented, of course, that of Andrew Jackson. He asserts that he supported Adams because Clay was to be Secretary, and yet he told the Kentucky Legislature on oath, that he believed the charge by Jackson against Clay, of having bargained with Adams, was A BASE SLANDER, and that he had applied to Clay for a situation in Washington, where he would have defended him through the press against that slander! In a letter addressed to Clay, and dated Frankfort, Oct. 11, 1826, Kendall says, "Whatever course I may feel constrained to take in relation to the administration generally, I trust I shall not be the means or the occasion of casting any imputation upon your integrity and honor."

Kendall swears that it is his solemn belief there was no bargain at all. But turn to his letter to Mr. Knowlton already quoted. He there has quite a different story to tell. He says:

"In reviewing my course, I have but one thing to regret. It is, that I did not, regardless of all imputations, take a decisive stand against the Union of Messrs. Adams and Clay in 1825. I *knew* that Mr. Clay violated the 'wish of his state; I KNEW THAT THE UNION WAS INTERESTED AND SELFISH. Instead of being 'SILENT, I ought boldly to have denounced it. I ought to have been as sensible as I am now that no common obligation of private friendship, and no fear of imputed ingratitude can justify a public man in WINKING at a 'violation of the fundamental principles of our free institutions. On this point I am giddy.—AMOS KENDALL."

There's a confession for you! "Give me a \$1,500 place," says the pious politician, "and I'll call ye white as driven snow—though I know that your conduct was interested and selfish. Buy me at my price—I'm in the market, and if you don't wish your opponents will. Hire me, and I'll go with you for the tariff, the bank, internal improvement, Adams, anything—neglect me, and I will be found among your most bitter enemies. You warned me into life, as the countryman did the snake—if you don't wish to be stung, give me my price." Such, though not Kendall's words, is the substance of his offer. Clay spurned it, Kendall became his enemy, and used the influence Clay had obtained for him to secure the vote of Kentucky for Jackson and Van Buren, next Presidential election. General Duff Green, the Jackson and Calhoun editor, before Blair, "once for the bank," supplanted him, says,—“It will be seen that at the very moment that he was negotiating with Mr. Clay for a salary of \$1,500, as the price of his removal to Washington, for the purpose of vindicating Mr. Clay against these 'SLANDERS' which were aloft against him," he was negotiating with me, for a stipulated sum, which I paid him to remain in Frankfort to assail Mr. Clay." Whether Green proved that it was "at the very moment," I do not now remember, but if it was not, it was very soon after. "I winked at guilt till hired to assail it," is the substance of Kendall's pretended confession to Knowlton. General Green was supplied by his party with funds—Kendall got money—[aid his debt to Mr. Clay, and became the ready instrument of his enemies. General Green describes him as "ambitious, ungrateful, mercenary, and corrupt."

In his letter to Knowlton, Kendall says,—

"They (meaning the friends of Clay and Adams) combined to withdraw from me all public and private PATRONAGE, to destroy my character, and reduce my family to degradation and beggary. I felt that Mr. Clay was ungrateful.—AMOS KENDALL."

I select the following passage from page 374 of the Expositor, for 1843, by Amos Kendall, Washington:

"IMPUDENCE—THE LATEST SPECIMEN.—Mackenzie, in his New York Examiner, says we were 'once for a bank' His language is this:

"Week after week, month after month, the Globe takes pleasure in denouncing Mr. Tyler because he would

United States Bank, and place it in other banks. He refused to do this unless ordered by Congress, or unless reasons should be assigned to justify his doing so. Thomas Ritchie, of the *Union*, approved of his course in thus refusing. He asked the opinion of Col. Duane, his father, who also told him that he had acted right, though he thought the bank charter unconstitutional, and disapproved of its management.

The speculating banks and politicians, of whom Van Buren was the ready

not make common cause with the Van Buren clique I have described; and Kendall, once for the bank, joins Croswell and follows suit."

There is nothing too barefaced for depravity to invent and malice to assert; but the *serpent* who makes a charge like this, stings only his own body.

From 1818, the Bank Monster never ceased to receive our blows when we could strike with the least effect; and in 1833, in the removal of the deposits, which Mackenzie condemns, we cut the club with which our Hercules shew it. But for that measure, it would have lived until it perished in its own corruptions, involving the Government in the ruin which overtook the too confiding stockholders.

There is one consolation in such attacks: They destroy the confidence of the people in all the libels which flow from the same source upon more important personages."

Did not Kendall do his very best to secure the election of Adams over Jackson in 1825, when he found that Clay could not be elected by the House of Representatives—and was not Adams then, as now, the advocate of a national bank in preference to a thousand unchecked state banks? Kendall's Expositor contained endless harangues against bank and tariff, their unconstitutionality, but did he not support the advocates of both, and also of internal improvements, till he got his price? Yes, and in 1817-18, he and his friends, and partisans caused charters to be granted to more than forty spurious banks, thereby flooding the state of Kentucky with worthless paper.

From the Kentucky Argus, by Kendall, (copied into the National Intelligencer, Sept. 15, 1824.)

"Jackson will get Tennessee and Clay will get Kentucky as certainly as they remain candidates, and Indiana has but to select him whose policy is most favourable to her interests, and whose talents are most competent to promote them. That this is Henry Clay, THE POWERFUL ADVOCATE OF INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS AND DOMESTIC MANUFACTURES, no unprejudiced man can doubt."

In 1816, Mr. Clay voted for the late U. S. Bank, and has ever since continually avowed that he thinks such an institution necessary and constitutional.

Will Kendall assert that he tried, first to elect Clay in 1824, and then Adams in 1825, because they were for the bank, and to keep out Jackson because he was opposed to it? He had better admit that he was a mean, sordid, mercenary adventurer, ready to go for any principles or any men that paid best. Indeed he has admitted as much in his letter to Knowlton.

Mr. Clay, previous to Kendall's desertion to the Jackson camp, had supported a bill to pledge the bank bonus as an internal improvement fund—had declared that Congress might appropriate the revenue to construct canals and post roads—had advocated in the spring of 1820 a high protective tariff—had voted to censure General Jackson for his conduct in Florida—and had made Adams President of the United States. All this Kendall endorsed as democratic, till he refused him a \$1,500 office, while Jacksonism held out the prospect of an auditorship at \$3,000. The Arnold, the Dumouriez of politics, in 1825, joined Blair whom, as an endorser for \$23,000, the bank of the United States had forgiven, and hired himself out to traduce the man whose kind family and hospitable mansion had afforded him a shelter when he was a hungry, friendless stranger, a briefless barrister travelling in search of strife. Yes, it is true, Kendall deeply injured the personal and political friend who had given him consideration in Kentucky, and whose family had tended him in sickness. This was done for money, gain—there was no principle involved.

My impression, until I saw Clay's statement on page 69 of vol. i. of Minor's Public Document for 1831, was, that he owned much stock in the U. S. Bank, and was deeply indebted to it. He stated, however, in Senate, Dec. 19, 1833, that he had not been counsel for the bank since 1825, had not held a share for many years, did not owe the bank a cent, had voted for it in 1816, but subscribed for none of its stock, and on the failure of a friend twelve or fifteen years before, had as his endorser, become responsible to the bank for a large amount which he had paid, owing the institution no favor.

Letter, Amos Kendall to Henry Clay, at Washington, dated Frankfort, Ky., Jan. 21, 1825.

"Dear Sir:—Our legislature is gone, but have left us no repose. We have a prospect of a contest more embittered than ever. I regret it, and would gladly escape from it; but the fates seem to order it otherwise. I may mistake, but I think the legislature will be sustained. The excitement is among those opposed to removing the judges by any means. As I informed you, the resolutions requesting you to vote for Jackson passed, and you have doubtless received them. Jackson is my second choice, all circumstances being equal between him and Adams. But if our interest in the west can be promoted by any other arrangement, I shall be content. At any rate, let us have a President. I would sooner vote for any of the three than have a Vice-president for four years. Do what you think best—the Argus will not complain, because it has faith that you will do nothing to compromise the interests of the western country, or the nation. Sincerely your friend,

AMOS KENDALL."

agent, were eager to grasp the many millions of money, the proceeds of heavy taxation, which the tariff of 1828 had imposed. Duane's reasons for refusing to gratify them, as stated to General Jackson, were very powerful.

He reminded the General that the law made him responsible to Congress if he removed the deposits—that the proposed pet banks were far less safe than the bank of the U. S.—that Congress had pronounced the public money safe—that no thorough investigation had been made into the affairs of the bank—that no real, adequate security would be offered by the local banks, and that he could not judge of their fitness or solvency by hearsay—that he had not been confirmed in his office by the Senate—that the U. S. Bank had received and paid 400 millions of dollars for government, without the loss of a cent, but that it was a well-known fact that millions had been already lost to the country, by trusting the public money with the managers of local banks, the misconduct of which had caused much uncertainty as to the value and amount of the paper currency—that if the U. S. Bank was selfish, as had been said, surely the local banks would not prove less so—that they would trade upon the public money to be entrusted to them, and be unable to refund it when required to do so—that perhaps it would be better for the government to do without any banks at all—that now was the time to make a full inquiry as to that—that it would be very unwise to enter into entangling alliances with institutions which derange, depreciate, and banish gold and silver, the only constitutional currency—that a thorough inquiry into the condition of the currency was much required, but that we need not look for the necessary information from interested bank agents—that it would be well to resist a combination of powerful monied monopolies before the only means of resistance would be through a public convulsion—that both the local and United States Banks were monopolies, alike at variance with the sovereignty of the United States and the general good of the people—that a removal of the deposits would bring on a struggle for power between the national and state banks, by means of which thousands of innocent persons would be ruined—and that if there must be banks for social or fiscal uses, surely one bank\* for the whole

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\* Louis McLane, Secretary of the Treasury before Duane, opposed the removal of the deposits, and so did Cass, though the latter was pliant and ready to go either way. Van Buren, in private, professed to McLane, for some time after Toland's Report, and the vote in the H. of R. favorable to the bank, *that he too was opposed to the removal!!* Of course, it was Van Buren, and his Safety Fund Banks, that controlled the vote of this state in Congress, and it was that vote that controlled the deposit question. The language of the Globe, Post, and Argus, and of Cambreleng, Beardsley, Vanderpoel, Wright, and Tallmadge—Lawrence and Butler's Letters—Wright's orders to the legislature of N. Y., through Hoyt (p. 246, No. 256), and the 118 votes in the Assembly—also the great meeting at Tammany Hall, and John Van Buren's correspondence, afford ample proof that Van Buren and his confederates decided the removal of the public money. Colonel Young had a deep interest in the Safety Fund Banks, and we find him declaring that black lines ought to be drawn across the faces of the Senators who had censured Jackson for removing the deposits.

In 1834, Silas Wright "would merely pronounce his opinion that the country would sustain the Executive arm of the government in the experiment now making to substitute the State Institutions for the Bank of the United States. He had most entire confidence in the full and complete success of the experiment. It was his firm opinion that the steps that had been taken would redound to the honor and best interests of the country." When the banks broke, Wright talked in this fashion: "Under this law, all the existing deposit banks accepted their high trust to the government and people of the country, and received some forty millions of the public treasure, and yet, strange to tell, before a single twelvemonth had passed away, they all refuse to pay gold and silver for their notes. Nay more, and worse, they even refuse to pay to the government anything but their own irredeemable bank notes—those notes which the law prohibits the officers of the government from either receiving or paying out, for the millions entrusted to their safe keeping. The drafts of the Treasurer of the U. S., drawn upon a deposit bank for a mere trust fund, belonging to individual citizens, which fund was by the government imported from abroad in gold and silver, and in gold and silver placed in that bank for safe keeping, have been dishonored and returned without payment, because the holder of the

country, under the control of Congress, was better than a thousand banks altogether irresponsible—that one effect of taking the public treasure from the U. S. Bank (in which the public had invested seven millions of dollars), and placing it in the keeping of a host of local banks, with their gambling, stock-jobbing, land speculating managers, might be to drive the people to adopt a third U. S. Bank, as a refuge from their irredeemable trash (which but for Harrison's sudden death and Tyler's unexpected vetoes, would have been the case in 1841).

He did not propose the Sub Treasury scheme, but expressed the most decided opposition to the U. S. Bank—he would institute a thorough inquiry, but not be rashly guilty of a breach of the obligation of contracts toward the bank. If the bank had done wrong the judiciary were able to punish. He thought it dangerous to place in the hands of a secretary of the treasury, dependent for his office on the will of the President, a power to favor or punish local banks, and consequently to make them political machinery (like Van Buren's Safety Fund Union.) He knew that the efforts made to hasten the removal of the deposits did not originate with patriots or statesmen, but in schemes to promote factious

drafts would not receive the irredeemable bills of that bank in satisfaction." Duane had shown it would be so before "the experiment" was made, and that it had always been so. Wright knew that just as well in 1831 as in 1838. Matthew L. Davis writes Webb, Feb. 8, 1831, that at a meeting of the Senators for N. Y. and the committee of merchants of N. Y., favorable to a U. S. Bank, Wright said, "Gentlemen, I am opposed to any U. S. Bank, but if we must have a bank, I do not want a commercial but a political bank." In his speech of March 20, 1834, he calls the pet banks "perfectly safe agents, fully competent to discharge all the duties required in the collection and disbursement of the public revenue."

"When I bow down myself in the House of Rimmon, the Lord pardon thy servant in this thing," said Naaman, captain of the host of the king of Syria, to Elisha the Hebrew prophet of God. In like manner, John C. Calhoun's clear intellect can discern and acknowledge evil wherever it exists, unless it be in the enslavement of the sons of Africa; and he was now ready to warn the Senate of the manifold miseries which Van Buren's extension of the N. Y. Safety Fund system would bring upon his country. In his speech, January 13, 1834, he foreshadowed, in the clearest manner, the landjobbing of the Butlers, Wrights, Van Burens, and their associates—Judge Woodbury pulling the wires for the rise and fall of stocks—Hoyt lending Beers the public funds—John Van Buren speculating in 1834, and drawing cash from the public in 1836—Swartwout keeping the bonds ~~as~~ as he kept them—and the Manhattan and its confederate banks lending the public treasure to their corrupt managers, while the government bade them, as if in derision, to help the merchants. They did help them, at the usury of cent per cent.

Mr. Calhoun's really prophetic remarks were as follow:

"Let us not deceive ourselves—this league—this association of banks—created by the Executive—bound together by influence—united in common articles of association—vivified and sustained by receiving the deposits of the public money, and having their notes converted, by being received everywhere by the Treasury, into the common currency of the country, is to all intents and purposes, a Bank of the United States—the Executive Bank of the U. S., as distinguished from that of Congress. However, it might fail to perform satisfactorily the useful functions of the Bank of the U. S., as incorporated by law, it would outstrip it—far outstrip it—in all its dangerous qualities, in extending the power, the influence and the corruption of the government. It was impossible to conceive any institution more admirably calculated to advance these objects. Not only the selected banks, but the whole banking institutions of the country, and with it the entire money power, for the purposes of speculation, speculation, and corruption, would be placed under the control of the Executive. A system of menaces and promises will be established—of menace to the banks in possession of the deposits, but which might not be entirely subservient to Executive views; and by promise of future favors to those who may not as yet enjoy its favors. Between the two, the Banks would be left without influence, honor, or honesty; and a system of speculation and stock-jobbing would commence, UNEQUALLED IN THE ANNALS OF OUR COUNTRY. I fear they have already commenced—I fear the means which have been put into the hands of the minions of power by the removal of the deposits, and placing them in the vaults of dependant banks, have extended their cupidity to the public lands, particularly in the southwest; and that to this we must attribute the recent phenomena in that quarter—IMMENSE AND VALUABLE TRACTS OF LAND SOLD AT SHORT NOTICE—SALES FRAUDULENTLY POSTPONED TO AID THE SPECULATORS! with which, if I am not misinformed, a name not unknown to this body (Gwin) has performed a prominent part. As to stock jobbing, this new arrangement will open a field which Rothschild himself may envy. It has been found hard work—very hard, no doubt—by the jobbers in stock who have been engaged in attempts to raise or depress the price of United States Bank Stock; but no work will be more easy than to raise or depress the price of the selected banks, at the pleasure of the Executive. Nothing more will be required than to give or withhold deposits—to draw, or abstain from drawing warrants—to pamper them at one time, and starve them at another. THOSE WHO WOULD BE IN THE SECRET, AND WHO WOULD KNOW WHEN TO BUY AND WHEN TO SELL, WOULD HAVE THE MEANS OF REALIZING, BY DEALING IN THE STOCKS, WHATEVER FORTUNE THEY MIGHT PLEASE."

purposes, and that the whole proceeding would tend to diminish the confidence of the world in our regard for national credit and reputation.

On the 20th of Sept., 1833, the *Globe* announced that the deposits would be removed. Next morning Mr. Duane waited on the President, and told him he would neither resign office nor remove the public money to the pets.\* Jackson tried to bribe him, or call it what else you please, with the \$18,000 bait which so many have swallowed since, the Russian embassy sinecure. "My dear Mr. Duane (said the President), we must separate as friends. Far from desiring that you should sustain any injury, you know I have intended to give you the highest appointment now in my gift. You shall have the mission to Russia." "I am sincerely thankful to you, sir (replied Duane), for your kind disposition—I desire no new station, and barely wish to leave my present one blameless, or free from apprehension for the future. Favor me with a written declaration of your desire that I should leave office, as I cannot carry out your views as to the deposits, and I will take back this letter [in which he had stated the same determination]." On Sept. 23d, General Jackson wrote his resolute officer, "I feel myself constrained to notify you that your further services as secretary

\* In a letter to Joseph Neef, Sept. 3d, 1838, Mr. Duane said of General Jackson, "His inclinations were patriotic, but his passions were undisciplined. Of both, designing men took the advantage. The possession of power produced adulation and servility, and these intoxicated the President, as they had bewildered greater men. He could not bear contradiction, and was himself overcome by the lust of overcoming. At length a vindictive spirit mingled itself with feelings which, if well regulated, would have been honourable and useful. — — The President, while he fancied his will was the true spring of action, was but a purveyor for the ambitious and selfish men around him. While declaiming against abuses of the bank, he was assisting speculators in politics, stocks, and lands [such as Wright, Butler, Young, Van Buren, Marcy, Kendall, Hoyt, Stilwell, Stephen Allen, Blair, Cambreleng, Weimore and Swartwout] to gratify their own rapaciousness. The notion that his clandestine associates [Kendall, Whitney, Blair, &c.] were shocked at the transactions of the bank, or at the want of morals in Congress, is preposterous."

The Maysville Eagle published a private letter from Mr. Duane to a gentleman in Mason county, Kentucky, dated Philadelphia, Oct. 17, 1833, as follows:

"Dear Sir: I have just now received your letter of the 10th instant, expressing your approbation of my course as Secretary of the Treasury. I have always been, and am, opposed to the U. S. Bank, and to all such aristocratic monopolies; but, I considered the removal of the deposits unnecessary, unwise, vindictive, arbitrary and unjust. I believed that the law gave to the Secretary of the Treasury, and not to the President, discretion on the question; and I would not act to oblige the President nor any body else when I thought it improper to do so. I never asked office—I accepted it reluctantly, and was removed for an honest discharge of my duty. If to keep office and \$6000 a year, I had given up my judgment, I should have brought shame upon the gray hairs of my father, and upon my numerous children: so that I am content to return to humble life with a tranquil mind. W. J. DUANE."

"Mr. Duane was dismissed (say Blair, Van Buren and Kendall, through the *Globe* of Nov. 19) for faithlessness to his solemn written pledges, and for the exhibition of bad feelings which made him totally unfit for the station to which he had been elevated. He was not dismissed merely for refusing to remove the deposits." Henry Clay explained the thing more clearly in one of his speeches. "A son (said he) of one of the fathers of democracy, by an administration professing to be democratic, was expelled from office, and his place supplied, by a gentleman, who, throughout his whole career, has been uniformly opposed to democracy." Mr. Tanev was ready to oblige Wall street, Hoyt, Butler, Lawrence and Cambreleng, by removing many millions of dollars from a bank whose paper circulated throughout the Union and abroad, to weak banks whose bills had only a local circulation, and of whose stock the Union held not a dollar.

Flattery sent Napoleon to Moscow—it induced Jackson to dismiss Duane, to cause his character to be traduced, and to cling to Kendall, Van Buren, Blair and Butler, who had mocked and sneered at his pretensions as a candidate for the presidency in 1823 and '24, while the Duanes, father and son, were affording him their unbought, disinterested and powerful support. In August, 1833, Van Buren had three Safety Fund Commissioners—Amos Kendall was despatched from Washington as Commissioner the fourth—James Gordon Bennett was his crony—they quarrelled—Bennet published Kendall's private correspondence with him, adding, that "assuming at times the spirit of enthusiasm for liberty, and purity of purpose, you [Kendall] contrive to hide purposes of the deepest avarice, and to conceal the most shocking ferocity towards those who presume to cross your path."



of the treasury are no longer required." And from that day to this, Duane has remained a full private; while Taney, his successor, as the recompense of his pliant suppleness in a dishonest cause, has ascended to the seat of John Marshall, as Chief Justice of the Union! Does any one suppose that Taney, had he resisted Van Buren & Co.'s spoliation scheme, would have received that promotion? No, indeed.

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## CHAPTER XXVI.

*Polk and the Pets.—Polk's Early Life.—Bank Defaulters.—Griswold on the Banks.—Van Buren's Policy in 1837.—Mechanics' Bank.—Marcy's Mortgage and Ten Million Bank.—Van Buren, Lawrence, and Marcy's Message.—J. Hoyt.—Alex. Wells.—Col. Samuel Young—of Irish descent—a Lawyer—in Convention, 1821—for Clay—on Slave Representation—a dealer in Bank Stocks and Scrips—for Marcy—for Banks—on the Watervliet Bank—on Van Buren—begging for Bank Stock.*

THE history of the pet bank experiment, in which \* Mr. Polk was the most conspicuous actor in-doors, and Mr. Kendall without, would fill a goodly folio.

\* James Knox Polk, President of the United States, labored indefatigably, in 1832 and afterwards, to remove the public treasure to the pet banks, put down the United States Bank, and generally to give success to whatever measures Kendall and Van Buren chose to propose or countenance. As I shall have to notice his votes and proceedings on many occasions, in this volume, it may be the proper time now to give my readers a very brief sketch of his early life.

The Democratic Review of 1838 states that he was born in Mecklenburgh county, North Carolina, Nov. 2, 1795—he is, therefore, like Silas Wright and B. F. Butler, a little over fifty years old. Some accounts make his ancestors Irish, others Scottish—some say their original name was Pollock, others that it was Polk. It appears that his branch of the family had resided in Maryland, in Pennsylvania, in North Carolina, and finally removed to Tennessee. Andrew Jackson stated, in 1814, that he had known James K. Polk from his boyhood, and that "a citizen more exemplary in his moral deportment, more punctual and exact in business, more energetic and manly in the expression of his opinions, and more patriotic, does not live."

Mr. Polk's father is still alive—he was a farmer, and removed to Tennessee in 1803, when James K. was in his eleventh year—it is also said that he acted as a surveyor, and, with his family, had to toil hard for a living in the valley of the Duck river, then a wilderness. James K. is the oldest of ten children—acquired the rudiments of an English and a classical education near his home, and after years of suffering from a very painful complaint, was relieved by a surgical operation. He gained high honors at the University of North Carolina—was assiduous, persevering, and regular in his attendance—a good mathematical and classical scholar. In 1819, he began to study the law with the celebrated Felix Grunty, of Nashville, was admitted as a lawyer of Tennessee in 1821, and was well employed in his line. He served as clerk to the Tennessee legislature, was next a member for Maury, his place of residence, and in 1825, in his 30th year, elected to Congress. If he was opposed to a national bank, he kept his opinions to himself, for the first two years in which he sat in Congress, but after Van Buren went to Washington as secretary, to wit, in August, 1829, he began to give the Tennesseans some hints about "the monster." Upwards of twenty years since, he married the daughter of Joel Childers, a merchant of Randolph county, Tenn., and who had kept a hotel and boarding-house in Norfolk, Va. Mrs. Polk has no children—is said to be unostentatious, quiet, domestic, and religious—not fond of show, dancing, dissipation, and late hours. Mr. Polk, Mr. Buchanan, and, if I mistake not, Mr. Bancroft, are named as staid Presbyterians, like Silas Wright. It is greatly to Mr. Polk's credit that he has the reputation of being no gambler, no gambler, but a steady opponent to speculation. He was fourteen years in Congress, and two or three of these years Speaker, having been chosen in Dec., 1835, and in Sept., 1837. No more thorough going party man can be found than Polk—he is very industrious, and while on the floor of Congress is reported never to have missed a vote. As he received a vote of thanks at the close of the session of 1837, for his impartiality as Speaker,

In August, 1836, the banks had about 40 millions, without interest—in April, about 32 millions. Of these 32 millions, the Union Bank of Tennessee had \$480,916—Commonwealth Bank, Boston, \$1,009,731—Manhattan Bank, N. Y., \$3,512,791—Bank of America, N. Y., \$3,708,714—Mechanics' Bank, N. Y., \$3,816,261—Commercial Bank, Cincinnati, \$395,135, and its agency at St. Louis, Mo., \$1,471,157—Girard Bank, Philadelphia, \$2,540,910—Branch Bank of Alabama, Mobile, \$1,694,464—Planters' Bank of Mississippi, Natchez, \$2,649,596—Farmers and Mechanics' Bank, Detroit, \$702,380—Bank of Michigan, \$960,364. The influence for Van Buren's election, exercised by the state pet banks and the national pet banks, the contracts, the 60,000 federal offices, the millions of stock thrown into the market as bribes to partisans, by the N. Y. Legislature, the land sales, made to suit favorites, the custom houses, the post offices, and the state offices and influence going the same way with the federal—these powers, added to the betting, gambling, and electioneering, with the men who hoped to get offices, get contracts, get some advantage or other, through Van Buren, surely turned the scale, and with the 777 presses in his favor, made him president. His skill lay in marshalling the powers of intrigue, corruption, and intimidation, and he succeeded. In Feb., 1834, the deposits were only 11½ millions, of which five millions were in three N. Y. banks. The 25 pets had, at this time, more public money free of interest, than they had bills in circulation. The Tradesmen's, Union, and Lawrence's N. Y. State banks, were made pets in August, 1836—and we find the *Globe* by Blair, some years after, complaining that "MORE THAN 48 MILLIONS OF DOLLARS HAD BEEN LOST BY THE BANK DEFAULTERS" during the war of 1812. Did not Polk and Van Buren know that just as well in 1834 as in 1840?\*

I infer that he has a great command of temper. He is a ready debater, makes long and animated speeches, and was a *hard working* legislator. It is stated that he is about 5 feet 7 inches in height, that his countenance bears the impress of anxiety and care, that his voice is unmusical but strong, and that he is clear-headed, firm, an attentive listener, and possessed of a good share of common sense. Some say his face is repulsive, others that it is interesting, and that in feeling and manner he is kind and courteous. Such is his piety, that Governor Branch reports that during the four years he was at college, he (Polk) never missed prayers.

\* B. P. Butler, in one of his secret epistles to Jesse Hoyt, about the removal of the deposits, dated Feb. 24th, 1831, has this remark, that "As for supposing that Newbold, George Griswold, Stephen Whitney, or any of the old federal commercial men, were with us on this occasion, for any other reason than because they found it for their interest to go with us, I never for one single instant had such an unwarrantable idea." p. 171.

In a letter to James G. King, dated New York, Sept. 9, 1840, George Griswold has these remarks: "I never took any part with the officers or agents of the government, in counselling, advising, or recommending the removal of the deposits. . . . In October, 1836, when the banks were suffering under the operation of the distribution law, and were on the point of suspending specie payments, and in the opinion of those who knew all the facts, **WOULD HAVE SUSPENDED IN LESS THAN ONE WEEK**, if not relieved, I did go to Washington, and, with the aid of others, prevailed on the secretary to postpone the payment of drafts on this city, and in other ways relieved the banks from a call for more than a million of specie, \$600,000 of which was payable in ten days; enabling them to continue specie payments, and increase their loans to merchants."

It thus appears that the banks were just as ready to break in Oct. 1836, as in May, 1837. That would have interfered somewhat with Van Buren's election, and rendered it necessary for General Jackson to make very material alterations in his farewell address next March.

Van Buren called a special meeting of Congress in the fall of 1837, and gave indulgence to the broken banks and mercantile defaulters—that is, to the British and other foreign traders and manufacturers, and to the bank of England, at the expense of the American people and their interests.

In Woodbury's report, accompanying the president's message, and dated 5th Sept., 1837, he said that with regard to the pet banks, their specie, as compared to their circulation, was nearly as great in May, 1837, when they stopped, as in Nov. 1836, when they went on—that their immediate means, as compared with their immediate liabilities, was as one to two and a half,

The public balances in banks, Jan. 1, 1837, were \$45,968,523—on the 1st of Jan., 1838, it was estimated that the balance was \$34,187,143, but of that sum Van Buren computed that only \$1,085,498 were available.

Perhaps the most artful and dishonest proposition made to the Legislature of N.Y. in 1834, was by Governor Marcy, on the 24th of March, to lend the banks five or six millions; borrow the money on a mortgage of all the property in the state, by the issue of state due bills; and, *if necessary*, charter a ten million bank in the city of N.Y. The pretext for doing this was, that the U. S. Bank was harassing the state institutions.\* Of course this was untrue, and he

and as this was greater than the usual ratio in the best of times with banks having large deposits, he assured Congress that their failure was not generally anticipated.

He admitted that the banks failed without cause, to make gain at the public expense, on the 40 millions due to the nation. As to the merchants' bonds for duties of which they had got six months credit through a bad law, and realized and sent the cash to England and France, long before that term expired, to help foreign trade at the expense of American credit and currency, he said that Van Buren, without any law, had given them a further credit from May to Sept., less or more (that they might be enabled to export the more specie). The government was bankrupt—it had nominally many millions, but Van Buren and Polk's treasury banks had clutched the whole and held on with a death grip. The banks had given security, so Woodbury affirms—so the *Globe* boasted when Calhoun doubted their solvency—then they could be insured for a half per cent.!

The government should have borrowed ten, twelve, fourteen millions of dollars, or whatever sum in hard specie would have saved it from the deep disgrace of offering its creditors orders on broken banks in payment of lawful debts, on contract or otherwise, which it knew would be paid, if paid at all, in a currency from 6 to 16 per cent. below real money, which difference they would divide as plunder, while the honest debtor was cheated and the government disgraced.

It appears that while the revenue was raised from the payments of many merchants, those of them who had to borrow had often to pay two per cent. a month, while the banks and brokers had the use of 20 to 40 millions without interest. Some years ago the Alb. D. Advertiser said that "the Mechanics' Bank, N. Y., recently found that more than a million of dollars of its funds had been most illegitimately used." The Alb. Argus remarks on this, that it must refer to transactions of 1837, just before the banks became bankrupt, and that if it were so, it showed "that at a time when the bank had perhaps two millions of the public money, instead of granting proper accommodations to the regular business of the city, more than a million of dollars had been used, probably, either in loans to speculators, or to brokers, who shaved the notes of merchants at 2 and 3 per cent. per month."

\* At this time, Van Buren, through the Argus, exclaimed (Feb. 17), "Let that man, or that newspaper, which attempts to disturb the public confidence in the banks, or in the merchants, be marked as an enemy, and treated as such." Such was their reckless course, that the whole of the sixty-nine Safety Fund Banks, had only two millions of dollars on the 1st of March, to meet nearly thirty-five millions of debts, over thirty of which were due on demand. Is it not clear that they were mere machines to do the executive will? Could not the servile Taney, at the nod of his superiors, have broke them any day in the year? They had not one dollar in cash to sixteen of debts! A Safety Fund indeed! Well might the Buffalo Commercial exclaim of Marcy and his colleagues, that "To humbug the people, to use the power to repay partisan services without regard to fitness for station, to succeed in a stock gambling operation, and to make honorable men the innocent means of bolstering up an insolvent bank, seems to be the end and purpose of the several actors. But the mask is removed, and the disguises stripped off by their own hands." Turn to Stephen Allen's instructions to Hoyt, No. 241, page 241, for a Tammany Bank of the Safety Fund order; and say whether that letter does not strip the mask in right earnest off Van Buren's Receiver General of the Sub-Treasury, who had through life assumed the garb of a hard-money democrat?

Turn next to [No. 264, page 259.] John Van Buren's letter to Hoyt, dated Saturday, March 22d, 1834, the day on which Marcy wrote and dated his mortgage message, which he withheld from the legislature till Monday the 24th. May not that message have been of Olcott & Co.'s manufacture? Van Buren tells that it was got up to "charm you Yorkers—Lawrence will run like the cholera." Lawrence had betrayed his constituents, was deeply versed in stock-jobbing, had become rather unpopular, and the message was needed to get him elected over Verplanck by any majority at all. If Marcy told John Van Buren on the 22d about his message that was to affect the public stocks, so that he might employ Hoyt to buy \$25,000 worth on Monday, and sell out on Monday week, \$1,000, or \$1,500 richer, through the secret,

knew it, but he was the confederate of Hoyt, Allen, Lawrence, Van Buren, Olcott, and the base clique of stock-jobbers who then (as now, I fear) controlled the monied affairs of the Union. Eleven or twelve millions of dollars had been withdrawn by Taney and Kendall, from the United States Bank and branches, and six millions and a half had been, by Jackson's order, lent to the favorite banks of Van Buren, in N.Y., to lend out, but no interest was charged to them. They had the use of about \$800,000 of other U.S. monies. They had in their custody between two and three millions of the funds of the state. They had eight and a half millions on deposit for safe keeping by individuals. They owed the United States Bank at least a million. They had lent out their capital—lent their credit in the form of bank notes, some twelve millions—and also lent the above twenty-one millions of borrowed cash—and yet they growled, grumbled, and stormed, insomuch that the Bank Junta at Albany and their confederates in New York, set Marcy at work to influence the gamblers' or stock market, and affect the elections, by a moonshine message or proclamation in which it was proposed to mortgage the farms and other property through the state for another five or six millions, and lend that also to the Safety Fund Banks. It may seem incredible, but most true it is that, under these circumstances, did Polk's present war secretary present the state with the prospectus of his mortgage. Morris, now postmaster at New York, was in the Assembly, hard at work pushing through the annual batch of Sandy Hill charters, for the good of the party and gain of the initiated. The *Dramatis Personæ* played their parts well. Our circuit judge, Edmonds, in the senate, and our postmaster, Morris, in assembly, moved the reference of Marcy's grave suggestions to a joint committee, and with Angel, Livingston [C. L.] and two or three dittoes, formed the committee.

is it not equally probable that he gave copies to Olcott, Allen, Butler, Corning, Croswell, Wright, Lawrence, and the other dealers in politics, to enable them to take time by the forelock? Van Buren's message to Hoyt, with his "I fear stocks will rise after Monday," shows how a stock-jobbing band of hypocrites, in power, made fortunes ten years ago. Is it not very probable that our Attorney General made many thousands, with his friends, by doing with his father's messages when President, as he had with Marcy's when Governor? Why does he curse and blaspheme at Hoyt for not having always spare cash to be used in his stock-gambling? Was the collectorship bestowed on that unprincipled profligate in order that the Van Buren family might be provided for out of Jesse's sub-treasury? If I am blameable for printing *these secrets*, as a warning for the convention, pray, Col. Young, is not Marcy a thousand times more censurable for telling *state secrets*, that our crow's lawyers may make fortunes out of them? The *Argus* and the *Evening Post* of 1834, like Marcy's message, tell us of privation, bankruptcy, and public distress. As the contractor near Patrick Henry could only cry, "money, money, beef, beef," our Attorney General Van Buren could only think of scrip, stocks, and *hœcus-pœcus*. If money, gain, avarice, were uppermost in his youthful mind, in 1831, how keen must his scent be now after the dollars! In 1836 he was borrowing of the banks and speculating with Hoyt and Cutting. See page 254. In June, 1836, Thomas W. Olcott was re-elected President of the Mechanics' and Farmers' Bank, Albany; Elbert Olcott was its cashier, C. E. Dudley its Vice President. On the 5th of June, 1837, this bank which had got two millions of the deposits to use *judiciously before the Presidential election*, but had found it profitable to stop payment, made J. Van Buren a director, and, I think, its Attorney. "Revelations had recently come to light," said Mr. Wells of N. Y., in the Assembly, at Albany, Feb. 25, 1843, "which set us into a side view of the piety, finance, and political trickery of the Regency; and could the curtain be entirely lifted, a sight would be witnessed which would increase a hundred fold the abhorrence with which the people now view Albany and Albany influence. He would kill the *Argus* in its old age as he would strangle the *Atlas* in its birth."

I don't like these state loans and national loans to individuals and chartered concerns. They are another word for gifts; the country rarely sees its cash again. "Of all creditors, the State is the unluckiest." Good security and regular instalments to be paid with interest; a loss to fall upon the public. It reads very well, but has a false quarter. If the security is good there are lenders enough, without taxing the million to enable the party uppermost to accommodate their friends, or John Van Buren's, or to earn their thousands by future Marcy's messages and mortgages.

When I read\* Colonel Young's strictures on my publication, wherein Attorney General Van Buren's improper conduct in this mortgage business is partly uncloaked, I confess I felt some surprise, but the following correspondence since published fully explains everything. The *patriot* who, while he was

\* COLONEL SAMUEL YOUNG has some valuable qualities; and if he is not what I could wish, and what I once believed him to be, let it not be forgotten that the Paternoster asks heaven to preserve erring humanity from temptation; and, that Samuel Young has, for about as long a period as the Israelites took to traverse the wilderness, on their way to Canaan, the Oregon of their time, been a placeman and a politician breathing the mephitic atmosphere of Albany. He has been an effective and practical friend of education, and has not for some five and twenty years voted for special chartered banks. He would have been supported by Wright, and elected Senator in Congress in place of the polite and pliant Dix, had not a fear of his anti-slavery principles, which might have marred the Texan annexation, interfered. While Wright and Van Buren, with Webb, Marcy, Croswell, Jones of N. Y. and others, were actively employed in discouraging the proposition for a state convention to amend the constitution of 1821, Young came boldly forward in the foremost rank of its advocates. Whether his good qualities are shaded over with failings and inconsistencies, which his acknowledged abilities and great energy of character scarce atone for, I am not perhaps in a position to form a correct judgment.

Colonel S. Young states that his ancestors, (how far back, or whether on the father or mother's side, or on both ?) were from Ireland. In his youth, I am told, he was employed in farming work, which, like W. H. Crawford, he exchanged for the law. In the August term of 1807, he was admitted an Attorney of the Supreme Court of this State—and, being favorable to the then administration, the council of appointment, [Clintonian] in March, 1808, appointed him a justice of the peace for Ballston, in Saratoga county, with John W. Taylor. On the same month, Van Buren was presented with the office of Surrogate of Columbia. Young was thus, at one and the same time, an attorney to plead, and a judge in the primary court of his town, a union of offices not to be commended, any more than Van Buren's Attorney-generalship, united with a seat on the bench of the Court of Errors, and the legal practice of a counsellor, pleading for hire before his own court.

On the 23th of Sept. 1814, a legislature, friendly to Madison's administration, and a vigorous prosecution of the war with England, met at Albany; and the Assembly chose Samuel Young for speaker, and Aaron Clark, since Mayor of N. Y., their clerk. Young was first chosen, in 1812, as a 'republican' member of the Assembly, for Saratoga, and gave a firm support to the contest, voting for Madisonian electors and against Clinton. Lately, in Senate, he said, that when he entered public life he had a flourishing law business, with four students, two of whom had become distinguished judges of the State; and that he had made no more by his public services than he would have done if he had refused office. He was the steady friend of Tompkins, supported Clinton for Governor in 1817, and turned against him when Van Buren did.

In 1819, Col. S. Young was a candidate for the office of U. S. Senator, and received the support of Van Buren, who well knew that he would not be elected. Both of them avowed their opposition to Rufus King, the Senator whose term was about to expire, whom their presses denounced as a federalist, though Van Buren or his friends had elected him in 1813. Next year, (1820,) Van Buren and Marcy wrote a pamphlet in favor of King—Young disappeared as a candidate, wheeled into line with Roger Skinner, Benj. Butler, Yates, Van Buren and Marcy, and assisted to elect King for another six years; and at the next vacancy, Van Buren, through the caucus system, and the aid of King's friends, was sent to accompany King, in the Senate, at Washington.

At the State Convention, 1821, Young, whom Hammond calls an upright, faithful man, opposed the idea of giving the black population votes for governor, senators, assemblymen, &c., because they were ignorant, and therefore unfit to judge of the conduct or character of public men, a degraded race, and, as yet, incapable of worthily exercising the duties which an elector is in duty bound to discharge for the common welfare. He opposed, in 1821, the election by the people of their justices of the peace, and mayors of cities, but supported with ability against Van Buren, the present system of universal suffrage. In 1826, when Clinton brought these great measures again before the people, Young supported both. Young and Van Buren now excuse their opposition in 1821 to several popular amendments, by saying that they were proposed to induce the people to reject the whole constitution, as amended. Why then did the party of Van Buren and Young then oppose the common sense proposition of Judge Kent and De Witt Clinton to allow the people to vote on the amendments separately, and refuse or accept according to the deliberate sentiment of the community? Even now, the question of giving the unchecked rights of an elector to a man who can neither read nor write—who is unable to sign his own name, or pronounce the letters of the alphabet from a book—to a man

seeking the public approbation by the most ultra denunciations of what he called a corrupt system, stood a steady beggar at every new bank door to SOLICIT a share of the "unclean drippings," was not likely to favor such exposés as mine. If it was Van Buren and Butler's turn to-day, it might be his own to-morrow.

who cannot read either our laws or constitutions—who sees in the recorded votes of congressmen, in print, only such scratches as a hen and chickens might have imprinted with their feet on the journal before him—is a very grave and serious one—whether the man's skin is white or black, or his birth-place, Africa, the Carolinas, Ireland, Germany, or Long Island. We want good government. Will ignorance, and the prejudices inherent to such a state, turn the scale in our elections, and secure that blessing? On the contrary, is there not a more than semblance of gambling and hazard given to the system which accepts Tom's mark at 21, he being incapable of writing, and refuses Dick's signature at 20, though educated like a Clinton, Calhoun, or Jefferson?

Col. Young addressed a letter to Hon. Jesse Clark, dated Ballston, Sept. 29, 1824, as follows:

"Dear Sir—I have received yours of the 20th inst., in which you inquire whether my opinion in reference to the electoral law has changed.

"Since the first agitation of the question at the last election, I have uniformly entertained and expressed an opinion in favor of transferring the choice of Presidential electors from the legislature to the ballot boxes. I have entertained and expressed this opinion, not only because I believe that such a law would be correct in principle, but because I was satisfied that it was called for by public sentiment.

"I have, within the last five or six weeks, received many letters from various parts of the state, making the same inquiry as yours, and some of them asking my opinion in reference to the candidates for the presidency. I have no objection that my sentiments on all political subjects should be known: but I have felt great reluctance to be the organ of their publicity.

"The many pressing solicitations, however, which I had received, induced me eight or ten days since, to write a letter to Edward Hudson, Esq., member of Assembly from Madison county, in answer to one from him, in which I state my opinion as above on the electoral law, and also that I prefer Mr. Clay among the presidential candidates, and giving in short my reasons for this preference. I have authorized him to make such use of my letter as he may deem proper, and of course I expect he will procure its publication.

"I am, sir, with sentiments of respect and friendship, yours, &c.

SAMUEL YOUNG."

On the 29th of Oct. 1827, an American system county convention was held at Ballston, near Young's residence, of which he was a member, and chairman of its corresponding committee. This Convention adopted an address unanimously, in which Adams and Clay's administration was highly lauded for its friendship toward domestic manufactures and internal improvements. "The Administration [Adams'] encourages with equal and impartial protection, the great interests of the North and the South. *The opposition* strive to trample under foot the interests of the North, and limit their encouragement to the productions of southern states and slave labor—pampering the pride and aristocracy of southern Nabobs, and preferring the prosperity of old England and Scotland, to that of New England and the other free States." The Albany Argus spoke of this convention approvingly.

Late discussions at Albany have discovered to the public more of Young's real character than was generally known before, by a revelation of facts for which I dare say most people who had heard his denunciations of bank and canal corruption were unprepared. So far from being a pure man himself, he, the terror of corrupt bankers, trafficking brokers, and bribed, corrupt legislators—he, whose high sense of honour in refusing to sit with Van Buren's profligate confederates, Senators Bishop and Kemble, good men admired and respected—had dabbled in the stock of some ten or twelve of the privileged banks of the state; taken his share of the spoils like Croswell, Marey, Olcott and Corning; and bought and sold many thousands of dollars worth, with all the keenness of a veteran Wall street stock-jobber. Young's exclamations of horror at the wickedness of bank craft, taken in this view, remind one very forcibly of the *pious* Butler lashing most vigorously the "greedy speculators and arrogant monied aristocracies of the state," through the *Sandy Hill Times* [p. 160], said Butler occupying, at the same moment, the President's chair of perhaps the most infamous of these 'arrogant' concerns that Van Buren had chartered. 'The cry of stop thief' by a culprit has oftener than once saved the guilty, and the exclamation of 'mad dog' condemned the innocent.

Colonel Young has not voted for a bank charter since 1822 or 1823. He holds, or has held a large amount of stock, in the following banks, namely the Watervliet bank—Seneca county bank—City Bank, Albany—Saratoga county bank—Herkimer county bank—Rochester bank—Commercial Bank of Oswego—Steuben county bank—Utica bank—Lockport bank.

It is possible that he may have had an interest at Sandy Hill or Buffalo in 1819. It appears that he has voted for all sorts of corrupt charters—has held on to lucrative offices until he has thereby acquired a large fortune—has speculated in lands, in legislation, in scrip, in every thing—and now comes forward, late in life, to act the part of Cato, the censor, with a view, as some say, to the occupancy of the seat now filled by Silas Wright. Methinks the discussions of this session of the legislature have destroyed his chance of that promotion, among the honest, pure minded, and patriotic electors. Such men as Butler, Van Buren, and their unexpected

My Lives of Hoyt and Butler, the State Printing, and the Texas slave question, are working miracles at Albany. Like the diving bell to a wrecked East Indian, they are bringing to light the works of other days. The knaves' league is broken; the old regency are uncloaking each other. Croswell, in a late *Argus*, publishes the following note, addressed to Lyman Covell, Esq., and dated,

"BALLSTON, 10th May, 1833. Dear Sir: Without the pleasure of a personal acquaintance, permit me to take the liberty to *solicit* you to subscribe, in my name, for stock in the Chemung Canal Bank to the amount of \$2500. I wish to make a permanent investment in the Bank to that amount; and it has been suggested to me, by a mutual friend of ours, that you would probably be willing to do the kind office of making the application to the commissioners for me. Should you consent to do this, A. B. Dickinson, Esq., will hand you the money for the subscription deposit. Yours, &c. S. YOUNG.

"P. S. I have added a warrant of attorney on the next page.

"I hereby authorize Lyman Covell, Esq., for me and in my name to subscribe for shares of stock in the Chemung Canal Bank, amounting to two thousand five hundred dollars.

S. YOUNG."

The *Argus's* correspondent writes Croswell, that "Mr. Covell did the 'kind office' as solicited by Col. Young, Mr. A. B. Dickinson furnishing the money for

apologist in the Senate, will, it is fondly hoped, surely find that they have undervalued the sagacity and morality of modern N. Y.

In 1832, Young was chairman of the Herkimer convention, which nominated to the people as a patriot governor, the cunning and corrupt W. L. Marcy. On the same year he published a pamphlet against the U. S. Bank, and in 1835 (see *Argus*, May 11) signed an address of the members of the legislature to their constituents, in which Van Buren's Safety Fund is called an improvement—that that system and its vigilant commissioners had protected the banks, some of which would have failed else during the panic caused, they tell us, by the U. S. Bank—and that the fund would soon be as large as to protect the people, in case the losses were not very wide spread, which was not expected. He voted same year to allow everybody to set up a bank, but against the bill of 1839, which modified the restraining act. [See page 174 to page 182.] Hammond thinks that the excellent bill to give every school district a public library, would have been lost but for S. Young and L. Beardsley's efforts in its favor. In 1839, Young and Spraker were the minority opposing a repeal of the law prohibiting bank notes under \$5.

In his Finance Report of 1839, he tells us that the bank note issues of the privileged corporations form a "stupendous system of fraud, falsehood, crime and suffering," and says much more to their injury—yet it appears he has been a very active builder of the system. His conduct and his language are strangely inconsistent.

In 1813, in a bill to incorporate Thomas Storms, &c., with \$600,000 capital, as a manufacturing company, Young moved to make the capital two millions, but could not carry it—Van Rensselaer moved to allow the corporation to do BANKING business; and when another member proposed to strike out banking, Young voted to retain it! In 1814, a bill to allow the Merchants' Bank, Albany, a charter, for the city only, was attempted to be improved by Young, who moved to give them power to bank also at Ballston Spa. Its charter was to be a million, and Young voted for a motion to oblige it to lend \$200,000 to manufacturers. That same year an effort was made to incorporate the N. A. Mining and Coal Company, as a bank, and for this also did Young vote. So say his brother senators, for I have not specially referred to the journal. He voted against the bill in 1818.

In 1818, the New York Franklin Bank charter was carried forward by Young's vote one step, yeas 13, nays 12, but at the final passage of the bill he voted against it. The Assembly rejected and sent it back to the Senate, and then sent for it again, and Young, *though he had professed to oppose it, voted to send it back to them*, but Van Buren dodged. Young supported, by his votes, the Chenango Bank, as did Van Buren's brother-in-law and state printer; but Van Buren himself dodged the last vote, as he knew the bill could be carried without him, others assuming the responsibility. Young dodged the two final votes on the Cherry Valley Bank, Van Buren remaining both times as a nay, there being enough to carry it without him, including, of course, his brother-in-law, Cantine, with the yeas. In 1821, Young voted for the North River Bank charter. When, in 1818, it was proposed to enact, that if a person should ask payment of its notes from a bank, and it were to refuse, it should be liable to pay interest on said notes from the date of its refusal, with costs of suit, Bowne, Van Buren, Young, Tibbets, and Roger Skinner voted NO!

One of the corrupt banks of 1836 was the Watervliet, presided over by an Olcott, who disappeared. Young, while denouncing the system, took \$2,000 stock, and lost it. His conduct in this was like John Randolph's, who, after doing his utmost against the U. S. Bank charter,

the subscriptions and deposits, Col. Young being the fifth applicant on the list, but the Colonel's application was not granted, by the board of commissioners, as appears by the printed statement at the time." Croswell sees nothing wrong in thus collecting his old friend's private, personal letters, and publishing them to his injury. How can he reconcile this with his abuse of me last Sept. and Oct.?

## CHAPTER XXVII.

*Polk's Pledges.—Verplanck's Resolution.—Michael Hoffman—the Naval Officer—a Snecure—Duties Political—Luck in getting Places—Votes in Congress—Pet Bank Loans—Herkimer Bank Stock—Hoffman and Young—Relations—A vote for Barker.—Executive Patronage.—Naval Office no Check.—Millions Lost.—The Merchants' Entries.—Alderman Purdy—Woodbury and Swartwout.—Polk's Choice.—Bonds how lost.—Noah's Grief.—Polk denounces the Sub Treasury.—Wilde, Gorham, and Binney, on the Pets.—Polk prevents Bank Inquiry.—Adams on Taney.—The General Scramble.*

COL. POLK was one of the original supporters of Jackson—and professes hostility to a high tariff for protection, to a national bank, to distributing a surplus of U. S. revenue monies among the states, and to internal improvements made with funds at the disposal of Congress. He is said to be friendly to an amendment of the constitution so that the people themselves might directly elect their presidents, and to the one term principle. He was warm in favor of Texan annexation, *with slavery*, and the slaveholding interest of the south believe that

took shares, and explained his conduct thus—that, if there were to be classes of slaves and masters, he would be found in the master class if he could. Yet it is to be inferred, that Young's legislation and general conduct would be somewhat affected by the heavy capital he had invested in support of a system he publicly condemned. His anxiety to remove the Usury Law may have arisen partly from a desire to withdraw his means from banks, and lend them to farmers at a high rate of interest, upon mortgage. He purchased stock, at 5 per cent. premium, in the Oswego bank. It failed. The lobby agents of that very equivocal concern, the Seneca County Bank, says Senator Clark, awarded Young \$2,500 of its stock. Did he sell out, or how? He had 200 shares awarded him of the old Rochester Bank, worth \$10,000, if at \$50 a share. In the Saratoga (Waterford) Bank he had \$5,000, his wife's property, at her control, and bought at 12 per cent. premium. This was sold out, in part or the whole, at 54 premium. He took \$2,000 stock in the Lockport Bank—it broke down—he sold his stock at 80 per cent. discount, and voted to repeal the charter. He was not a borrower in banks, but a real banker—and when the banks stopped payment in 1836, he was manly enough to stand alone in the Senate, and record his vote against Marey and the Van Buren clique, who were for giving their knavery a legislative protection. Yet, from 1813 to 1822, while he was voting for pet charters, when from party applicants, he had the suspension of 1814, and the warning of Clinton, Tompkins, and the fathers of democracy daily before his eyes, but heeded them not.

Young now owns \$5,000 in the City Bank, Albany, and large amounts in the Utica, and in three or four others. His connection with such a person as Halsey Rogers, whose name occupies no very high place in the code of bank morality, is against him. So also is his vote in favor of giving to a new incumbent the office of state printer, which the patrons of his favorite have so long and so shamefully abused. The adherents of Walker, Polk, Croswell and Marey, fearing that Cassidy's backers might be opposed to their declaration of dependence, are united in putting down the corrupt machinery they can no longer control.

On the 26th of May, 1833, Col. Y. defined his position in the Albany Atlas, in these words :

"The Democratic Party, with Mr. VAN BUREN at its head, was overwhelmed and submerged by the sing song ribaldry, the log-rolling humbug, and the hard cider debauchery of 1840: and believing his course to have been correct and his principles sound, and anticipating a political resurrection, I have since that period hoped that he would not be left at the bottom, but would rise with the party from under the foul mass of wing rubbish and opprobrium. When asked my opinion, I have uniformly expressed my preference for Mr. VAN BUREN as the next Presidential candidate: and in my estimation no man can be found better qualified for the office



they have in him a steady friend. He professed to be friendly to equal rights for adopted citizens;\* but *that*, like some others of his previous opinions, may have been held temporarily. He was pledged at Baltimore, *before his election*, to hold to the whole of Oregon, but he offered England afterwards to deduct from that whole  $5\frac{1}{2}$  degrees of N. latitude. In Dec., 1827, he was placed on the committee of foreign affairs in the House of Representatives, and five years thereafter (Dec., 1832), judiciously chosen by the Van Buren pet bank and land jobbing interest as their leading advocate on the committee of ways and means. At that session, the directors of the U. S. Bank were examined on oath by that committee, and Verplanck, their chairman, presented a majority report, Mar. 1, 1833, with a resolve, "That the government deposits may, in the opinion of this House, be safely continued in the Bank of the U. S." Polk presented a counter report from the minority, but all the members save 46, voted for Verplanck's resolution, in the teeth of which, Duane, six months after, was expected to have removed the public monies to PECULIAR institutions more favored by those in power. Of the 46 were W. G. Angel, S. Beardsley, Joseph Bouck, †Michael Hoffman, Henry Horn, Henry Hubbard, John Y. Mason, C. P. White, and J. K. Polk.

\* A bill had been sent to the H. of R. from the Senate, for granting a township of land to a body of poor exiles from Poland, where they had struggled for freedom. On the 30th of June, 1834, last day of session, Pinckney moved to lay it on the table, that is, to crush it. Among the yeas were James K. Polk, his Attorney General, John Y. Mason, his P. M. G., Cave Johnson, with S. Beardsley, whom J. V. Buren ridicules. "The anti-erit Nicholas, had he had a vote, would have been on the same side. Among the noes were J. Q. Adams, E. Everett, M. Fillmore, R. H. Gillett, Dudley Selde, Aaron Ward, and C. C. Combs. White and Lawrence did not vote.

† MICHAEL HOFFMAN of Herkimer, who is indebted to his friend James K. Polk, for the influential office, I may say sinecure, of Naval Officer of the Port of New York; a berth, which, like the Russian embassy, has been long useful to the executive as a means of rewarding political services, without reference to the performance of any particular duties; is now far advanced in years. His place has been worth, in fees, fines, salary and perquisites, over \$16,000 a year, as was the Surveyor's situation, now held by Purdy, but it is possible that a bill before Congress may effect a reduction. Yet it is truly marvellous how easily official people, in the chief situations, contrive to give a sort of mystical interpretation to laws apparently plain and simple—their object while in, is to fill their pocket—and Woodbury, Swartwout, Van Buren, Hoyt, &c., are proofs that no profession of ultra democracy can ensure an effective check on official profligacy. I presume that it is well understood that Hoffman holds on, conditioned that he shall devote his political talents and experience to the good of the Regency leaders, whose democracy consists in buying over and retaining prominent political men, through the spoils, heartily divided among them for their services in deceiving and deluding a people who, if themselves believe in the doctrines of Thomas Jefferson, have too often followed in the footsteps of certain artful and designing politicians who do not.

Judge Hoffman is a lawyer, by trade a politician, has the reputation of being very strict on "constitutional questions"—very clever in getting them no—duly looking in the direction of ultra democracy—ever rowing his boat towards Place, Power, and Official Plunder. For two years he was a district attorney; and for four he dispensed English law as a substitute for American justice in the capacity of first judge of the County of Herkimer. An additional Canal Commissioner was said to be wanted, just in time to secure to Judge Hoffman, for two years, a seat at the canal board, with a handsome income. The affairs of the nation required to be set to rights, and Congress could not get the *Navy* (!) properly regulated without at least one Admiral; in due time, therefore, the party seat Judge Hoffman for six or eight years, to the House of Representatives, in the pure and moral atmosphere of Washington, where eight dollars per diem, with mileage honestly measured, *Dallas fashion*, liberal presents voted from Jonathan's Exchequer, by patriots to themselves, and secret promises, of office thereafter, if they vote right, has reconciled in any a hot reformer to the discipline of a party leader. His recorded votes *then*, present a droll contrast when taken into view with his vast anxiety *now* for a state convention, to afford more checks on our money-borrowing, safety-fund-bank chartering majorities, for both of which, when at Albany, he entertained, as he said, a truly virtuous abhorrence.

The nation, through Congress, in 1816, sold to the United States Bank, the right to become the Treasury of the Union for twenty years—took \$1,500,000 in cash from stockholders, in payment for this privilege—and the Supreme Court Judges of the Union declared the transaction to be constitutional; whether it was so or not, nothing could be a greater violation of the public faith than to take the U. S. Bank money as a consideration for a privilege, and then lend out the whole national income to a batch of trading politicians, under the pretext of depositing it in the more favored chartered and unchecked banking monopolies of the Van Buren school for better security. In March, 1833, Mr. Polk joined Michael Hoffman and Campbell P. White in negating Verplanck's motion that the money of the nation was safe in the Bank of the United States. In that same year, Mr. Hoffman might also be found (as Mordecai M. Noah told him) liberally partaking of the unclean drippings of bank legislation and special charters. His county (Herkimer) had to be *managed* by a bank in the hands of the faithful. Mr. Hoffman had one hundred shares (say \$10,000) apportioned to him, with other 80 shares to his friend Col. Samuel Young—100 more went to A. Loomis—100 to A. Mann, M. C., and 100 to Dudley Barwell. "Under cover (said Noah, in his Star of October, 1834,) of charging the U. S. Bank with bribery, the grossest corruptions are carried on in this state—the very legislator who votes on a bank bill receives the assurance of pay in advance." Honest Michael, it appears, was not forgotten. After doing his best to lend forty millions of the money of the Union to the pet banks of party leaders and gambling bank directors with no security at all—after partaking liberally of chartered bank stock—after violating the obligation of contracts to the U. S. Bank, and aiding in the anti-bank cry of Martin Van Buren and his decoy-ducks, who, under the safety (!) fund system, chartered, from 1829 to 1837, banks on the special privilege principle, with some 30 millions of nominal,



he did, with spirit and energy. Let the Democratic Review, in its confessional numbers after Van Buren's defeat, explain to the millions the results of the experiments made in 1834, '5, and '6, by Kendall, Whitney, Van Buren, and J. K. Polk. Speaking of Van Buren & Co.'s failure in 1840, the Review says:

"Nor can we lay our hands on our hearts and say, on honor bright, that it was entirely undeserved on our own part, after all. We had not been—no party could have been—so long in power, especially under all the existing circumstances, without having contracted sundry sins, both of omission and commission—and with the same certainty that drags the shadow after the substance, does an inevitable retribution, to parties as to men, follow every fault and every folly they are ever guilty of. One great blunder, indeed, of the Pet Bank experiment, entailed a long series of consequences which made it eventually one of the heaviest of the weights that bore us down—a measure adopted at the express rejection of that very one which at a later day we so justly hailed with delight, when brought forward under different party auspices. We meant well, to be sure, in that most ill-starred of experiments—and it was at any rate better than the alternative of the other side, the re-charter of Mr. Biddle, but good intent is no excuse, to the inexorable justice of the providence of events, for great political errors. And when we remember all the practical mischief we did, stimulating the expansion of the currency through the distribution of the vast accumulated deposits among the banks—without even a charge of interest to them, and at one time an official encouragement to them to apply them liberally to the 'relief' of the community—when we remember the prophetic warnings from the opposition of the very consequences which indeed were not slow to develop themselves—what right have we to complain if we had ourselves to swallow a very bitter dose of retribution for our fatal error?"

I am persuaded that no impartial, well informed individual can be found who would hesitate, after inquiry, to blame Levi Woodbury, Sec. of the Treas., for his neglect of duty in the case of\* Swartwout, who had embezzled some \$1,250,000 from the New York Custom House, long before that lazy, or worse than lazy, functionary thought fit to announce his knowledge of the delinquency. A brief account of S.'s defalcation may be seen by reference to the index of my *Lives of Hoyt and Butler*—and it is worthy of remark that President Polk, knowing Woodbury's course in that and other matters, hastened to give him a life lease on the bench of the Supreme Court—and followed up that appointment by the nomination of the most intolerant lawyer towards citizens by choice, and not by chance, that he could find in Pennsylvania, or the Union, to a similar high station.† Mr. Polk's clumsy interference with the deposits was the indi-

\* Until 1834, Swartwout had embezzled but little of the public money. When the deposits were seized, he seems to have taken a leaf out of Van Buren's book. On the 15th of November, 1832, Woodbury wrote to Hoyt, hinting that the clerks who knew and concealed Swartwout's misconduct, ought to be removed. Two days after, Ogden the cashier, and Phillips (Noah's relative) the assistant, resigned their situations. *Honest* Noah, in his *Evening Star*, grieved aloud at Swartwout's resignation and French tour. "There are few men who leave an important situation with more of the public approbation than Mr. Swartwout"—said Noah. Woodbury was *merciful* to public pilferers. For example, "Harris, the receiver at Columbus, Mississippi, was a notorious drunkard and defaulter, but kept in office two years, in full knowledge of the department until he owed \$169,000. So Wise tells us, *through the Globe*. In August, 1835, Woodbury tells Harris that he is a defaulter—again in October—and so on till September, 1836, when the fellow proposes to *resign* after having been two and a half years a heavy defaulter! A Mr. G. D. Boyd succeeded Harris, and was "intemperate," a land speculator, like Butler, and *resigned* a defaulter, many thousand dollars in arrear, in August, 1837. John Davis applied next, as "a warm friend of the administration."

† POLK AND THE BANKS.—When Polk reported, in March, 1834, from the majority of his committee of Ways and Means, for seizing the revenue, using it to corrupt the banks, influence the elections, and uphold "the party," a minority report was presented, on the 4th, by R. H. Wilde, Benj. Gorham, and Horace Binney. They remind Congress, that a partnership of different corporations for profit and loss, or mutual guaranty, with independent boards of direction, was a strange contrivance to secure the stockholder and regulate the currency—that Polk, Wright, and Kendall's scheme had been tried and failed, and would fail again—that if Polk and his friends were correct in quoting the maxim that "the borrower is servant to the lender," the banks borrowing the public money would be slaves to Jackson and his cabinet—that if their other maxim, "that he who controls a bank, controls the debtors of the bank" held good, the deposits had been placed in banks whom Jackson's advisers intended to control, through these slave banks of theirs—that the scheme would derange the currency, which is the measure of the value of every man's property, of his contracts, of indemnity for breaking them, and of the public revenue—that a deranged currency makes laws, verdicts, promises and decrees of courts speak the language of deceit and falsehood, gives fraud a premium,

rect cause of the loss to the country of \$646,754 paid him, as the cashiers of his choice, for bonds. When Polk, Kendall, Van Buren, and Lawrence, united

and strips honest labor of its scanty earnings, paying it in worthless or depreciated rags, under pretence that they are as good as gold—that doubt and uncertainty were deeply injuring the business of the merchant and manufacturer—that if the U. S. Bank was not to be rechartered, some better plan ought to be proposed to Congress, for as to Polk and Wright's pet scheme, it was the merest delusion, because the banks selected, and the vast number that would arise like mushrooms, would only promote the disorder. The state banks wanted a regulator—a good currency was hopeless if the U. S. Bank, as a check, was removed, and no other substituted than the party politician's orders whom circumstances might place at the head of the treasury—that the bank had been accused of paying money to printers, but, when traduced by the executive power, by many presses, and by speculators in Congress, was it not the duty of her directors to appeal to facts, where the public were so deeply interested in the result?—that the framers of the constitution had provided the Supreme Court for the trial of aught done by the bank that was wrong, with the penalty of loss of charter if shown to be forfeited, and that the attorney general might prosecute, and the bank be heard in defence before the country, which would be a better, more manly course, than continued slander and party abuse to mystify the issues, delude the millions, and end in making the fortunes of bad men, to the injury and ruin of thousands who would be made to believe that they had been wronged by those most deeply interested in the cause of equal justice.

The Apostle Paul, had he been on earth, would not have convinced Polk, Wright, Van Buren, Butler, Kendall, Whitney, Lawrence, Cambreleng, Tallmadge, Marcy, Taney, and their confederates, that anything less than the use of the public purse—its plunder—could benefit the public. The party were not yet ready for the Sub Treasury, and therefore it was that in that year, Polk denounced it in the following plain terms :

"Between the responsibility of a public receiver and bank corporations as banks do exist, and are likely to exist under State authority, the latter, upon the ground of safety to the public, are to be preferred. Banks, when they are safe, recommend themselves to the service of the Treasury for other reasons. The increased facility they possess over individual collectors and receivers, in making transfers of public money to distant points, for disbursements, without charge to the public. Indeed, this is a service which individuals, to the extent of our large revenues, could not perform. Whilst the deposit is in Bank, the bank may use it, keeping itself at the same time ready to pay when demanded, and it is not withdrawn from the general circulation—as so much money hoarded and withdrawn from the use of the community. In the hands of receivers, they must either hoard it by keeping it locked up in a strong box, or use it at their own risk in private speculation or trade. This temporary use of money on deposit in a bank, constitutes the only compensation which the bank receives for the risk of keeping it, and for the service it performs. If receivers be employed, they can perform no other service than to keep the money, and must be paid a compensation from the Treasury."

Blair, of course, took the same ground in the Globe. He declared "that the *Independent Treasury* is disorganizing and revolutionary, and subversive of the fundamental principles of our government, and of its entire practice from 1793 down to this day; and that it is as palpable as the sun that the effect of the scheme would be to bring the public treasury much nearer the actual custody and control of the President, and expose it to be plundered by a hundred hands, where one under the late system could not reach it. In such event we should feel that the people had just cause for alarm, and ought to give their most watchful attention to such an effort to enlarge executive power, and put in its hand the means of corruption."

On the 13th of June, 1831, the Senate sent for concurrence to the House of Representatives, a resolution it had agreed to, in opposition to the treasury banks, that the public treasure ought to be left with the U. S. Bank and its branches. Polk moved to give it the go-by. Yeas, Joel B. Sutherland, R. H. Gillet, J. Cramer, A. Vanderpoel, H. Hubbard, Polk, Cambreleng, White, &c. Nays, J. Q. Adams, Dixon H. Lewis, Dudley Selden, H. A. Wise, W. Slade, M. Fillmore, E. Everett, Levi Lincoln, &c. Where was Collector Lawrence?

April 4, 1831, Polk's resolve "that the state banks ought to be continued as the places of deposit for the public money," Congress prescribing the mode of selection and the securities (never done), was carried in the House of Representatives, 117 to 112. Yeas, Polk, Cambreleng, Cramer, Beardsley, Bocker, Gillet, Hamer, Hubbard, Richard M. and Cave Johnson, C. W. Lawrence, Mann, J. Y. Mason, Joel B. Sutherland, Vanderpoel, &c. Nays, Adams (J. Q.), Selden, Slade, McDuffie, F. Whittlesey, Everett, Lincoln, &c.

March 17, 1831, Gorham presented a memorial from many influential and highly respectable inhabitants of Boston, for the incorporation of a national bank, and the restoration of the deposits. Polk, Bynum, Cave Johnson, Beardsley, Vanderpoel, Gillet, Mason, &c., argued and voted against allowing the names of the petitioners to be printed with the memorial. This time C. W. Lawrence left his leader, and with Sutherland, Selden, Wise, Adams, &c., went for allowing the people to see who the petitioners were.

in driving the able and intrepid Duane, whom Jackson could neither bend nor bribe, from the Treasury, Taney, four days after his appointment, ordered the President of the U. S. Bank to deliver up the bonds given by the merchants of Philadelphia, for duties, to the Collector there. It is presumed that a like order was given in New York; and the consequence was, that instead of the branch bank here being a check, and a safe depository for the bonds, till paid at the bank, they were placed in the hands of Swartwout and his reckless subalterns to manage as they thought fit. The result is matter of history.\*

\* It has often been found, on examining the affairs of a broken bank, that certain of its officers and directors owe it far larger sums than the stock they hold. These debts they contrive to pay with the notes of their insolvent institution, *at par*, buying them in the market for 25 to 50 cents per dollar, and thus gaining by the failure. On the 7th of June, 1834, Mr. Adams proposed a resolve requesting the names of the Presidents, Cashiers, Directors, Stockholders, and Solicitors, of all the banks that had been selected by Roger Taney, as treasury banks, when the U. S. Bank was discarded—the amount of stock held by each stockholder—and the amount of debt due by each director, cashier, and president of each pet bank, to the bank, at the time when it got the public treasure, and at this time. This would have shown whether the banks were in the hands of borrowing speculators, whether they had borrowed out the public monies, and whether they had power over the banks without having a real interest in their good management. Nevins's letter to Hoyt, page 189, explains in part their schemes. Mr. Adams showed that it was not unusual for a favorite to be allowed to subscribe for \$50,000 of stock, be elected a president or director, and never pay one cent into the bank coffers; but, when he could, borrow the credit of the bank and other men's deposits. Mr. Polk screened the pets, opposed all information, and for the purpose of crushing inquiry, moved an amendment about the U. S. Bank, which had no deposits at all to lend to any one. Cambreleng, too, was opposed to inquiry, of course. Coulter said that secretary Taney had not forgotten his own interest in selecting the pets—that he, Taney, was the Attorney for one of them (the Union Bank, Maryland) that he was also a large stockholder, and had moved the deposits so as to give new value to his own bank shares, and increase his dividends—that this conduct was a violation of the law—and that Taney was not alone in such works, as the returns would show. Mr. Adams was very sarcastic. He suggested to Polk, as chairman of *the ways and means*, to add to the precedents with which he had befooled the House, by proposing that it be

Resolved, that the thanks of this house be given to Roger B. Taney, secretary of the treasury, for his pure and DISINTERESTED patriotism in transferring the use of the public funds from the Bank of the United States, where they were profitable to the people, to the Union Bank of Baltimore, where they were profitable to him—*eff!*

The guilty usurers were in the majority, but all was kept dark. Campbell P. White borrowed only \$172,000—the Butlers \$30,000—J. G. Coster \$20,000—James M'Bride \$76,000; all this and much more out of the Manhattan. Of course the *patriot*, White, wanted no inquiry. Polk was the leader of the greedy usurers in their "general scramble." Is it thus we are to account for his patronage of B. F. Butler? On the 13th the resolution was again debated, and Mr. Miller moved to dispose of it, as delay would quash inquiry. Polk said no—the usurers were in his majority, and inquiry was thus stilled till the general bankruptcy of 1837-8, told a sad tale, a day too late.

Horace Binney of Philadelphia, in his speech against Van Buren's Pet Banks, in the debate in Congress, January 9th, 1834, had clearly foretold these results. I quote his remarks verbatim.

"Sir, the project astonishes me. It is to bring a second time, upon this land, the curse of an unregulated, uncontrolled, State Bank paper currency. We are again to see the drama, which already, in the course of the present century, has passed before us, and closed in ruin. If the project shall be successful, we are again to see these paper-missiles shooting in every direction through the country; a derangement of all value; a depreciated circulation; a suspension of specie payments; then a further extension of the same detestable paper; a still greater depreciation; with failures of traders and failures of Banks, in its train; to arrive, at last, at the same point from whence we departed in 1817. Suffer me to recall to the recollection of the House a few of the more striking events of that day. The first Bank of the U. States expired in March, 1811. Between the 1st of January, 1811, and the close of the year 1814, more than one hundred new Banks were established to supply this more uniform and better currency. Forten millions of capital called in by that Bank, twenty millions of capital, *so called*, was invested in these. In the place of five-and-a-half millions, about the amount of circulation in notes of that Bank withdrawn, twenty-two millions were pushed out. Then came a suspension of specie payments, in August and September, 1814. As an immediate consequence of this suspension, the circulation of the country, in the course of fifteen months, increased fifty per cent.,

## CHAPTER XXVIII.

The very name of a politician or statesman, is sure to cause terror and hatred; it has always connected with it the ideas of treachery, cruelty, fraud and tyranny; and those writers who have faithfully unveiled the mysteries of state freemasonry, have ever been held in general detestation for even knowing so perfectly a theory so detestable.

BURKE'S VINDICATION OF NATURAL SOCIETY.

*The Catastrophe, 1837.—Partnership Law.—The Pets versus the Subtreasury.—Free Banking.—Kendall and the Post.—Marcy's Restraining Law.—Clay on the Banks.—The Brokers' Banks.—Jackson, Blair, Polk and Ritchie against the Subtreasury.—Calhoun for a Bank, in 1834.—Jackson Money, all hard.—Gold, all gold.—Silas Wright and the Soulless Existences.—Harrison on Currency.—Tebbett's \$8000 Vault.—Hoyt and Allen working out the Act.—Flagg's Practice.—Van Buren's Specie Mixture.—Peel on Paper.—English Banking.—The Knaves' League.—Hoyt, McNulty, &c., above all Law.—Bennett Explains.—Knowledge is Power.—Cambreleng, Webb, &c.—Walker and his Pets.—Corcoran & Riggs.—Four Hundred Stockjobbers Sporting with Uncle Sam's Strong Box.—McDuffie's Notions.*

ENGLAND'S republican poet, John Milton, thus records in his 'Paradise Lost,' the lamentations of the eldest of human kind: "Now I perceive Peace to corrupt, no less than War to waste." Addison, one of her ablest whig statesmen, frankly declares his opinion, that "The waste of War is not, in its final consequences, so injurious as the luxuries and corruptions of Peace." John Quincy Adams, with still later experience, and certainly very superior powers of observation, approvingly quotes Milton; and assigns "the abuse of credit, and the UNRESTRAINED pursuit of inordinate wealth, especially by the agency of banks," as the proximate causes of the great catastrophe of 1837.\*

or from forty-five to sixty-eight millions of dollars; and the fruit of this more uniform currency was the failure of innumerable traders, mechanics, even farmers; of one hundred and sixty-five banks, with capitals amounting to \$30,000,000; and a loss to the United States, alone, in the negotiation of her loans, and in the receipt of bankrupt paper, to an amount exceeding four millions of dollars. \* \* \* Does Kentucky wish to see the return of those days? I trust in God it will be defeated, that the poor men and laborers in the land may resist it, for it is a scheme to get from every one of them a dollar's worth of labor for fifty cents, and to make fraud the currency of the country as much as paper."

Martin Van Buren and his friend Butler saw it all just as clearly as Binney, but his followers would leave if not gorged with plunder, and he satiated even avarice itself. As early as 1835, Jackson and Van Buren saved appearances by abusing the banks and thus weakening their credit; and in *Holland's Life*, printed that year at Hartford, banks and paper money are unsparingly vilified. When they fell with a crash, Van Buren started the sub-treasury, while his instruments denounced the banks he himself had endowed and made.

\* THE CATASTROPHE.—As early as October, 1836, the Safety Fund Bank system was ready to blow up. Van Buren and Jackson's pet banks, with the hundreds of other banks created all over the Union, had increased the circulation of paper as money beyond all precedent. Everything that was for sale rose in price—everybody likes to sell in a dear market, and therefore many millions of dollars worth of foreign merchandize was imported in 1835 and 1836, beyond the average of more frugal years—vast imports brought a great revenue—the revenue was handed over to the pets for safe keeping, and by them lent to their managers, to speculate in lands and lots, or for the accommodation of the merchants at 12 to 50 per cent. interest. The public land sales rose from one or two millions to 15 or 20 in a year—the states lent their credit to banks, in bonds payable with interest, they began extensive canals, railroads and other improvements, often without system, and with mean, dishonest parasites as their agents—the banks disposed of their capitals for fancy stocks, Texas scrip, and unsaleable property—every body took credit, at home and abroad—provisions rose—millions worth of produce, potatoes, &c. were imported, for although we had land, we had not leisure to cultivate it. The country was

As a security, not only to bankers, but also to merchants, manufacturers, and, in short, all persons who go into partnership in trade or dealings, a complete revision and consolidation of the partnership laws would be invaluable to this community. At present they are the crude provisions of the common law; and many capitalists are alarmed at the bare idea of an *unlimited* partnership\*

afflicted with an overstrained, distempered energy, ill directed. The national government was free of debt, and Congress had ordered many millions of its immense paper treasures to be distributed or lent to the states—Jackson required specie at his land-sales—\$500,000,000 were due from the public to the banks—large sums from the south and west to the sea-board cities—and the banks and commercial people were deeply in debt to Europe. The expenditure of the federal government was beyond its income, but it had the power of pledging public credit by placing its treasury notes or due bills into the hands of favorite bankers to be sold for gold and silver, and its power was not too wisely used. Some six or eight bankers and great trading houses in England, allowed commercial people of good and indifferent repute in these states to draw on them for vast amounts, in payment of goods for the American market; character was no longer essential to success in life; mercantile firms without capital or experience rose among us like mushrooms, and the very nature of commerce was changed to speculative gambling, on a visionary, unstable basis. The English people did not understand the profligate game which Van Buren and his allies were playing. Their confidence in American institutions and American honor was unbounded; and they believed that the Hoyts, Oleotts, Swartwouts, Marceys, Stephen Allens, Wrights, Flaggs, Biddles, Woodburys, Jaudous and Murrays of this new continent, possessed great financial skill. In the end they tasted its quality, to their cost.

The Bank of England had been unusually liberal in 1835 and 1836, in its loans to joint stock banks, bill brokers, and especially to some seven or eight commercial houses largely interested in the North American trade. Suddenly, the remittances from the United States began to slacken. The Bank, which now has sixty millions in gold in its coffers, found itself possessed of less than twenty millions in December, 1836, whilst it owed one hundred and fifty millions. The Directors felt that the vast financial machine entrusted to their care was in danger by their own carelessness; they called in their loans with unusual haste; and being privately advised, by intelligent correspondents on this side the ocean, of the tottering condition of our credit system, as tinkered by the politicians, discouraged the purchase of the bonds of nearly all the borrowing states; raised the rate of interest to five per cent.; depressed the value of commodities of all sorts many millions; and thus recovered some thirty or forty millions of specie, deemed essential to the safety of the institution, and which they had too heedlessly parted with.

Early in 1837, many heavy failures took place in the city of New York—and in May that year our Safety Fund Banks, the Deposit Banks of New York, resolved to withhold payment of their just debts—the Dry Dock Bank led the way, and in a few days 950 depositories of real or imaginary wealth were as bankrupt as Van Buren's old Buffalo, or Euter and Hoyt's Washington and Warren. Marcy and his associates speedily legalized this monstrous fraud; and the state banks being relieved from all other checks than those of their paper exchanges and the visits of political commissioners, sold their specie for exportation, and paid the demands of the government on them, in part, in a currency worth 80 to 94 cents per dollar. The city banks, however, reduced their loans from 46 to 30 millions, and their notes in circulation from 9 millions to 2, being a withdrawal of credit equal to 23 millions. Of course, their brokers did a large business, with notes of every grade in value, from one cent to one hundred—and English creditors were very easy with their debtors. The Bank of England allowed James Brown of Liverpool to draw on them for eight or ten millions of dollars to uphold credit here, and of that sum I think he did draw for about one half. On the 5th of Dec. 1837, Van Buren's message told the public, that of thirty millions in the pet banks, government could not command one. Ten millions of Treasury notes were paid to the public creditors in lieu of real money, and these notes were received by the Custom House in payment of government duties. Bank bills were refused.

\* **THE FREE BANKS.**—The reader, by referring to the correspondence of Messrs. Flagg, Cutting, C. L. Livingston, Marcy, Hoyt, and Phelps, will perceive, that when chartered banking had been sold, and bartered, and bargained off to favorites, to make presidents and governors and such like, till the fabric of Van Buren knavery tottered to its base, a new leaf was proposed to be turned over, by making banking free, taking the stock of Arkansas, Alabama, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Illinois, Indiana, &c., as security, or bonds and mortgages on private property in this State. How hot Hoyt, Flagg, Cutting, &c., were for this new Safety Fund! It ended, like the first, by giving us a sprinkling of broken free trade banks; some of them gigantic schemes of wholesale knavery, like the North American Trust and Banking Company, J. D. Beers, President; others equally desperate in character, but on a mimic scale. The people lost, by the insolvent banks, from 5 to 45 per cent. on the notes they had taken, and what became of those who trusted funds with them may readily be guessed. As to the general free

banking, with a remedy provided for neglect or dishonesty which is no remedy at all. Such a law, preceded by a commission of practical inquiry, is much wanted. On the 6th of March last, Mr. Hard, in Senate, expressed the opinion that "banks had cost this country, by their expansions, failures, and subsequent revulsions, five hundred millions of dollars." Banks, like merchants, are very useful to society; but as long as the government shall continue to be a sort of patent panic manufactory, and the laws not be made for the public benefit, we shall hear continually of the stoppages and explosions of our defective financial machinery. What can be more insulting to the understanding of the American people, than to behold a league or band of their hired and well paid officials

trade law, the Supreme Court have decided that the legislature could not, on their oaths, constitutionally pass it, but the Senate of N. Y., as a Court of Errors, have declared, that as a Senate they made no mistake at all. There was no other banking in this state for the first twelve or fourteen years of its independence than free banking under the English partnership law. Levi M'Keen's was a free bank; so was Jacob Barker's Exchange; but they did not solve the grand secret, stability and uniformity of value. Amos Kendall, like Sir Robert Peel, declares that "free banking is free gambling." On the contrary, Mr. Bryant of the Post, would make banking free to all. He is a liberty boy in right earnest. He would throw the reins over the horses' necks, and trust to their discretion not to upset the coach, so he would. Experience, on the contrary, would check the quadrupeds, and the editor of the Post, if he will but look at the results of free-banking in N. Y. since last he reviewed Kendall, may find that his own opinion requires reviewing also. Van Buren's idea of free-banking needs only to be stated. In March, 1817, he introduced a bill to Senate for a new banking system, providing that not more than five persons might associate as free-bankers, to be jointly and severally responsible, and do business only at a place specified. In case the bank stop payment of its notes it shall pay ten per cent. interest on the amount to the holders; its partners must not, while thus associated, buy grain, sell merchandize, or deal in securities or stocks, unless where they have to take them for debt. The bank to report once a year to the comptroller. In case any private banker or his cashier, clerk, or agent should be convicted of fraud in his business, he might be fined from a cent to \$1,000, and sent between one day and seven years to state's prison. Why did not this last clause apply to chartered banks?

Governor Marcy denounced the N. Y. Restraining Law as a most odious monopoly in his message of 1837. Of course Van Buren had been friendly to it. On reference to Senate Journal, 1818, page 179, I find that the Restraining Law provided, that no individual, association, or body corporate, "shall keep any office of deposit for the purpose of discounting promissory notes; or for carrying on any banking business which incorporated banks are authorized by law to carry on; or issue any bills or promissory notes as private bankers, unless specially authorized by law." A clause in the bill exempted Jacob Barker's bank for three years from the monopoly; and this was opposed by Col. Young, and Messrs. Eowne and Hammond. Next day, March 24th, Van Buren, Young, everybody went for privilege, and the bill passed.

In 1819, Jan. 20, in Senate, Mr. Clay assumed it as a fact, that with this constitution, bank-paper will exist, and cannot be put down. If it is stopped in one state, another will flood that state with its paper and get the profit. He instanced states which had opposed paper in every shape, but finding that other states supplied it to them, changed their policy, in order that they might have some of the advantages of paper.

Thiers tell us that the French Republicans disliked bank notes, and were enraged at the abolition of the assignats. "The intention of having recourse to the financial companies revived all prejudices. 'The government,' they said, 'was going to give itself up again to stock-jobbers; it was about, by establishing a bank, to ruin the assignats, and to destroy the paper money of the republic, in order to substitute for it a private paper created by jobbers.'"

The Senate's Committee on Banks, Albany, April, 1845, document 97, describe, in part, the operation of the general banking law of 1838, thus:—There are institutions, "called banks, principally owned by brokers in New York, whose sole or chief business is, to obtain bills from the comptroller and to put and continue them in circulation; banks which do not lend money. Among these they mention the 'Farmers and Mechanics' Bank of Ogdensburg,' which had \$208,734 of their notes in circulation, and had not lent the public one cent; the James' Bank, Amenia Bank, Farmers & Mechanics' Bank, Rochester, and two or three more; in all, eight; capital \$377,093; notes in circulation, \$545,000; loans and discounts to the public only \$37,920. Would it not be as well for the republic to have the interest on this circulation as the few brokers that now get it? Probably even the \$37,920 lent, is chiefly lent, by these banks to their owners." The committee consider the White Plains Bank, and the Warren County Bank, and several others, to be of like character. These banks are not lenders of money, say the committee—they are borrowers,



condemn an important measure, as vile, unprincipled, infamous, revolutionary, tyrannical, innately corrupt and base, and an open violation of the constitution; and when they have thus crushed and blackened it, and left the country to be pillaged for years by other means of their providing, to see them all of a sudden wheel quite round about, and begin to puff and laud the same old and repudiated proposition, as if it were a voice from heaven? Was it not thus that Polk, Wright, Croswell, Van Buren, and their interested allies acted in the matter of the sub-treasury and the pet, state, local, or treasury banks?

Secretary Duane replied to Gen. Jackson's recommendation of chartered state banks (of our politics) as being the best sub-treasuries for the party: "Treasury Department, July 10, 1833. *It is manifest that the welfare of the people demands, that instead of being a partner in either, they [the people] should be independent of both United States and local banks.*" To which Jackson responded, "that he had himself asked Congress, so to organize the treasury department as to dispense with banks, but that he had not been attended to by congress or the people." Sixteen months after that, the *GLOBE*, by Blair, thus officially expressed the deliberate opinion of Jackson, Van Buren,\* Wright and

\* WHAT WAS THE JACKSON REFORM TO CONSIST IN?—It is to end, said Blair, for Van Buren, "in the suppression of all paper money and the \$100."—"I would myself banish all paper money under \$100," said T. H. Benton, in a letter.—"R strict all issues of bank bills below \$50, so that, if," quoth the *Democratic Review*.—"Gold and silver coin is Jackson money; notes with pictures on them promising to pay, the bank's money." So said Blair, March 29 1831. Did not the plan of 1837 preserve the Jackson money exclusively for the rich? Were not the contradictory plans of Van Buren and Polk tried? Did they do more or less than rob the honest to enrich the base and artful? Did not the *Globe* pour forth hosannas to the exclusive gold currency of the Union, ending in Jesse Hoyt's knavery here, and national bankruptcy, repudiation, silver plagues, and Silas Wright? In 1837, the Albany Regency issued a manifesto, through the *Argus*, denouncing the loco fagos, and declaring that "they never entertained the visionary project of an exclusive metallic currency;" but the *Globe*, by Blair, had prophesied, in 1831, that "in seven or eight years, bank rags will be abolished, and the whole country will be over-run with gold." In 1831, Silas Wright, abhorred the bank and silver, and "had the most entire confidence in the full and complete success of the [pet bank] experiment," by means of which a few hundred gambling leaders pillaged the useful classes of society to the extent of twenty millions of dollars. In 1837, we find Wright exclaiming, "What, then, can Congress do? We answer, by the yet untold expellents. Produce a perfect and entire separation between the finances of the nation and the banks of issue, or discount, however, or by what authority existing; between the national treasury and these artificial creations of legislation upon which we have so unfortunately attempted to depend. We have tried the nation of these soulless existences, in all their forms of being, and that fail has always filled us in the hour of utmost need. Now let us try the faith of natural persons, of moral accountable agents, of freemen. Let Congress trust the safe keeping of the public treasury with citizens, as such, and not as bank corporators; with men responsible to itself, and to the United States government, with Polk at the helm, are trusting in millions of money, steadily, to the artificial creations, the soulless existences, which always fail, while the administration holds up as "the great salvation," the old sub-treasury scheme of 1830. Are not such men able to maintain an ascendency? General Harrison in his inaugural, said, "if there is one measure better calculated than any other to produce that state of things, by which the rich are daily adding to their hoards, and the poor sinking deeper into poverty, it is a exclusive metallic currency. Or if there is a process by which the character of the country for generosity and nobleness of feeling may be destroyed by the great increase of necessary toleration of usury; it is an exclusive metallic currency." Now the state and U. S. government continually act as if they really held this view, while they continue, nevertheless, lustily to vociferate in favor of a change, in order that they may get popular favor and pick up votes.

When Van Buren's Sub-Treasury came into operation, in New York, it made rare sport to the Wall street wits. Tebbets, a conservative blacksmith, hauled out an immense iron vault or safe, at a cost of \$8,000, to hold, not the specie, but the bank note, as, while the specie was in the banks, or paying for American purchases in China or Japan. The iron vault was all a deception to bid the real traders till after the rejection of Van Buren. In those days, Hoyt, a big cashier received in payment of duties, a large quantity of specie, the merchants' checks upon banks, and "payable in specie," with bank notes of specie paying banks. The checks and the notes were occasionally kept in the iron vault, but the coin remained in the bank vaults; and if one went to Stephen Allen, the receiver general, to get money for a treasury note, he too paid in paper. The Collector inside his deposits in a bank, and then reported to Allen as receiver twice a week—the divorce of bank and state, therefore, in New York, consisted in placing the revenue in banks, and receiving no specie, or as little of it as possible, for duties; also in passing the paper dollars through the hands of Hoyt and Allen instead of only one of them. On the 11th of September, 1837, Bennett said in his Herald, that Calhoun might be going ultra with Van Buren in order to break him down. One thing is clear, Butler, Hoyt & Co., so managing the tariff, the sub-treasury and the collection of the revenue, as to deceive the son of a gun, by appealing to follow one line of policy while in truth they were doing their very utmost against it. A state sub-treasury is talked of now at Albany, but it's all talk. Flagg does not want it. Horace Greeley says, "the Manhattan and Bank of the State here, the Farmers and Mechanics' at Albany, and two or three more pet 'monsters' have the handling, keeping, and non-restricted lending of the Four or Five Millions per annum, collected and disbursed by our State, on terms far more lax than those accorded by the Federal Government. All this vast amount is regularly collected and dispensed in Bank Notes—not a silver of coin about the business—and our Comptroller and the Banks are always playing into each other's hands, for mutual advantage."

Van Buren wrote Governor Reynolds, March 6th, 1841, praising "a mixed currency, composed of a well balanced and harmonious co-operation of the standard of value and its paper representative." Benton canvassed for Van Buren, in 1836, as being "a real hard money man." Jackson says, in his letter to Moses Dawson, "I

the party then in power, relative to a renewal of Duane's proposition, when formally made in Congress : "The proposition of Mr Leigh 'to dissolve all connection between the treasury and banks,' is disorganizing, revolutionary, subversive of the fundamental principles of our government and its entire practice, from 1789 down to this day ; it is as palpable as the Sun, that the effect of the scheme would be to bring the public treasure much nearer the actual custody and control of the President than it is now, and expose it to be plundered by a hundred hands, where one cannot now reach it." When I say that this is the deliberate statement of the Globe of Nov. 20, 1834, by authority—that the journals of Congress show that the proposition (and for the same reasons too,) was rejected by the nearly unanimous votes of Jackson and Van Buren's friends—that the faithlessness of pet banks was as well known and tested in 1834 as in 1837—that Calhoun, in Senate, March 21, 1834, when discussing the question of excluding all but specie from the receipts of the government, said, "But there is in my opinion a strong, if not an insuperable objection against resorting to this measure, resulting from the fact that an exclusive receipt of specie in the Treasury would, to give it efficacy and to prevent extensive speculation and fraud, require an entire disconnection on the part of the government with the banking system in all its forms, and a resort to the strong box as the means of preserving and guarding its funds—a means, if practicable at all, in the present state of things, liable to the objection of being far less safe, economical, and efficient than the present," adding "my impression is, that a new bank of the U. S., engrafted upon the old, would be found to combine the greatest advantages, and to be liable to the fewest objections ;" and that same year he remark-

am, and ever have been, opposed to all kinds of government paper currency, let it be derived from the exchequer or otherwise." Van Buren began his reign by the issue of a "government paper currency," in the form of treasury notes. While Van Buren is for a *well balanced, mixed currency*, Jackson asks Dawson Where is the use of a paper currency ? Neither the merchant nor labourer wants it. It is one of the greatest humbugs to say that there is not specie enough in the world to answer all the necessary wants of the community. Look at Cuba. There is no paper there. Now here are conflicting opinions, and yet Van Buren, in his inaugural, says that he had completely agreed with Jackson in sentiment, and had partaken largely of his confidence. Who will suppose that it was otherwise ? Yet it is evident there is decided opposition here. Who was sincere ?

\* WHAT IS ENGLAND ABOUT ?—In May, 1844, Sir Robert Peel said, in parliament, that "there are a number of people who think that the trade in bank notes should be as free as the trade in anything else ; and that no more danger will arise from a free manufacture of paper money, resting on mutual credit and confidence, than from the free manufacture of any other article. But experience tells against this opinion ; and within the last half century three nations have felt, in tremendous force, the evils arising from the abuse of paper money. These nations are France, Britain, and the United States : France, during the first revolution, when the over issue of the state paper money, called *assignats*, caused fearful havoc ; Britain, during the war, when the Bank Restriction Act, though giving, in the first instance, an unnatural expansion of trade, and a fictitious prosperity, entailed evils on us under which we are suffering at the present moment ; and the United States at different periods, but especially within the last eight or nine years. Their experience ought to teach every commercial nation the lesson which has been taught the people of these countries through so much suffering—a lesson which proclaims emphatically that, though paper money may be, like fire, a necessary agent and a useful servant, it is also, like fire, a terrible master—as a river carefully held within embankments, it may serve as a convenient medium of transit, but when it rises as a flood, it sweeps everything valuable away, if exposed to its resistless fury."

Sir Robert defined money to be British coin, and bank notes to be promissory notes payable in that coin on demand. The latter he defined to be a substitute for money, operating upon prices as money does, and performing similar functions. Bank notes economized the use of metallic money—if by them we dispensed with five or six millions of gold and silver, we send the specie to other lands or uses. The Bank of England had found, a hundred years ago, that when it lessened the quantity of its notes in circulation it retarded the exchanges. Paper money must be convertible into coin at the will of the holder, and there must be some check to prevent the results which unlimited competition and the absence of control had brought on the United States, through excess of issues. When prices rise and speculation is active the country banker issues more notes. At such a time he ought to lessen his issues. Sir Robert thought that a single bank issuing bank notes for the whole Kingdom might be rendered far more mischievous than useful, and held it to be good policy to work with the tools we have. He next proceeded to state his plan relative to the Bank of England. It was to retain its privileges, but its departments of issuing notes and banking, were to be separated. It might issue paper, based on the loans it had made and would make to government, including exchequer bills, namely \$69,000,000 ; and a weekly account of its notes out, and specie on hand, must be published. Its rates would be a lawful tender, thus secured, at all other places but the bank, where they must be always convertible into gold of standard value on demand. No new bank to be created, with the power to issue paper as money, but existing banks might issue notes equal to the average of their previous circulation, subject to a weekly publication of all their liabilities. Joint stock banks to be bound by the acts of their directors, but their shareholders are to be made free from being liable for the acts of individual shareholders, as now, under the English law of partnership. All banks of issue to make a periodical publication of the names of all their partners, that the public may know who are responsible for all their transactions. Every new bank must have the sanction of government, in order to registra-

ed, that should the deposits not be restored to the U. S. Bank, he would, (as he afterwards did,) go for a prohibition of bank notes in all the dealings of the government, the reader will at once perceive that the leaders of the democracy of the north betrayed their trust—that, knowing that the pet banks were unsafe, irresponsible, they leagued themselves with them; and that their after conduct in endeavoring to give the people the inferior currency, and the officeholders the superior; Buffalo Bank rags to the farmer, golden eagles to Wright, Polk, Van Buren, and the rest of the lawmakers; they betrayed the people, and showed to all men, that sordid, selfish, and meanly ambitious motives had guided their whole conduct.

General Jackson condemned the sub-treasury in toto, and removed Duane from his high office for advocating a bank and state divorce. "It is considered against the genius of our free institutions," said Jackson, "to lock up in the vaults the treasure of the nation; such a treasure would doubtless be employed at some time, as it has been in other countries when opportunity tempted ambition." "Individual agents would probably be found less responsible, safe, convenient, and economical" than the banks, quoth Woodbury; Swartwout, and\* Hoyt did all they could to prove him in the right. "If Gen. Jackson had suggested such a system [the Sub-Treasury] what peals of *patriotic indignation* would have burst from eloquent senators against the *usurper* and *tyrant*

tion, with a defined form of trust deed, and a regular audit of accounts. In case the Bank of England should think fit to circulate more bank notes than 69 millions, it must first get the consent of three members of the cabinet, and the profits of the excess of issue would go to the state. Its new charter was to run for 21 years, with liberty to parliament to interfere after 10 years should the public mind settle down in favor of only one bank to issue bank notes in the kingdom. No notes to be issued in England under £5, say 24 dollars. I received from Henry Warburton, an English M. P., the folio report of the secret committee's investigation of the affairs of the Bank of England; it was very voluminous, but I have lost it. Horace Binney argued ably in 1834 in Congress, that a deranged currency is a plain violation of the constitutional pledge, that the obligation to fulfil a contract must not be unpaired, and so it is, for "What is the worth of anything? 'Tis just as much as it will bring;" and if a promise to pay a dollar is not met by paying the dollar, any law made, Marcy like, to protect the banker, or throw difficulties in the way of collection, is a clear violation of the fundamental contract that binds society as the U. S. The English law better provides for the fulfilment of the promise to pay than the law here, but is susceptible of great improvement.

\* **DISHONEST LAWGIVERS.**—For a Collector of Customs to take a solemn oath to do his duty faithfully, his chief duty being to receive the revenue levied from the people by law, and pay it over for the national uses, for him to take this oath, and then rob the treasury of \$220,000, as Jesse Hoyt did, is foul perjury added to a worse crime than theft. The thief hangers, or is in rags, and he steals. We did not trust him. We take precautions against all such. But Hoyt was trusted—made not less than \$10,000 to 50,000 a year by his office—had his relations in places of emolument—and had therefore no temptation to betray his country as he did. Van Buren, Wright, and their friends either framed the sub-treasury act so that it would punish rogues like Hoyt, or they pretended to do so. I know, by a year of close imprisonment, that if a stranger, true as steel to liberty and democracy, land on these shores to-day, ignorant of your laws, some old act, that had never been enforced against a native, will be found, to punish him severely if he goes a hair's breadth beyond the line of strict neutrality. When the whig district attorney and the secretary of the treasury ordered Hoyt to be criminally prosecuted for his embezzlement, his old friend Judge Betts found that the law did not apply to cases like Jesse's!!! So, too, Senator Breese, of Illinois, in Congress, Jan. 1844, moved for an inquiry into the law passed by the whig Congress, August 13, 1841, continuing the punishing clauses of 1840. He had witnessed a trial in Illinois, in June, 1843, where a Receiver of the national Revenues was charged with embezzling the people's cash. The fellow was guilty—not a doubt of it—but the quibble that cleared him was, he had been removed from office. In McNulty's case, his misconduct was evident. Would a House of Congress, the majority of the members of which were composed of his political friends, have turned him off so discredibly, had not his offense been more "clear and unquestionable" than Polk's \$10? Yet he got clear through the dishonesty of the system. How did Price, Swartwout, and hundreds like them get clear? Bennett shall tell you. His eight years of intimacy with Van Buren qualifies him as a witness. In the N. Y. Herald, Dec. 10, 1838 (long before Jesse's explosion), Bennett says: "When will Jesse Hoyt run away? Defalcations are no crime. Mr. Van Buren, in his Message, proposes to make defalcations of the public money felony, and punishable in the State Prison. Nonsense! Neither party will agree to such an absurdity! Never." I am sorry to see such things said; still more so when I find that they cannot be disproved.

who desired to get the millions of the treasury into the very hands of his partisans and parasites." This is from Van Buren's echo, the *Washington Globe*. Mr. Thomas Ritchie, too, chimed in with the chorus of official indignation against the sub-treasury. Listen to Thomas as he talks to 'Old Virginie' through the columns of the *Richmond Enquirer*:

"We have objected to the Sub-Treasury scheme, (so called,) that, in the first place, it will enlarge the Executive power, already too great for a Republic; 2dly, that it contributes to endanger the security of the public funds; and thirdly, that it is calculated to produce two currencies—a baser one for the people, and a better one for the government. The more we reflect upon the matter, the more we read the speeches of the orators on both sides, the more firmly we are satisfied of the strength of these objections." "It is certainly subject to very strong objections, not the least of which is the very great increase of patronage to which it must give rise, and a patronage of the most dangerous influence, as being so immediately connected with the public money." "But I can see no advantage, and on the contrary, a fruitful source of mischief, in making government officers the keepers of the cash. Place about them what guards you may, in the shape of commissioners, inspectors, or whatever else, *peculation will be endless. There is no security in it*, and it will involve heavy and unnecessary expense. The chief and overruling objection, however, is the endless source of patronage to which it would give rise. Make the machinery as simple as you may, and open to view, wherever money is, temptation will creep in, and corruption in every form follows at the heels."

In 1834, James K. Polk was the organ of the U. S. Treasury in the House of Representatives. Listen for a moment to Mr. Chancellor Polk:\*

"A corporation may be safer than any individual agent, however responsible he may be, because it consists of an association of individuals who have thrown together their aggregated wealth, and who are bound in their corporate character to the extent of their whole capital stock for deposits. In addition to this the Secretary of the Treasury may require as heavy collateral security in addition to their capital stock paid in, from such a corporation, as he could from an individual collector or receiver, which makes the government deposit safer in the hands of a bank, than it could be with an individual. It may be well questioned whether the heaviest security the most wealthy individual could give, could make the public deposits safe, at the point of large collection. In the city of New York, half the revenue is collected. Several millions of public money may be in the hands of a receiver at one time, and, if he be corrupt, or shall engage in speculation or trade, and meet with a reverse of fortune, the loss sustained by the government would be inevitable."

\* KNOWLEDGE IS POWER.—To show what chances there are, through our gambling system of politics, to disfranchise millions, I state the following case from the *Courier and Enquirer* of Dec. 10, 1832, where it appears, headed "Stockjobbing—Stupendous Fraud." It is possible enough that John Van Buren may have made money by his father's and Jackson's Messages, as well as by Marcy's, but whether Webb and Noah had good grounds for what they affirm as to Mumford and Cambreleng I know not. They say, that on Nov. 29, the price of a share of U. S. Bank stock at the board of brokers was 115½—and that Jackson's message lowered it in two days to 104½—that 11,500 shares were sold *on time*, between Wed. Nov. 29, and next Wed. morning; equal to \$1,635,000, leaving a net profit to the Wall street stockjobbers, of \$80,000 nearly. The C. & E. asserts that Cambreleng and Mumford knew what would be said in the message—that Mumford had boasted that Jackson gave him a copy of his message on Saturday night at 11; and if so, two days were left clear to the gamblers in the secret, for the message appeared on the Wednesday. What a melancholy thing it is, that men who are elevated on the shoulders of the people to high honor, should so often forget the noble path before them, and turn round to wallow in the mire of sordid, grovelling selfishness! The U. S. Bank was hated by the local institutions, because while they charged the heavy discount of \$7 off \$100, the national institution exacted but \$6.

Walker, the new Secretary of the Treasury, has great influence with Polk, and Marcy manages the one through the other. Buchanan is on less familiar and intimate terms with the president. He holds office, more on account of his ability and standing, and of the state of Pennsylvania, than any personal feeling of friendship. When Van Buren got to be president in 1837, I think he could have passed the sub-treasury had he been in earnest—but his friends had the whole revenue in their hands as it was, they made much money by using it in favorite banks, and I daresay that good bonuses were secretly given in some form by dealers in it. In 1840, when the term was nearly out, and a re-election doubtful, Van Buren pressed the new scheme, early enough to show that he meant to hoax the country in that too. Polk and Walker talk sub-treasury fashion also, but are in no haste to enforce the principle. Walker tries it with Corcoran & Riggs, Washington—has taken every dollar of public money from

## CHAPTER XXIX.

*Profligate Public Expenditure of Van Buren, as President—Orestes A. Brownson—Francis Preston Blair, and the Globe—Van Buren's standard for Political Writers—National Debt—The 200,000 Militia Plan—Log Rolling—Edwin Croswell and John Van Buren—Veto Power Suspended—Waste of the Revenue—Post Office Law—Silas Wright and Slavery—Electioneering in Ky.—Helping the Press—Corvetousness.*

I HAVE already alluded to many parts of Van Buren's public conduct during his presidential term, and there is much that ought to be noticed for which I have no room in this volume. In his early life, and in matters which related to cash, he was covetous and mean—but in his management of the public finances there was none more profligate. His conduct in \*the Canada troubles, to-

the banks in that city, and given \$500,000 to them, to speculate on, without interest! Corcoran was once greatly embarrassed in money matters; his partner, Riggs, is wealthy. The question is asked here, whether they got this \$500,000 to dabble in the stocks in Wall street with it? They might have information beforehand of changes by which vast sums might be saved or gained. A cabinet minister, or more than one, might divide the spoil with them. In Voltaire's time, one of the king's secretaries told him when to buy and sell stocks. Somebody may tell Corcoran and Riggs also. What a pity it is that crises must be created that knaves may grow rich! One of the Baltimore resolutions was against surplus revenues. Why have we ten millions of a surplus lent to 499 bank directors, who are chiefly cunning stockjobbers, and pay no interest to us, while the nation is paying interest on debts that might be bought up and paid with the money? I begin to think that the Baltimore Convention of 1844, Walker, Butler and all, was a vile trick on society for the gain of a few. At present, 53 banks, with a host of gambling managers, hold eight or ten millions of the public money, not to lend it to upright merchants and manufacturers, but to sport with, like 'my dear Jesse' and his man John, in betting, stockjobbing and electioneering. If Walker hold on to the Treasury for a year or two, he'll clear old scores and may give way to some other victim of speculation.

In 1833 and 1849, Senator McDuffie said that "the Sub-Treasury was the only remaining alternative, unless we returned to the notorious pet-bank system, which gave to the Federal Executive a more dangerous and corrupting influence than any other scheme ever suggested; and which had been condemned by experience, and ~~is~~ denounced by both parties in succession." I quote McDuffie from the *South Carolinian*, and bid the reader remember that Polk, Marcy and Walker, talk sub-treasury now, but have stolen to the dishonest treasury pets of 1834, all of them knowing as well that their country will be plundered wholesale through their means, as Woodbury did in a like case in 1838, or Dallas in 1815.

\* ORESTES A. BROWNSON.—Since writing the following letter, Mr. Brownson, as well as myself, has seen ground for good hope that the cause of national freedom might be promoted by peace. England has got the territory she coveted with the consent of Wright, Tallmadge and Calhoun, the latter of whom, with McDuffie, though ready to cut the connection with the U. S., to get rid of taxation at the Charleston Custom House, and although acknowledged in the London Times to be England's firmest friend in this republic, urged annexation because if English influence were to prevail in Texas it would interfere with our tariff!!! England sees a proud and angry spirit in the western states which the political rascals in Washington wish to use for electioneering purposes next election. I am sorry that her long misgovernment of Canada, the wonted cruelties her agents practised on so many worthy and true-hearted men, the manly sons of freedom who were sent to the gallows by her commands, have roused feelings in the west which I could now desire to see allayed, for the past is beyond recall.

*Orestes A. Brownson, of Massachusetts, to W. L. Mackenzie, when in Rochester Prison.*

BOSTON, April 22, 1840. Dear Sir: Though personally a stranger to you, I have yet for some time been wishing to express to you my sympathy with your attachment to the cause of Freedom for the Canadas, and my sincere regret that your attachment to that cause should have met in this land of professed Freedom, no better reward than a jail. I have a fellow feeling with, I was about to say, all Rebels; at least with all who struggle against power and seek to secure for the people a portion of their long lost liberty. All governments which have hitherto existed have been founded in oppression and maintained by fraud and force.—They have been based on injustice, and opposition to them is the cause of God and Man. Our own government, in theory is based on the rights of man, founded on justice; but it has hitherto been administered in all its departments, quite too much in accordance with the maxims of the governments founded on the opposite theory. In forming our government we acted from ourselves, and were original, but in managing it we borrow from the practice of the Old World. We read its literature, study its politics, its jurisprudence, its philosophy, and lose sight of our own principles. Hence it is, that there is a striking discrepancy between our theory and our practice. Between the encouragements we hold out to the friends of liberty abroad and the actual reception we give them. This is not all. We have never achieved our independence on England. We are scarcely less dependent on

wards the Florida Indians, and the people of Mexico and Texas, is elsewhere briefly noticed. It would be impossible for any candid writer to praise it. No man could be more obsequious than Van Buren was to the south while in power, yet they deserted him in 1840; and in 1844 when his name came up for a third trial, they condescended to give him ~~five~~ twelve votes. In truth, they distrusted him; all parties have done so in turn. No man professed to agree more cordially than he did with Jackson, in 1828, in favor of one term only; but in that also the result proved that he was insincere.

Jackson left office with 30 or 40 millions in the banks of Van Buren's selection—he left the country out of debt. Although the banks suspended cash payments, yet most of them paid in uncurrent paper. The revenue was enormous, but Van Buren expended it all\* and left a public debt, March 4, 1841, of

the British Empire now than we were before the revolution of '76. We dare not assume in regard to the British Government the tone of equals. We could menace France and obtain justice, but we dare not claim except in an apologetic tone, even our rights of England. The treaty of '83 has never been carried into effect, and never will be. Great Britain has claimed a portion of our territory which she wants for the purpose of connecting her North American Colonies, and which if obtained would give her, in case of war with this country, an equivalent for thirty thousand men. And, sir, this territory she will obtain unless I am greatly deceived. The matter will be settled by a compromise, and we shall surrender to her the important advantage she desires. The reason of this is to be found in our close commercial relations with Great Britain. The commercial interest of this country is controlled by England, and we can have no controversy with her without arming the whole business part of our community against our own government. This our government feels, and hence its tame submission to British arrogance. Here, sir, is the secret of your imprisonment. It is not, sir, that we do not love Freedom, that we do not know how to appreciate its defenders, but that we are afraid of offending England. We barter national honor and make ourselves a bye-word in the Earth to please the trading portion of our community. I am sorry that it is so, but I almost despair of its being otherwise. Otherwise it will not be without a war with England, and which, as much as I deprecate war, is the only thing which to me seems capable of saving the republic, and the sooner it comes the better. For your efforts to secure the independence of the Canadas, as one of the Friends of Freedom, I thank you. I do not think the time for their independence has come, but it will come. The colonial system must be abandoned, for public opinion throughout the world is fast verging to the point that one nation shall exercise dominion over another no longer than the other lazily consents. With my prayers for the speedy arrival of the time when your countrymen shall be free, and my hope that you will find ere this reaches you your own freedom, I am, sir, with great respect, yours,

O. A. BROWNSON.

\* FRANCIS PRESTON BLAIR, EDITOR OF THE *GLOBE*.—Martin Van Buren, president of the United States in 1840, has been spoken of with perfect freedom throughout this volume. Being somewhat at a loss for a suitable democratic standard of propriety, when speaking of great men, or men who had held high situations, a friend advised me to take the Van Buren standard, the *Globe*, by Blair. In a letter dated Lindenwald, April 24, 1845, Van Buren writes J. C. Rives, "I thank you very kindly for your noble and manly letter upon the subject of the transfer of the *Globe* establishment, and repeat with pleasure what I have already said to Mr. Blair, that ~~I~~ I APPROVE OF YOUR COURSE THROUGHOUT."

General Harrison became president in 1841. In 1840 his character was before the people. The *Globe* said of him, March 5, 1840: "Let them [the South] beware how they place confidence in the versatility or subserviency of a weak, vain old man, in the dotage of expiring ambition. The combination of weakness and vanity with threescore and ten, is not so easily governed. . . . Let Mr. Tyler mount his old weather-beaten pony [Harrison] in the expectation of guiding him at will. . . . A weak old gentleman, whose vanity, always his leading characteristic, is every day pampered with flatteries, and whose obstinacy is only increased by the imbecility of age." Again (March 6), "Goody Harrison, a gossiping old lady, and an available, who lives on a sinecure clerkship in a city, but is pretended to be a farmer living in a log cabin, and drinking hard cider." Once more, (March 17), "The Whigs are making great exertions for THE OLD GRANNY, but all to no effect." This is Van Buren's APPROVED standard of delicacy, when speaking in the name of a president in office, about a general in the armies of the republic, then a candidate for the succession, through a press paid and pampered by the people's agents. Apply Van Buren's standard to my book, and blame me if you can!

This same *Globe*, approved by Van Buren "throughout," speaks of "Mr. Calhoun, who never told the truth when a falsehood would serve his turn." Again, it describes Calhoun thus: "There was one, however, *Reprobate Spirit* that could not bear to look on the bright and auspicious day [of Van Buren's installation, Mar. 3, 1837.] and it was a pleasure to all that the face of ~~Mr.~~ CATILINE was not seen on that occasion!" Calhoun's relative, Pickens, thus sketched Blair: "A galvanized corpse. . . . That hideous visage whereon envy and malignity are blended in cadaverous union." It would seem that Calhoun and Pickens had also approved of the *Globe* and its language, for without their aid Blair and Rives had not been elected public printers in 1840.

Blair says of himself, that before he was 21, he set up in life with a lucrative office, a clerk

\$7,447,799, which Tyler increased other ten and a half millions. Since Polk came into power, he has had on hand a continual surplus of eight millions, but instead of devoting it to the payment of the public debt, on which the country is paying interest, he lends it to a host of electioneering bank directors who use it chiefly in stock speculations. The prodigate expenditures in Florida,\* in

in a court, a good wife, a fortune with her. That the speculations of the times swallowed up his means, made him a bankrupt, and that he surrendered his property to his creditors, gave up all, and emigrated to Washington. Van Buren gave him letters to Lawrence, Hoyt, Noah, &c. here, who got up a subscription, and bought a press and types for him as a gift. With these he started the *Globe* on behalf of Van Buren, to try to cut out Green, who wets for Calhoun. Jackson and Van Buren put a million of dollars, or more, in his way, and he is now very wealthy. In Kentucky, Blair was a strong *Clayman*; but when he thought, like Kendall, that Jackson would succeed, he, in 1825, wheeled round to the winning side. He had been a speculator, stockjobber, &c., and his last office in Kentucky was that of a state bank president, [the Commonwealth Bank,] at Frankfort. A son of his is or was not long since United States District Attorney for Missouri. Theophilus Fisk, in the *Old Dominion* of Nov. 11, 1843, exposed Blair's claims to the public printing, thus: "He came from Kentucky reeking with bank corruption, his hands unwashed from the infamous transaction that cheated General Jackson out of his election in 1824. He came to Washington poor and despised, but the unbounded popularity of Jackson, the defection of Dufl Green, and the necessity of an organ at the seat of Government, brought this unlicked cub into notice, and gave him importance and power, raising up a brutal *parvenu*, whose touch was contamination." If printing and banking could be settled permanently, it would be a blessing to America, for more than half the legislation of the United States is devoted exclusively to these two subjects. Bribe presses and bribed agents were the means whereby Van Buren compelled the people to harness themselves to his car, and support men and measures, they would have nobly spurned had the truth been told. But what really independent press could live in Washington? Whence would it find support? The villainy of Blair, Ritchie, Crosswell, and these Harrisburgh rascals, would never have become known to me, had they not fallen out. Hill's exposé of Blair was complete. The petty thief whom the Recorder sends to Blackwell's island to break stones or pick oakum is an angel compared to the hired tool of a party at Washington. No lawyer in the Centre Street Sessions ever lied more for his fee than Blair has done for his fortune. His old master, Van Buren, approves it all. *No doubt of it.* Be it bank, or anti-bank, sub-treasury or treasury notes, war or peace, Texas or Oregon, tariff or anti-tariff, land sales for cash, or land sales for credit, good Calhoun or bad Calhoun, good Swartwout or bad Swartwout, anything or nothing—your hireling is ever ready. All he cares for is his title of the current plunder. Hill showed that Blair and Rives got enormous prices; and Blair and Rives, in the *Globe*, expended columns to prove that their predecessors had cheated still more steadily. Hill names one job that will cost \$553,000, or \$33,460 per volume, and affirms that Blair had got over \$200,000 since Van Buren left Washington, for printing, at prices higher than was charged in any other city in the Union; as also \$100 for every working day of the four years that Van Buren was president, or over \$50,000. I am but an adopted citizen, and therefore liable to be slighted here, for the act of God in fixing my birth place in Scotland. Besides, I am poor, with a large family struggling for a humble livelihood, and in the evening of life—but were I young, a native, and possessed of the means of making myself heard, I would raise such a dust about the ears of these mock democrats as might end in improving the whole system. Blair may have cleared \$150,000 of profits in one single year of Van Buren's term—I mean 1838, in which year his receipts from the public exceeded \$300,000.

\* The 200,000 MILITIA SCHEME.—In December, 1839, Van Buren, in his message to Congress, recommended Joel R. Poinsett's plan for a new militia organization, in these words: "The present condition of the defenses of our principal sea-ports and navy yards, as represented by the accompanying report of the secretary of war, calls for the early and serious attention of Congress; and as connecting itself intimately with this subject, I cannot recommend too strongly to your consideration THE PLAN submitted by that officer for the re-organization of the militia of the United States." The plan was to divide the United States into eight military districts; in some cases three or four states to form a district, and in others, such as New York, only one state; to organize the militia so as to have a body of 12,500 men in each district in active service, and as many more in reserve; altogether 200,000 men were to be armed, equipped, drilled, and ready for war; the president might call for and assemble such numbers as he pleased, twice a year, at such places as he chose within each district; and when on service these men were to be "subject to the same rules and articles of war as troops of the U. S." This plan was very unpopular. N. Y. state was required to furnish 18,000 active men, and these men might have been ordered to assemble anywhere—the 3,000 actives for the 8th district down at Utica, for instance, just before an important election. Why not turn them as the 800,000 corps of the N. Y. Customs are turned, into political machines? This plan the *Globe* praised and fully endorsed, per order—the opposition circulated it far and wide—Van Buren found that it was hated—Ritchie wrote that it was injuring the cause in Virginia; he next wrote Poinsett, that it was called a "tyrannical and oppressive" standing army of 200,000, and bade him explain. This was in M In July, Van Buren himself took the field, and in a very long

the civil, naval, military, and diplomatic departments of the government, in Congress, in printing, in the custom-houses, and in the Post Office, were never equalled on this continent, under like circumstances. The *Globe*, in 1839, ceased to defend the authorities in this particular, but on the 1st of May, took new ground, saying, "We challenge the whole corps of federal [opposition] members to point out on the record of either house of Congress, a PRODIGAL, CORRUPT, LOG-ROLLING appropriation, which has not derived its principal support from that party in the House which is now raising the clamor about it in the country."\* Mr. Blair then gives his account of what he justly calls "that

letter to J. B. Cary, of Elizabeth city, pleaded that his "knowledge of military affairs was very limited," that it was "but lately that his attention had been drawn to this subject," that Poinsett's plan was not constitutional, and *worse and worse* that he had not approved of it in his December message! Here are his words: "We have been compelled to see, not I should think, without shame and mortification on the part of every ingenious mind, whatever may be his political preferences, the names of respectable citizens subscribed to statements, that I had in my annual message expressed my approbation of a plan, which, not only had never been submitted to me, but was not even matured until more than three months after the message was sent to Congress." Look at my quotation from his message, where he says, "I cannot recommend too strongly to your consideration THE PLAN submitted" by Poinsett. That was in December, 1839. Now—July, 1840—he says THE PLAN was not then matured, and had not been submitted to him at all!!!

Florida, as a territory, was under Van Buren's especial care. He got this same Poinsett to send to Cuba, for bloodhounds, as an auxiliary militia to hunt down the Indians and poor torn negroes whom oppression had driven among them.

Joel R. Poinsett, War Secretary, to Brig. General Z. Taylor, commanding Army of the South, Florida. "WAR DEPARTMENT, January 26, 1840. Sir: It is understood by the Department, although not officially informed of the fact, that the authorities of the Territory of Florida have imported a pack of bloodhounds from the island of Cuba, and I think it proper to direct, in the event of those dogs being employed by any officer or officers under your command, that their use be confined altogether to tracking the Indians; and in order to insure this, and prevent the possibility of their injuring any person whatsoever, that they be muzzled when in the field, and held with a leash while following the track of the enemy."

J. R. POINSETT.

Mr. Adams, in Congress, submitted the following resolution: *Resolved*, That the Secretary of War be directed to report to this House the natural, political, and martial history of the bloodhound, showing the peculiar fitness of that class of warriors to be the associates of the gallant army of the United States, specifying the nice discrimination of his scent between the blood of the freeman and the blood of the slave—between the blood of the armed warrior and that of women and children—between the blood of the black, white, and colored men—between the blood of savage Seminoles and that of the Anglo-Saxon pious Christian. Also, a statement of the number of bloodhounds and their conductors, imported by this Government, or by the authorities of Florida, from the island of Cuba, and the cost of that importation. Also whether a further importation of the same heroic race into the State of Maine, to await the contingency of a contested Northernmost boundary question, is contemplated, or only to set an example to be followed by our possible adversary in the event of a conflict. Whether measures have been taken to secure exclusively to ourselves the employment of this auxiliary force, and whether he deems it expedient to extend to the said bloodhounds and their posterity the benefit of the pension laws.

\* EDWIN CROSWELL AND JOHN VAN BUREN.—Although these two pupils of the elder Van Buren and Butler his partner, are at present at variance, they have many points of resemblance, and I have therefore given a brief notice of them together. Edwin Croswell is nearly fifty years of age—the son of a newspaper editor in Catskill, where also he, himself, conducted a weekly paper. One of his brothers keeps a very pleasant hotel there, and the family are wealthy. Edwin took charge of the Albany Argus in 1823, was then elected state printer, and has kept his position, while advocating rotation in office to others, for twenty-two years, except about as many months, during which Thurlow Weed, who besieged and took his fortress by storm, held possession. Edwin Croswell married a daughter of John Adams, a lawyer in Catskill, who has been in Congress and held various offices. His nephew and business partner, Sherman Croswell, married her sister. From 1818 to 1838, Croswell followed Van Buren's lead implicitly in all things. In the matter of the sub-treasury, he submitted, as did Marcy—but the ill-luck of 1819 and 1841, the splitting up of parties, through the slavery question, and the exposures made in my Lives of Hoyt and Butler, have helped to terminate an intimacy that was founded solely on gain. There seemed to be a chance of healing differences, by giving Wright's editor, Cassidy, half the profits, and Sherman Croswell the other, but it fell through last February. I described Croswell in 1813 as his political friends do now. O'Sullivan, in the News of Feb. 24, says, "that in 1837, our party did not throw off all of this conservatism. Edwin Croswell was as much its master-spirit then as now; as timid as any, as unsound as any. But the best office in the Union was floating amid the angry waters; he clung to it with a death-grip, and went with it to the bottom. But now, gorged to repletion, because he can get no more, he summons his motley hosts of Conservatism to the rally." Croswell's emoluments, when he got office, as Leake's partner, in 1823, were small. \$10,000 a year sufficed for printing in those days—but the expenditure gradually rose to \$70,000 per annum, all items included. His receipts, from first to last, have been estimated by Flagg and others at a million of dollars. He had all the printing of the senate, the assembly, the executive, and the state departments, including laws, journals, legal notices, advertisements, and, of course, the private sale and advertising of his paper, and his business as a printer. He had



enormous and iniquitous waste of the public money ;” but the public will remember, that Van Buren had majorities in both houses, he had the means of investigating every dishonest charge, and he had sworn before God to veto every bill which he could not, on full inquiry, deliberately approve. When, in an expenditure of about 150 millions, Congress offered for Van Buren’s approval, *money*

the lion’s share of the plunder levied by the regency, in the form of charters for banks, stock, &c. He dealt in public lands, he borrowed out the deposits, he sold his dwelling-house, with only three walls, to Marcy, Flagg, Dix and Beardsley, for the use of the governor, at \$19,000—the governor would not set his foot into it, and it had to be resold at a great loss—he was allowed enormous prices for his printing work, and many documents have passed through my hands where he made 100 pages out of what would not have been 50 in the same type, if fairly and economically printed—from those who had to give legal notices, a tax was levied of much more than they could have been as fully published for in other newspapers than the *Argus*—and the legislative report says, “This monopoly was so perfect, that if any of the executive officers had a job of printing which a mechanic would offer to execute at half the price allowed in the contract, the wheels of retrenchment were firmly blocked by the prerogative of the State printer, secured to him by a law which could not be modified without the concurrence of the three branches of the law-making power.” Governors, judges, senators, presidents, mayors, democrats and doorkeepers changed places—Croswell seemed the only permanent personal institution in the state. I have always considered Weed’s inroad as the equivalent at least of the battle of New Orleans—in *state printing*. That enigma of a man, Col. Young, was loud and earnest in Croswell’s support, in 1839, in defiance of public opinion, his own principle of rotation, and his perfect knowledge of Croswell’s cunning, tricky, sordid character. Croswell has paid Young off since, in abuse and exposure; published his begging letters for bank stock; and is now endeavouring to keep him out of the convention. When the two stock-jobbing rascals, Senators Bishop and Kemble, were exposed as public cheats, Croswell stuck to them like a brother to the very last. Bishop, has, I think, reappeared on the stage. I am told he was in the Van Buren state convention at Syracuse in 1844, and went first for Bouck, Wright being  $\frac{3}{4}$  his second choice.

Among the official returns and estimates of Croswell’s emoluments, are legislative printing \$298,000—printing for canals and offices \$88,000—publishing notices \$120,000—printing revised statutes \$15,000—legal advertising \$50,000—publishing contracts, &c. from post-office \$10,000. (Benjamin F. Butler, besides his private practice, extracted from the merchants of this city and the executive, fees equal to about \$70,000 in a little over two years!)

Croswell is not very popular, and finding he could not keep his office longer, he joined the whigs and a part of the democrats, last March, in recommending that everything printed officially may be henceforth done by contracts. If these who give out the contracts are honest *and capable*, there will be a saving by this; if not, not. Croswell is a *hunker* in state politics; goes for Texas, slavery, Polk, Marcy, and Canada. Oregon, plunder, war; anything to make money. A hard money loco-foco is his detestation. He expressed a deep regret that such *discreditable* candidates as Slamm, of the Globe, and R. Townsend, had been nominated by Tammany Hall for the Assembly, in Oct. 1837, and turned up his nasal organ at “the faction,” as he called some very worthy, honest friends of equal rights in this city.

“Newspapers (says Hammond) are to political parties what working tools are to mechanics”—and Col. Duane, in 1810, asked, “Why should we censure the National Intelligencer for adapting itself to the style and temper of its congressional patrons? Its existence depends upon its obedience to the temporising and tricking schemes of the influential members of Congress. A paper published at Washington is as much dependent on the influence of the leading members as the newspapers of London on the court; and there are as strong inclinations to control and render the press subservient to views not purely public at the capitol, as at St. Stephen’s.”

Some years ago, a democratic corporation of New York gave a \$14,000 advertisement, between the *Evening Post* and *New Era*. The same information could have been better spread for \$1,000, but it was a fee. So, too, the public administrator’s three weeks’ notice lately in the *Globe* daily, at a large expense, and many more such.

The Custom-house here has its favorite presses. Unclaimed goods are advertised once in nine months, and sold. The notice of sale, if published thrice in the papers of largest circulation, might be useful. Hoyt made it politically useful. In the fall of 1840, Mumford’s *Standard*, Bell’s *New Era*, the *Evening Post*, and the *Journal of Commerce*, each advertised these unclaimed packages for ONE MONTH, and received for so doing over \$1800. When Hoyt was tried for embezzlement, the *Post* and *Journal* disposed of his case, interesting as it was to merchants, in a very few lines. Is it not clear and evident that a convention, and all the manly intelligence and sterling honesty of the commonwealth are wanted, to secure, if it be possible, permanent peace without overwhelming corruption, as its accompaniment?

John Van Buren is, like Croswell, fond of money, but he has the art of a seeming frank-

*votes of forty-four millions which the executive had not required*, his duty, his oath required him to examine carefully, and if he did not see cause to approve, to veto the prodigal bills. Van Buren's estimates in four years were \$9 millions—Congress voted him 143 millions. On each bill he wrote "approved."

ness and liberality which are not real. I have made my readers well enough acquainted with him, by other descriptions in this volume. Respective journals have nominated him to the presidency, and after what has been who can tell what may be! He visited London some years ago on professional business, and while there, sworn to the identity of J. W. Wells, by his writing, so that through the sharp practice of Comins and others, he was arrested for an American debt while in Bristol. His language in private life may be judged of by his letters, which, though full of blasphemy against God, Vice-Chancellor McCoun protected as literary property, so far as to enjoin my last pamphlet, and, as far as he could, conceal from the honest people of the State his true character. He was appointed Attorney General by that system of nomination which, as the Post admits, is corrupt to the core, and managed by a few corrupt politicians, who, like a greedy pack of hounds, set upon any man who dares to expose their profligacy. John Van Buren is a rowdy, the associate of rowdies—matched in mouth with

"Mastiff, blood-hound, mongrel cur,  
Our and spaniel, hack and lynx,  
Bobtail-tyke and trundle-tail;"

and the rest of that noisy turn-out pack, that open in concert most hideous, whenever our state Niagara provokes the scent of a true reformer, all of them ready to bear him down, if possible.

John Van Buren was nominated for attorney general, by 93 members of the party, assembled in a private room. The vote was 47 to 46, so he had but one of a majority there, which, if added to 11, not at that caucus, who supported Noxon, in the official vote, shows 58 members opposed to him, 46 for him. Yet by this infamous, cheating session this man got 92 votes and a salary, as first lawyer of New York, and soon after delivered a funeral eulogy on Jackson at the capital. He entered into partnership with James McKown, formerly and now again Recorder of Albany—went down to Hudson to assist the district attorney there to try poor Boughton and others—failed to convict him—made out his bill for \$500, and Silas Wright ordered payment—went down next term; assisted to try Boughton over again; had a row and boxing match with Ambrose Jordan, Boughton's lawyer, Van Buren being the aggressor; insulted the court; both were sent 24 hours to jail with the prisoners; the jurors and witnesses, and case delayed; Boughton was convicted; Van Buren asked the Judge (Edmonson) what would be a fair additional compensation, over and above his salary and the \$500 he had had before; Edmonson replied, "£500 another thousand dollars; this shocked even a Van Buren, or perhaps Governor Wright refused to sanction such wholesale butterizing, so Van Buren made out his bill for another \$750, and got it. He was the real "big thimble" after all. Wright sent him up to Delhi next, to assist the district attorney there, and ordered Flagg to pay him another \$500 for that trip, as an extra. Greene poisoned his wife, and Wright sent him there also, to help the government lawyer, and gave him \$350 extra for that. These *caucuses* are all in addition to very lucrative fees of office from the people, with a salary, and his private practice. The statutes define \$5 a day as a reasonable compensation if a man go abroad—\$8 a day are paid to a Senator at Washington, and \$3 to one at Albany. Wright allowed Van Buren nearer to \$40 or \$50 a day. Quite economical! A few days ago, in Assembly, Mr. Harris proposed a resolution for adoption, stating that Van Buren, Colvins, district attorney, judge, and others were at an Albany County Convention on March 31st, he *declared* 100 ruffians, who beat a number of respectable persons violently and dangerously, that a committee of inquiry should be appointed, for the sake of the impartial administration of justice. Nothing is as yet done. A late production of the attorney general, entitled "The Lash," contains more truth than poetry:

O, "favorite grand-on of the Lupton State!"  
O son of minge, wherefore art thou great?  
What! can't thou pause, and dwell it there—  
Thou art not worthy of thy Father's name!  
Forbid it, tall John, prove thyself thyself!  
The world a bragart, and her children fools,  
Show that the wand the great Magician holds,

Thou being good, still lengthens out thy toes,  
Feeds thee with pop, and gives thee every good,  
Clothes thy long back, and to thy fine new word  
Nor stop thou here, but emulate the man  
Who seems to lie or touch the flowing rum,  
These are thy faults; and must I add, that thy  
Takes up thy time, and leads thee much astray?

\* Extravagance, he said, was not objectionable. When Jackson vetoed the bank, he was reminded that Madison had not done so. His reply was, I think the bank unconstitutional. Who had equal means with Van Buren to inquire into, expose and check national profligacy? No one. He had the whole army of officials at hand, to aid his investigations, **HE SHUT HIS EYES AND MADE NONE.** In defiance of his solemn pledge to defend the constitution, he said, "I approve," to the expenditure of many millions, for the most wasteful pur-

What says clause 2d of § 7, art. 1, of the constitution? That every bill "shall, before it become a law, be presented to the president: if he approve, he shall sign it; but if not, he shall return it, *with his objections.*" **HE HAD NO OBJECTIONS.** Every prodigate vote had his willing signature; and, in his message of Dec. 1839, this faithless sentinel replied to the public murmurs against him, that "no instance has occurred since the establishment of the government, in which the Executive, though a component part of the legislative power, has interposed an objection to an appropriation bill on the sole ground of *its extravagance.*" Was not this calumniating others to shield his own misconduct?

## CHAPTER XXX.

*A Hint to President Polk how to stop the Speculators, and settle the Public Lands with hardy and happy Farmers.*

EDMUND BURKE, in his work on the French Revolution, condemned the scheme by which a paper circulation of 250 millions of dollars, founded on the confiscated lands of the church and nobility, had been substituted for the money of the nation; and wisely foretold, that "drawing out at discretion portions of the confiscated lands for sale, and carrying on a process of continual transmutation of paper into land, and land into paper, would produce an oligarchy of the worst kind, and leave power in the hands of the managers of this unstable circulation." Burke detested these Butlerizing adventurers, and most truly remarked, as many farmers in America have felt since his day, that "USURY IS NOT A TUTOR OF AGRICULTURE." Heaven save the Republic from such overshadowing Land Companies as that of 1835, by Wright, Butler and Van Buren!

poses, and then turned round and offered as an apology that less prodigate presidents had not been very particular in their inquiries. This is old British tory extravagance with a vengeance. George IV. could not have played his part more royally. When Van Buren had been but one day governor of New York, he wrote Hoyt, "I cannot consent to contribute by any act of mine to the prevalence of that great political vice, a desire to shirk responsibility." When president, he shrugged off the obligation of an oath to see economy practised, by the plea of, "it is not fashionable to put that part of the constitution in force in a *literal sense.*" It was fashionable for the executive to wink at the prodigate expenditure of Congress, the members of which vote themselves \$16 a day in place of \$8, in various forms—and though 40 to 50 members will be absent for months together, every man of them, in the teeth of the law, gets pay from the first day of the session to the last, just as if they had been all in Washington attending to their duty. Not long since, Mr. Bryant mentioned in the Evening Post, that half the captains and commanders of the navy were at home on their farms, or in other business, and had been so for many years; which meant that some 70 men were receiving, some \$2500 and others \$1800 a year each, for nothing, and getting unfit for sea service, in order that government might have patronage, and be enabled to provide indigent families with idle and all tent livings at the public expense. This is far, far worse than even in England—but Van Buren sought not to provide a remedy. "Every public defaulter is not only a liar, but is punishable for perjury," says Dr. Mayo of Va. Of the enormous embezzlements made known in Van Buren's time, was there even one rascal punished? Poin texter tells us that Woolbary was checked by the President when he ventured to threaten or interfere with the sharp practice of Jesse Hoyt!

Compare this stinking public profligacy with that ingrained avarice and meanness which could slander individuals, call them *dogs and impostors*, and groan in spirit for the risk of losing a \$5 or \$10 loan! [page 181], setting an attorney a-dunning after a few shillings—and [page 201] bidding Hoyt's brother charge an account with  $\frac{1}{2}$  one cent! John Van Buren, too, how keen he looks after the smallest difference in money! while S. T. Van Buren, another son, liberally bestows a \$5 bill to set the New Era afloat as a democratic journal! Compare these with the violation of an oath, the approbation of wholesale profligacy and extravagance, and acquit Van Buren if you can.

\* President Polk, in his message of last December, acknowledges the evils of the land system. These are his words:

"It has been found by experience that in consequence of combinations of purchasers and other causes, a very small quantity of the public lands, when sold at public auction, commands a higher price than the minimum rate established by law. The settlers on the public lands are, however, but rarely able to secure their homes and improvements at the public sales at that rate; because these combinations, by means of the capital they command, and their superior ability to purchase, render it impossible for the settler to compete with them in the market. By putting down all competition, these combinations of capitalists and speculators are usually enabled to purchase the lands, including the improvements of the settlers, at the minimum price of the Government, and either turn them out of their homes, or extort from them, according to their ability to pay, double or quadruple the amount paid for them to the Government. It is to the enterprise and perseverance of the hardy pioneers of the West, who penetrate the wilderness with their families, suffer the dangers, the privations and hardships attending the settlement of a new country, and prepare the way for the body of emigrants who, in the course of a few years, usually follow them, that we are, in a great degree, indebted for the rapid extension and aggrandizement of our country. Experience has proved that no portion of our population are more patriotic than the hardy and brave men of the frontier, or more ready to obey the call of their country, and to defend her rights and her honor, whenever and by whatever enemy assailed. They should be protected from the grasping speculator, and secured, at the minimum price of the public lands, in the humble homes which they have improved by their labor.\*"

\* President Polk, if he were sincere, would see that a remedy was provided. Congress is with him. Greeley tells us, in his Tribune, that "The difficulty is not that the Public Lands are too dear, but that, cheap as they are, those who most need Lands cannot get them, while those who have no moral right to any may and do obtain Five Thousand to Fifty Thousand acres each. There are tens of thousands of worthy, willing citizens now in the New States, whose worldly goods are limited to a wife and three or four children, an axe and two or three hoes, a cow and a pig, with rude and scanty apparel, kitchen-ware, &c. These men have not and cannot raise the \$200 required to buy 160 acres of Public Land; they think they cannot make it by hiring out or working other men's land on shares, and though we think they might, with health, frugality and good luck, we know the process is at best a difficult and tedious one." When shall we find such patriots (!) as Benton, Calhoun, Cass, Allen, Cambreleng and Polk, effectually interfering with this rascally system?

There are thousands of citizens requesting Congress ~~to~~ that the further sale or granting of the PEOPLE'S LANDS may be immediately stopped; that portions of the lands may be laid out in Farms and Lots; and that any landless person may be allowed to take possession and live upon any one of the farms or lots so laid out, with the right to transfer his or her possession to any person not possessed of other land." I am in favor of this plan, because it is a real remedy. A free people, thus settled in the west, would yield a rich return of prosperity, and their commerce would strengthen the older states, and be a new bond of union. Honor Messrs. Windt, Evans, Treadwell, Devyr, and their worthy comrades, for their perseverance in keeping this real remedy before the people; and deeply regret that Governor Wright and his advisers did not, at an early day, interpose their best efforts to redress the wrongs of the anti-renters. Had they done that many months ago, the state prisons would have had fewer tenants, and Messrs. Wright and Van Buren would not have found it necessary to object to a state convention on account of the agitated condition of the public mind.

Horace Greeley thus sums up the principles of the friends of land reform:

"The Reformers demand that all monopoly of and speculation in the Lands yet Public shall be stopped, henceforth and for ever. They do not ask merely that landless men of to-day shall be provided with a Home, but that the best possible provision shall be made for future generations also. Now this proposal to give every landless man 160 acres of Public Land outright, and leave all the lands subject to unlimited speculation and monopoly, would, if successful, afford a little present gratification and possibly relief at the expense of infinite miseries and privation in future. Nearly all the Landless are needy; many of them are improvident; not a few are dissipated. To offer each a quarter section of Public Land as a free gift, with liberty to sell the fee simple to any one, would be simply enabling the speculator to obtain at second-hand for a few dollars what now costs him hundreds, and thus to monopolize Counties instead of Townships. All this ground has been gone over once in the case of Military Bounty Lands, which cost the soldiers an ample consideration in fatigue, privation and blood, and were in good part sold by them for a twentieth part of their value. Ten years after they were granted or drawn, not one of the soldiers in ten held an acre of these lands—probably few of them held any at all. To give everybody who chooses a quarter section outright of the National Domain, with liberty to dispose of it and come again, is in effect to squander that great Inheritance more wastefully than hitherto."

THE  
LETTERS AND CORRESPONDENCE

OF  
MARTIN VAN BUREN,

AND HIS FRIENDS, FAMILY AND PUPILS.

The compiler has made use of CAPITALS, SMALL CAPITALS, and *italics*, to draw the reader's attention to particular words or passages in this correspondence, where the manuscript was not so marked—and where the originals were thus distinguished, he has copied them literally.

*Butler to Hoyt.—Pender—Politics—Principle.*

[No. 1.]

SANDY HILL, March 17th, 1819.

To J. HOYT, Albany.—Dear friend: The stage to-day was looked for with great anxiety by all the members of my household, as we entertained strong hopes that *Pender*, the black damsel, would make her appearance on the "Hill" (as the citizens denominate this great metropolis.) I presume, however, that she is either not to be had, or at least had not arrived at Albany when the stage left. I wish you to call at Levis the Barber's, Lodge street, and inquire whether any thing has been heard of her, or of the letter that was written her. And if she should present herself, pray lose no time in sending her on as speedily as possible.

I see that nothing of importance was done by the Council—neither Judge nor Attorney General hazarded. I suppose you are over head and ears in the ocean of political controversy, and I thought when I was with you last week that it would give me some pleasure to lend a hand in the warfare; but upon better reflection, I think myself as well off where I am. Leaving to other and more ambitious spirits the guidance of the storms of party, I can look on, if not with perfect indifference, at least with calm security. For the prosperity of the old Republican Party, and of my friends and patrons—FOR THE SUCCESS OF PRINCIPLE AND THE OVERTHROW OF INTRIGUE AND CORRUPTION, my wishes will be ardent and sincere, but the situation in which I am placed will prevent me from conveying them so fully into action, as, under other circumstances, I should probably do. I have nothing to gain, and would lose much by becoming an active partizan.

Charles will leave here on Friday or Saturday.

Mrs. Butler and her sister are in good health and spirits, and as well pleased as gloomy weather and poor help will allow them to be.

I have been here a fortnight, and have not yet received a line from you. Pray write me, if it is only to say that you are *in esse*.

Yours truly, BENJ. F. BUTLER.

[In another handwriting].—Mr. Hoyt do try to get *Pender*; I am tired to death of *cooking*.

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*Politics—Providence—the Preaching of the Gospel at Sandy Hill—Salvation.*

[No. 2.]

SANDY HILL March 27th, 1819.

[To same.] Dear Friend: I have written no less than six letters already to go by Mr. Lathrop, and all of them pretty long ones; you may therefore suppose that I have bestowed about

as much time on my correspondents, as the ordinary business of the day will permit. Yet I cannot suffer him to go without bearing my thanks for your constant attention to my concerns, and your endeavors to promote my interest and happiness. Your several letters were perused with much pleasure. I shall expect them to be continued, but at the same time hope you will not impose too great a tax upon your time for the sake of keeping me advised of the various occurrences of the age. You know what I mean precisely. Men of business have not the leisure to be very constant correspondents, nor can it be expected from them. You have really a fine state of political confusion at Albany. I think the situation of the Governor [Clinton] is daily becoming more desperate.

I think that I am not unmindful of the advantages of the situation in which I am placed, nor altogether destitute of gratitude for the blessings which Providence has conferred on me. I acknowledge that the Bounty is great and the return small—But such is man—unworthy of any thing, and owing all that he possesses to the goodness of his Creator; he despises while he enjoys, and forgets while he receives. He expects the sun to rise and his wants to be supplied, but he seldom asks for either, much less frequently thanks HIM from whom proceeds “every good and every perfect gift.” And were it not that he causes the sun to shine on the “evil as well as on the good,” gives to all “their meat in due season,” and cares for those who care not and think not of him, there would be nothing to cheer and sustain a great portion of the human race.

I am more and more pleased with my duties. They require industry and attention, but they give me more leisure than I had while in Albany, and furnish me more easily with sufficient to provide for my household.

*The only difficulty here is THE WANT OF the stated PREACHING OF THE GOSPEL. Had we a faithful and respectable minister, and were the people more anxious for and attentive to religion, I should have nothing to ask for, but the continuance of health, to make this place delightful.* The contrast between Albany and Sandy Hill in this particular is great. You do not at all estimate as you ought, the peculiar privileges you enjoy. They are remarkably great—they are perhaps superior to those of any other place of its size—to the Christian—the Scholar—the Philanthropist, their value is inestimable. But there are deeper and more solemn considerations connected with them. The Gospel is either a “savor of life unto life,” or of “death unto death.” And how can those “escape who neglect so great salvation?”

Remember me to Morton and Birchard. Tell them I should like to hear from them.

What a bungling piece of work Mr. Loomis has made of my speech. It has mortified me excessively to see so many stupid blunders issued to the world with my name prefixed. Pray tell my friends that I lay no claims to the bantling in its present dress.

Yours truly, BENJAMIN F. BUTLER.

(To J. Hoyt)—Banking—Elections—Van Buren—Rural Life at Sandy Hill.

[No. 3]

SANDY HILL, May 4th, 1819.

Dear friend: I received yours of the 1st to-day, and seize this moment of writing you BECAUSE I CAN DO IT IN MY PRIVATE CAPACITY, and without reference to my official character.

For the last fortnight I have had various concerns to attend to, which have rendered it impossible for me to say more in my epistles than necessity required—such as Gardening and Banking—working about the dooryard and Paving Specie—Mending Fences, and SIGNING NOTES, &c., &c., interspersed occasionally with Law and Politics.

In the meantime I have received several communications from you for which you are entitled to my thanks, altho' some of them took me considerable time to decipher. Pray write more legibly for the future. Were it not that I have long known your “pothooks and trammells,” I should be obliged to send some of them to the *Delphic Oracle* for his learned investigation.

The Election Returns are so far unfavorable to the hopes of Mr. Clinton and his friends, and I presume his destiny is fixed. The federalists here put no candidates of their own in nomination; and with the exception of some intelligent men in the western part of this county, supported the Clintonian ticket and carried the election. I voted for Senators, and offered to vote for members of Assembly, but after a long discussion of my and various arguments and opinions from lawyers and electioneers, the board very gravely decided that I was not yet *naturalized*—in which I think it probable they were right.

The Chancellor has really assumed a great deal in deciding against me. Please obtain a copy of the decretal order—not of his opinion, for I suppose that would take you a week to copy—and send by some person at your convenience.

Upon what ground did he admit you—as of right, or *ex gratia*? I am glad that he has done it, and hope you may find it the harbinger of good fortune.

What think you of the New Insolvent Law? Do you intend to proceed under it? Or have you not philosophy enough to live poor all your life, with a millstone on your neck?

Did I understand you that A. H. V. B. was to remove to Albany? If so, when does he come, and how will it affect you? He can do no business of consequence at Hudson, neither is

he qualified for that of the Attorney General's department. How does the business get along, and what is the state, generally, of your ejection suits? Are any of them to be tried at these Circuits or not? I sometimes wished after my removal, that I could take a peep for a moment in the Registers, and engage again in the service of the Sovereign People—and so long had I been accustomed to the management of the Attorney General (M. Van Buren)'s affairs public, private, and domestic, that I often thought that no one could attend to them but myself. My new avocations, however, have now become familiar and pleasant, and I can attend to them without troubling myself about the bonds, mortgages, or ejections of the State.

I want very much to see you up here. The warm weather has brought on vegetation, and rendered the country quite inviting. Here we have

"Flowers in the valley, splendor in the beam,  
Health in the gale, and freshness in the stream."

Here are pleasant walks and shady groves—rivers and cataracts—larks, robins, and grasshoppers—fine blooming damsels and healthy yeomen.

Our place is delightfully romantic—you may stroll on the banks of the Hudson—view the mountains where it takes its rise—and listen to the incessant roar of Baker's Fall's. In all the month of June, I shall look for you, and hope my expectations will not be fruitless.

There are a dozen or more of my young friends whom I should be happy to see in the course of the summer, and if anything on my part can induce them to desert the sultry streets of Albany for a week or two, I shall hope for the pleasure of their society at Sandy Hill.

There is but little *Law Business* doing here. If I was dependant on that I should have had the horrors long ago. Perhaps, however, it may be as good here as at Albany, or at any other place. I read more than I did while with you, and shall continue in the profession even if I neglect the practice. [Here follow instructions about Mr. Van Buren and his matters.]

I believe I have never told you that Porter discharged Van Rensselaere without my knowledge, agency or interference, directly or indirectly, and I knew nothing of it until he told me what he had done. You can't say this is not long enough.

Yours truly, B. F. BUTLER.

*To Jesse Hoyt, on Banking, Specie, Law, &c.*

[No 4.] Washington and Warren Bank, SANDY HILL, May 8th, 1819. Dear Sir: I send by Mr Skinner a package and letter for Mr. Barker, which send as usual. I hear that he has had a *demonstration* (as Pakenham and Co. would have said,) made upon him this week, which was infinitely repelled. My secretary being otherwise engaged, deprives you of the pleasure of receiving this interesting epistle in her "own proper handwriting."

Yours truly, B. F. BUTLER.

Washington and Warren Bank, SANDY HILL, May 15th 1819. Dear Sir: I send by Mr. Baird, in current and uncurrent notes, \$1100—J. & F. Baird's check, \$1100—which latter please collect, add to the cash, and send all to Mr. Jacob Barker. I wrote yesterday per Mr. Barker, and forwarded a package. Was it received? The keg of specie was left by accident at Waterford, but is expected to-day. I am in no want of it, and shall suffer no inconvenience from the delay.

Yours truly, B. F. BUTLER."

[No. 5.] "I send you by Mr. Blin, \$3500, in current notes, to be forwarded to Mr. Barker. I have no time to write him by this conveyance. Please drop a line mentioning that I have received the keg of specie and placed the amount to the credit of the E. Bank, and also advising him of this remittance."

[No. 6.] May 29—"I sued S. S. L \* \* \* by bill, sometime since. He persuaded me by various, repeated, and pressing solicitations, to give him time till 1st of May. He has not paid, and will not. Please draw a *cognovit* for \$63,50, the amount, obtain his signature, and let the judgment be forthwith entered. I send narr. and note, and Charles will do the labor under your direction.

B. F. BUTLER."

*To Jesse Hoyt, on Banking, and various kinds of Currency.*

[No. 7.] WASHINGTON AND WARREN BANK, SANDY HILL, June 21, 1819—Dear Sir: I send you by Mr. S. M. Hitchcock two sealed packages containing in the two, Current Notes \$5150—Do. checks on Bank of Albany \$425—Uncurrent notes \$1750.—\$7325. Please collect the checks, make up cash in a package, and send all to Mr. Barker. Perhaps it would be best to put the whole into one envelope without disturbing the packages that I have arranged. The largest, I had on hand a week ago, but have not been able to send it till now. One of the checks is not payable until the 5th, but perhaps you can get the money in time for the Boat which leaves Albany on that day.

Yours very truly, B. F. BUTLER.

[No. 8.] SANDY HILL, June 3d, 1819. — Dear Sir: I send you \$96,25 to be applied as follows — N — R — bal. of my atc. \$33,28 — E. & E. E. do. \$10,06.

[Next he names. "Stafford & Spencer, bal. of my atc. \$40—L. & L. Vankleeck & Co. \$40"—which two last sums he erases, and remarks—"These I believe I shall not send till next week, as I have no money but what is TOO GOOD FOR THEM."] Draw accounts in full for *er* and *er* from the beginning of the world to this day, and I will pay no more debts of its contracting, 9,91. The Attorney General for costs received 3d May (capias not served) \$43. Please take receipts from all the above creditors of mine. B. F. B.

*To J. Hoyt, on Law, Charles Butler, Col. Pitcher, Barker, the Niagara Bank, and Van Buren.*

[No. 9.]

SANDY HILL, June 5th, 1819.

Dear Sir: I have yours of the 31st ult., 1st inst., and also one by Mr. Gifford. I shall endeavor as soon as possible to send you some papers in these Chancery causes. I do regret that I did not know that Mr. V. B. was about attending the June term of the Court of Chancery. I might have had all my business in train for it. I wish you to tell Judge Beekman that the logs are nearly all sawed, and will be probably carried off by Hitchcock next week. If he wishes any thing done now it must be directed by the Tuesday mail, or there will be no hold on the property. Is it your opinion that the writ de proprietate probanda cannot issue until the alias plaint, or that it may issue upon the first writ in replevin, or the first plaint? I suppose, as I wrote you before, *by my Books*, that it issues forthwith on the plaint before the plaint is returnable, but not until the alias writ of Replevin? Please look at Fitzherbert's Nat. Brev., Dalton's Sheriff, &c., I am sure your library will tell. I shall send a witness and only one, for I can find no more, in the ——— cause, viz: John Sheldon, next week, if they can examine him in Mr. Van Buren's absence. \* \* \* \*

I have not been in court but little, either Common Pleas, or Circuit—having had a great deal to do in the Bank, and in my Law Business. I want a clerk very much, and as soon as Charles's company will be convenient shall send for him. If he gets over his foolish, hair brained projects, I shall keep him with me, for I think he ought to be under the eye of some person who can manage him.

He has some talents, but is rather overcharged with false pride, squeamish sensibility and ill guided ambition. I have been obliged to tell him very plainly what I thought of his style of writing and modes of thought—the first, like the latter, is frothy and bombastic—indeed, precisely like a boy of 18 of some genius, but that untutored and misdirected. I hope you got my package by Hitchcock. I have now \$3000 in current notes, received since Wednesday, which I would send by Colonel Pitcher, *who conceals this*, but he starts from here on foot, and goes on a raft from Fort Miller, and though an honest man might be robbed or knocked overboard. I shall keep it till next week. Send the enclosed letter to Jacob Barker by first mail—to my father put in the P. O., Monday evening. I forgot it to-day. That to Goodenow send by a private hand.

*I am unable to say anything now ABOUT THE NIAGARA BANK—only that if Mr. B., [meaning Jacob Barker], could be sure of life, he could make it a profitable concern*—but has, in my opinion, irons enough in the fire, already, for one man. But then he's A HOST himself. *If he gets the stock, you must stand ready to interpose a claim for the management of the business*—that is—if you would be willing to accept such a place. He would require some one that he could repose confidence in to take charge of it. Though I have no idea that he will get it. "Double, double— toil and trouble," appears to be the order of the day in the commercial and financial world—where it will land us I am unable to say. \* \* \* \*

You say my Chancery business is attended to. How? Can you tell me whether Mr. ——— or Mr. ——— has seen the Attorney General about the Factory cause, and what was the Attorney General's opinion as to their issuing execution? I am so much perplexed with anxiety and apprehension about my unfinished business, that I would gladly resign the whole. The Attorney General [Mr. M. Vanburen] is never at home—and when he is, I am so far from him, that I cannot have that direct and constant communication which the interests of *our clients* demand. One thing I most earnestly desire of you, and that is to forward me all notices, papers, &c., *that may be served on Mr. V. B. [Van Buren] as my agent*. He would never think of it himself, and my clients might be kicked out of court before I knew it. I shall make no more complaints about your bad writing, though your scrawls are most infamous, after the capers I have cut in this epistle.

Yours truly, B. F. BUTLER.

*To Jesse Hoyt, on a Banker's Ways and Means.*

[No. 10.]

WASHINGTON AND WARREN BANK, SANDY HILL, June 9th, 1819.

Dear Sir: I am almost wholly destitute of Washington and Warren notes, and shall undoubtedly have occasion for some before I can be furnished with a supply from New York by



Mr. Barker. If you have authority from him to obtain from the Mechanics and Farmers' Bank the packages from those Banks which draw on Mr. Barker, which I presume is the case, for the purpose of forwarding to New York, you will please send me by first safe conveyance One thousand five hundred dollars in the common notes of this Bank, which will answer me for exchanging until I can hear from Mr. B., of all which you will advise him. If, however, you should receive from New York a supply of our notes, in sheets, or otherwise, for this Bank, you will not interfere with the packages at the M. & F. Bank.

Yours truly, B. F. BUTLER.

P. S. If I send any papers by Mrs. Coffin and her son, I shall direct them, if they do not see you, to be left at Wiswall's store. They will stop at Troy for the night and may not be at Albany but a few minutes. I hear that a Mr. Clark from this village starts for Albany to-day; if he does I shall send by him, and he would be a good person to send me the W. and W. notes by. Upon reflection, I enclose a check on the M. & F. Bank, for \$450, drawn by Abraham Martling, endorsed by Uriah Marvin and Jeremy Rockwell, and also made payable by me to your order. Please present and collect it, and keep the amount until you receive a package from me, when you will forward it to Mr. Barker.

If the check is not paid, please give notice thereof by mail *instantly* to all the parties. Martling I do not know — neither can I learn his residence. Marvin you know — Rockwell lives at Hadley, Saratoga County. I intended to have sent the check to-day by a private hand, but to guard against accident, think it safest to forward by mail, being the first post after its receipt.

B. F. B.

*To Jesse Hoyt, at Albany, on his fitness to be Cashier of the Buffalo Bank.*

[No. 11.]

[per Mr. Thurman, from SANDY HILL.] June 11, 1819.

Dear Sir: I have received a letter from Mr. Barker, mentioning the subject of the NIAGARA BANK, and requesting my opinion of a certain friend of mine, for CASHIER, provided he should conclude to purchase the stock—to which I have replied as follows:—

"I am happy to hear, by your letter, that in the event of your engaging in the Niagara Bank, you have thought of MY FRIEND HOYT, for Cashier. I know of no person within the circle of my acquaintance whom I could recommend with equal confidence for that situation. HIS INTEGRITY, ZEAL AND INDUSTRY, would, I am confident, insure him your approbation; and esteem. There can be no doubt of his being amply qualified for the task. His acquaintance with business is general, and extensive, and for perseverance and activity I know of no one who surpasses him. His experience in Mercantile business, would alone have qualified him for the place, but in addition to that he has the advantage of some considerable acquaintance with the business of banking, from his employment last year in the Mechanics and Farmers' Bank. I have known him for several years; intimately, for about three. After the unfortunate termination of his Mercantile concerns, instead of spending his time in idleness, or giving way to despair or dissipation, which is commonly the case in SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES, he resolved forthwith to enter into employment of some kind or other; and, as nothing offered by which he could do better, he commenced the study of the law. All his friends, (and I amongst the rest,) thought this a very *fortiori* hope, for such had been his previous active life, and so long was his term of study, that I considered it absolutely impossible for him to confine himself to so irksome an employment as a clerkship in a law office, without any prospect of a speedy admission either to the practice or the profits of the profession. He was for nearly three years in my office, and for fidelity and attention, perseverance and application, the very best clerk I ever met with. I consider him perfectly competent to examine (a) into the affairs of the Bank of Buffalo, and give you an accurate and judicious account of every thing that relates to it. It is needless for me to say that I feel a deep interest in his prosperity, and that nothing would give me greater pleasure than to see him placed in such a situation as would give him a competent support; but perhaps it may be necessary to satisfy you that my opinion of his merits is not overrated. I acknowledge that I am his friend, and I know that friends, like lovers, are a little blind to the faults of those they esteem, but I believe I may safely refer you to any person acquainted with Mr. Hoyt, for a confirmation of what I have said."

(a) This is in reply to a suggestion about sending you up to investigate the business, preparatory to a decision on the subject. I have sent my brief in ——— cause to New York last week by mail.

Yours truly, B. F. BUTLER.

[No. 12.] June 14. I send you by J. L. Thurman, Esq., a package for Mr. Barker, containing in current notes, \$2,200. I have received yours by Mr. Clark, with \$1,300 in W. and W. notes.

*To Hoyt, on Law, Strawberries, Sturtevant, and Mrs. Olcott.*

SANDY HILL, June 15th, 1819.

[No. 13.]

Dear Friend: I am very much indebted to you for your elaborate and very learned opinion upon the question in replevin. From the acquaintance with the subject which you display, I doubt not that Sir Thomas Moore's famous question would have received a prompt answer from you, altho' it puzzled a very erudite professor in one of the European Colleges. When are you coming up to Sandy Hill? The country is very pleasant, and will continue so for some time; but in about a fortnight we shall have strawberries, &c., in abundance; and during that season should like to see our friends. If Charles is at Albany he can come up with the bearer, Mr. Sturtevant.

Yours truly, B. F. BUTLER.

P. S. If you have any money to send me, I would *not* advise you to send it by Mr. S.

[Before Mr. Butler's postscript I find a postscript by Mrs. Butler, wherein, among other things, she says—"I repeat the question 'When are you coming up?' We want to see you very much, and hope for the pleasure before many weeks expire. If you ever have the honor and pleasure of seeing Mrs. Olcott, I wish you would present my love to her, and tell her I often flatter myself with the hope that she will come up to Sandy Hill, and see how country folks live. We have a plenty of pork, and soon shall have new potatoes and green corn. H. B." Mrs. B's anxiety to have the Albany Banker's wife up at Sandy Hill is explained by the subsequent run by Olcott on Butler, and their angry correspondence.—W. L. M.]

*To Hoyt, shewing his plan of meeting a run for Specie.*

[No. 14.]

Washington and Warren Bank, SANDY HILL, June 21, 1819.

Dear Sir: My letter of yesterday informed you that I was engaged in a *running* fight with a squadron from Commodore Wiswall's fleet. I send you by Mr. B. Wing, \$900 in Troy, Lansingburg, and Albany bills, which I wish you *if possible* to convert into specie. I do not know that I shall need it, but it will be sufficient with what I have, to *tease* the enemy for the whole week, if he should maintain his ground for so long a time. Mr. Wing will wait for the specie.

I should suppose that so small a sum could easily be procured, especially if you divide the amount, say \$300 for Mechanics and Farmers' Bank and \$200 for the others. I do not wish it *lipled* that I am in want of it to meet a demand on the Bank. *I wish you to say to the bank* that you want **SMALL CHANGE**; and for that you will give them current bills. If you can obtain \$600 it will answer the purpose, and if small money is not to be had anything else will an-ver.

*If you are unable to obtain the amount of \$600 in Albany*, you will please select the notes of the two Banks of Troy, and direct Mr. Wing to call at those Banks with their respective notes, and request them to furnish him with small money for change, and if they refuse, to demand specie. (Give him *written* directions.) The other money in the package you may keep to be sent to Mr. Barker when I remit.

I shall write you by the Wednesday mail, and shall also enclose a letter for Mr. Barker, which it would be desirable to have sent by Thursday's boat. You will probably ensure its going there if you call at the P. O. early on Thursday morning and *request them to open the Northern Mail*. I believe that generally they leave it until after the boat has left, which is very injurious to me.

Yours truly, B. F. BUTLER.

[No. 15.]

SANDY HILL, June 21st, 1819.

Dear Sir: By the enclosed (which please read, and after that wafer and send by Wednesday's boat), *you will learn* the situation of affairs here. If Commodore W. reported anything disadvantageous, please correct it. I did not offer, as before to Allen, to *pay him one bill at a time*; but on Saturday, *offered* him a large amount of specie, which he declined waiting for me to count.

If you think that you can get the specie for my notes, which will be chiefly Troy, &c., please so inform Mr. Barker. Mr. Bacon is the person who brought the \$706.

Yours truly, B. F. BUTLER.

*On seeming to pay at a Bank—Gilchrist outwitted.*

[No. 16.] Washington and Warren Bank, SANDY HILL, Wednesday morning, June 23, 1819.

[To Jacob Barker, Esq., New York.] Dear Sir, \* \* \* \* I have redeemed in the whole \$789, during the two days past—all in large bills. I have now on hand, about \$300 in small change, \$900 in dollars and five francs, and \$200 in gold. With this force I can with certainty sustain myself until Saturday morning, and by that time I have no doubt I shall have a further supply of specie from Mr. Hoyt. \* \* \* \*

Enclose you a copy of Mr. Olcott's letter. This is a new proof of the wavering policy of that Bank, and of the little reliance to be placed on Mr. Olcott's professions or engagements, for he offered of his own accord to me last spring, that I might at any time draw on you at a few days

sight, if I chose so to do. \* \* \* \* I have this morning had two small sums of our notes presented, the one for \$75—the other for \$91—both from Albany; and both enclosed to Mr. Baird, with a request that he would present them immediately, and that the credit of the Bank was completely down, which was the cause of their sending them up. I shall pay these, because the money will go down by the mail to-day and may quiet the apprehension of some persons who would otherwise send up; but I shall request Mr. B. to decline any further commission of the kind; and if any more such appear, I SHALL PUT THEM ON THE SAME GROUND WITH THE OTHERS.

As the calls this week have assumed the character of a run on the Bank, you will undoubtedly see the necessity of giving me a supply of specie as soon as possible.

Yours truly, B. F. BUTLER.

P. S.—Since writing the above, Wiswall has shown me his money; he has now \$4800. Gilchrist has demanded his bills. I told him I was ready to pay in specie, but commenced paying Wiswall, he presenting his bills first. Gilchrist has resolved not to wait and returns in the stage.

*Olcott on pretended Banks and Bankers.*

[No. 17.] [Mr. Olcott to President Butler.]—“*Mechanics' and Farmers' Bank, Albany, June 21, 1819.*—Dear Sir: We send by the bearer, Mr. Gilchrist, Fifty three hundred dollars of the Bills of your Bank, for redemption. You are probably aware of the determination of the Banks in this city to take no drafts from country banks on the city of New York; and least you may think the measure unfriendly or oppressive, I would mention that our object is to prevent country Banks from placing funds in N. Y., to speculate on their own depreciated paper. That they do operate in this way we have good reason to suspect; otherwise why do they place funds at so great a distance from the only spot where they PRETEND TO REDEEM, or give specie value to their bills. I should be glad to make an exception of your Bank, did not our circumstances require a prompt and speedy return, and I trust I am not mistaken in the belief that you will give our agent every facility and accommodation. With great regard, &c.”

*To Jesse Hoyt, in which Mr. Butler deviates a little from the truth.*

[No. 18.] [per Mr. Hitchcock.] SANDY HILL, June 23, 1819. Tuesday evening. Dear Sir: I have finished my second day's work with Wiswall. Have also sent you to-day \$900 in current notes to be converted into specie, by Mr. Benj. Wing. I requested you to procure it peacefully from the Banks there, but I now wish that you would convert it into Mechanics and Farmers' Bank notes, and demand the specie from them if they are unwilling to advance it promptly. Mr. Olcott has to-day sent up between \$5000 and \$6000 by Mr. Gilchrist. He arrived here in the stage a little before two. Mr. Olcott writes me a very friendly letter, stating that they will not take drafts on New York, and that they mean to make the country Banks keep their funds at home. His messenger also refuses to take our notes payable in New York or those of the Exchange Bank. By the by, I must be hard pressed before I part with the latter for any one, friend or foe. I have told Mr. Gilchrist that I was READY TO PAY SPECIE, and would pay specie at ALL TIMES DURING BANKING HOURS; and that I would pay nothing else. Whether he will remain or not I do not know. If he does, he must wait till I am through with Wiswall. I send \$250, in current bills by Mr. Hitchcock, to be added to the \$900, and managed in the same manner. I did not mean to call on Mr. Olcott for specie, but since his message to-day I intend to pay him specie and to make him furnish it besides. You need not tell him so, however. I must have SOME specie by Mr. Wing, and shall rely on you for it, five or six hundred dollars carries me safely\* through the week.

Yours truly, B. F. BUTLER.

You may send a copy of the foregoing by Thursday's boat.

Let the papers in Mr. Hitchcock's care be sent up.

*Jesse Hoyt instructed to proclaim that the Bank could and would pay.*

[No. 19.] WASHINGTON & WARREN BANK, SANDY HILL, June 23. 1819. Wed. 9. A. M. Dear Sir: Read the enclosed letter to Mr. Barker, seal and send it as soon as possible, and if the specie for the \$1150 is not already on the way, hasten it as speedily as possible. TELL ALL PERSONS THAT THE BANK HAS NOT STOPPED, AND WILL NOT STOP PAYMENT, AND THAT WE PAY IN SPECIE. I presume the rumour of the failure of our Bank in Albany must have arisen from the reports of Wiswall. Let no one know the

\* His letter was written on Tuesday evening—four days of the week were yet to come—Butler was ready to pay Gilchrist specie, and 'nothing else'—tho' he had scarcely any to pay, and was depending on a few hundred dollars of small change to carry him safely through the week. Of course, his statement to Gilchrist and others that he was able to pay and would do so, was untrue. Mr. Gilchrist is now in New York, a merchant, I believe. He tells that so far was Mr. Butler from paying that he threatened to put him out of his office. Of course, he left Sandy Hill. Whether the Wiswall protracted payment was another pious, legal and financial trick, is a question easier asked than answered.

*amount of my calls, nor of my funds.* If any specie comes from Mr. Barker, forward it by *express*.  
Yours truly, B. F. BUTLER.

*To Hoyt, shewing the President's nice sense of honor.*

[No. 20.] SANDY HILL, June 24, 1819. Thursday morning, 10 minutes before 10.

Dear Hoyt: The intelligence by Mr. Wing is unexpected and unpleasant. I am sorry you did not send the specie. In the absence of all INSTRUCTIONS from Mr. Barker for a fortnight, I consider it my duty to continue paying. If I stop I may as well stop next week as this. I can hold out through this week. My courage is undaunted, spirits not [at] all depressed, and if I die "I die with harness on my back," fighting as long as possible.

(Favoured by Mr. Boyd.)

Yours truly, B. F. BUTLER.

P. S. There are *thousands of men and of paper here*. Mr. Boyd had agreed to take my draft on Jacob Barker, at 10 days' sight. While he was gone to Baird's for the money, Wing arrived *express*. I could have given it afterwards, but CONCEIVING IT DISHONORABLE,\* TOLD HIM IN CONFIDENCE WHAT I HAD HEARD, and refused to give him the draft.

*To Hoyt, saying he would stop if his master so ordered.*

[No. 21.] SANDY HILL, June 25, 1819, 10 o'clock A. M.

Dear Hoyt: I have not yet stopped payment, and shall not (unless Mr. Barker directs me to do so,) until I am obliged to give up the ship.

Yours truly, B. F. BUTLER.

[No. 22.] Washington and Warren Bank, SANDY HILL, June 26, 1819.

Dear Sir: I enclose you a letter for Mr. Barker, which please read, and then copy. Send one copy to New York for Mr. Barker, and keep the other on hand for him, as he may be at Albany before the one sent to New York can reach him. You will perceive from the within what my situation is. Would it not be folly for me to stop?

Yours truly, B. F. BUTLER.

P. S. Keep the situation of my funds secret.

*The Banker borrowing—the Bank will pay. President Butler to Mr. John Baird, Albany.*

[Favored by Mr. Hoyt.]

[No. 23.] Washington and Warren Bank, SANDY HILL, June 26, 1819.

Dear Sir: Availing myself of your friendly offer to loan me *for the use of this Bank*, four Thousand Dollars, I send you by *Jesse Hoyt*, my private note for that sum, which he is authorized to fill up with such terms of payment as may be agreeable to you, and also twenty-six promissory notes amounting to more than *Ten Thousand Dollars*, which I am able to assure you are as good paper as this state can afford, to be placed in your hands as collateral security for the prompt payment of the loan. It is desirable to conclude this arrangement without delay, which is the cause of my addressing you at Albany. *You may rely upon it that the Bank can and will continue its REDEMPTIONS.* I am, dear sir, your friend and obedient servant. B. F. BUTLER.

*To Hoyt on a legal tender for the Albany Dutch.*

[No. 24.] [Favored by Caleb Baker, Esq.] SANDY HILL, June 29th, 1819.

Dear Hoyt:—The enclosed will show you how the "world wags." One of those persons that I told to wait until their turns came, was THE YOUNG PATROON, who had 4 or \$500 taken for rents due his father.

If you know him—as I believe you do—I wish you would FALL IN WITH HIM, and ask his opinion—I know it will be favorable although I did not pay him, because he sat within my counter and read the papers, AND DRANK WINE WITH ME FOR TWO OR THREE HOURS BEFORE THE BANK CLOSED, and saw every man who had come from a distance, or was poor and needy, paid in specie without a moment's delay.

Now if his opinion is friendly, I dare say it will pass current, AND BE A LEGAL TENDER in your DUTCH metropolis, and it would answer for CIRCULATION, &c. Let me hear how everything goes—and what is said and done at Albany.

Yours truly, B. F. BUTLER.

Seal and send the enclosed after reading it. If the loan with Baird was concluded, and you

\* Mr. Butler was the President of a Bank chartered by the Legislature, a lawyer, the student and partner of Attorney General Van Buren, and transacted the business and knew or pretended to know the condition of the institution, whose notes he signed and promised to pay. If it was dishonorable to deceive his friend Hoyt on Thursday, as above, was it honorable or honest to assure Baird on Saturday "that the Bank can and will continue its redemptions." Was it honest to deceive the Young Patroon on Tuesday, or to get Mr. Hoyt to place in the Albany Daily Advertiser the tissue of artful untruths dated at Sandy Hill on that day, and which Mr. Butler applauds Hoyt for publishing, as being "well timed?" I cannot conceive the idea of more direct, clear, systematic and well understood fraud than is exhibited unblushingly by Messrs Butler and Hoyt's transactions recorded on these pages.

expect the specie on Thursday, you may perhaps ask Caleb Baker to stay for it. If not, *tell him there will not be A LOAD* until next week. HE AND EVERY BODY ELSE *thinks I have TONS OF IT on the way.*

*Hoyt and Butler's pious but well-timed falsehood.*

Mr. Hoyt got his friend Butler's letters published as puffs at Albany. "Your extract was well timed," says Butler, (July 3d.) Here is the extract.

*From the Albany Daily Advertiser.*

[Washington and Warren Bank.]—Wednesday, 30th June, 1819. Messrs. Websters & Skinners: The following is an extract from a letter dated [ ] Sandy Hill, June 29, 1819. If you think its publication will be of any service to community, you will please to give it a place in your paper.

[No. 25.]

SANDY HILL, June, 29, 1819.

The run upon the bank still continues, but the alarm in this part of the country is wholly subsided. *The appearance of Mr. Barker in good health and spirits among us, satisfied the people that the Washington and Warren Bank would sustain no loss by his temporary suspension. All are delighted with the accommodating disposition of Mr. Butler the President.* When there were more calls than he could satisfy with his own hands, he called in his neighbors to assist him in paying. And when there were more than all could attend to, he requested those persons that came with the bills, to lay them down and take as many dollars in specie as they left in bills, and retire to give room for others. Many came and saw the counter loaded down with gold and silver and went away satisfied that all was well, *and that Sandy Hill was not without its 'grains of gold.'* You may tell your Albany banks that they had better be a little more sparing of their denunciations, for their own vaults may have to atone for the sins of their keepers. *Sell all the goods you can for these notes.* But you had better not send up until the alarm has proved groundless, as you may be trod on in the crowd. When you do send, however, you will always have the preference over brokers in being waited upon, for we do not much admire those leeches upon the 'body politic' in this part of the country."

[No. 25. a.] Steam Boat Richmond, June 28, 1819.—Sir: I left Sandy Hill yesterday. The Bank has not stopped payment—it *will not stop payment:* which please promulgate to prevent the brokers from speculating on the fears of the holders of the bank of Washington and Warren. I shall commence discounting again (at the Exchange Bank.) within 60 days from the 23d of June. JACOB BARKER.

[No. 26.] 30, June, 1819.—Dear Hoyt: If the original arrives in time for the mail, this need not go. I shall want the *specie* for Schuyler's note if paid. Yours truly, B. F. BUTLER.

*President Butler deceives the People, and denounces Chartered Monopolies.*

[No. 27.]

[Per Mr. L. Clark.] SANDY HILL, July 1, 1819.

To Jesse Hoyt.—DEAR SIR: The enclosed you will send by the first boat, after reading it, &c. I send you 25 TIMES. You see how boldly we come out. I have deliberated long before I ventured it—but, as it's a part of my "budget of ways and means," have at length concluded to run the hazard.\* If the specie for Schuyler's note could be obtained, you could send it by the bearer. Send the papers on Saturday. Tell me what you think of my bulletin.

Yours truly, B. F. BUTLER.

\* President Butler's Manifesto, referred to in the above letter, as a part of his "budget of ways and means," and issued after Mr. Barker's visit, was as follows:

[From the Sandy Hill Times, July 2, 1819.]

The following communication on the subject of the Bank at this place, may be relied upon as coming FROM AN OFFICIAL SOURCE.

[For the Times.] WASHINGTON AND WARREN BANK.—The excitement in relation to the paper of the Washington and Warren Bank, beginning to subside, perhaps it may not be ill timed to request the attention of the public to a few prominent points, connected with the operations and character of that institution. The sudden and unexpected suspension of payment at the Exchange Bank, together with other causes produced, very naturally, strong suspicions of the solvency of the Washington and Warren Bank, which were greatly increased by the malicious prophecies and slanderous reports of persons who regarded its success with jealousy and hatred. The consequence was, *the rapid and vexatious return of its notes, accompanied with demands for specie, or for such bank paper as is equivalent thereto.* Mr. Barker, foreseeing this result, and fearing that the bank might not be able to withstand the first shock, although confident of ultimate success, very fairly assured the public, in his address to them, that the Washington and Warren notes would all be paid *within sixty days*, without promising that the bank would not be compelled to suspend, for a short period, the payment of its notes. It was found, however, that a course so unpleasant and distressing was unnecessary, and that the bank, by resorting to its legal rights, so far as it respects *brokers and other banks*, would be able to ride out the gale, and that too without pressing those that owe the bank. *It has continued, and will continue its redemptions, and is abundantly able to pay all its debts, to the "uttermost farthing."* The debts due to the bank, amount to more than double their notes in circulation, and those debts are perfectly secure—there is perhaps scarcely one that will not ultimately be collected. How then can any one be a loser by the bank?

It is true that the Bank has not extended to speculators and bank agents, that prompt accommodation which, under flourishing circumstances, would probably have been afforded; and it is also true that it has been engaged, and

*To Hoyt, on his preparations to badger the Board of Brokers.*

[No. 28.]

SANDY HILL, July 31, 1819—11 A. M.

DEAR HOYT: All goes on well. Caleb arrived last night with the reinforcement. Your "extract" was well timed. I wish you would keep the Albany merchants back. It's rather bad friendship to get our bills together, and post them up here, say 30 days sooner than they would otherwise come. At the worst they would go into Brokers' hands, WHICH IS THE BEST PLACE IN THE WORLD FOR ME. I have received a very begging, coaxing letter from Mr. Olcott, *but as Wiswall's money is not half paid, I don't trouble myself about it.*

Yours truly, B. F. BUTLER.

*To Hoyt, at Albany.—Ought not the Public to wait awhile?*

[No. 29.]

[Sent per Mr. Hand.] SANDY HILL, July 7, 1819.

*Private and Secret.*—DEAR HOYT: I have paid since the Run commenced \$9000 and over. You know how much I had then. I HAVE A GREAT DEAL MORE NOW, and am in every respect better off. The reinforcement from Jacob Barker puts me out [of] danger. Have paid very liberally SINCE IT ARRIVED, BUT SHALL NOW HOLD UP. The public have been paid over \$6000—the Brokers \$3000. OUGHT NOT THE PUBLIC TO WAIT AWHILE? We have CROWDED full enough for the present, therefore had better write no more for the papers. I shall add a note to "Equal Rights," which will gall the Mechanics' and Farmers' Bank to the quick.\*

Finished last Saturday night by trying the replevin, at Glen's Falls—got home 1 o'clock, Sunday morning. Jury equally divided, 6 and 6—*Sheriff in our favor.* Skinner and me both summed up; suited myself and everybody else. Noticed anew for Tuesday, 13—clear case; shall certainly succeed—want the lease from Van Rensselaer to Caldwell, as they gave parol evidence of it. Send it up in time.

Paid Saturday, the 3d, 901; on Monday, 379 *though the Bank was shut*; on Tuesday, 817.

Yours truly, B. F. BUTLER.

*To Hoyt, on Law, Chancery, and suffering the People "to fret a little."*

[No. 30.]

SANDY HILL, July 10th, 1819.

Dear Sir: My present business is chancery. The enclosed bill I drew in great haste last night and this morning. I want it presented on Monday, and the motion made and urged on the ground of the great injury to the Bank if those notes should be put in circulation. Whether Barker's assignment to this Bank is good or not, *we are entitled to the injunction.* Whether the bills are his or ours, the Farmers' Bank have no right to use them; and if they do, we suffer as well as J. B. [Jacob Barker.] I want the bill copied, and a copy sent to Mr. Barker for Mr. Wells' examination.

If you get the injunction, show it first to the State Bank, and tell they follow next—then serve it on Farmers' Bank—then show to Lansingburgh, and tell them they shall have the same, and *had better keep the bills.* That is, if you think it best to inform the others before I have made out bills against them.

The M—— business I have neglected, and never can attend to it. Serve the petition—give the notice—fill up the proper day—make the motion. You and the Attorney General [Mr. Van Baren.] draw the interrogatories and examine the witnesses. *I cannot*, and must rely wholly on you.

The Bank is safe, and I mean to keep it so. I WILL RATHER SUFFER THE PUBLIC TO FRET A LITTLE, *than hazard the safety of THE INSTITUTION* by paying out TOO FAST. I have paid *this week* \$2500—\$600 of which was Walker.

Yours truly, B. F. BUTLER.

*He is now engaged in the payment of small specie, &c. to persons of that description; but it must always be remembered, that the Farmers, Mechanics, Travellers, and Tradesmen, who have presented its bills, have been paid in the most prompt and liberal manner. It must also be borne in mind, that the pressure of the times would of itself be a sufficient excuse for many things, which, at a more propitious moment, would be deemed inconsistent with the rules of fair and honorable business; and above all, that the course pursued in this particular instance, is adopted for the express purpose, not of injuring, but of indemnifying the public. THE BANK IS ABLE TO PAY, and intends to pay its notes, but it supposes that the honest yeomanry, who compose the "bone and gristle" of the land, are entitled to every accommodation, in preference to greedy speculators and arrogant mounted aristocrats. Those too who have "poisoned the chalice," have no reason to complain, if with retributive justice, it is "presented to their lips;" nor even if they are compelled to taste a portion of its contents.*

\* After the W. and W. Bank had shut its doors for several years and bought in its own unsaleable paper, it opened them again—Jacob Berler, Jesse Hoyt, Fitzgreene H. Beck, and B. F. Butler being still connected with it. On the 25th of December 1821, Mr. G. R. Barker, cashier, wrote from the Bank to Mr. Butler, as follows:—Dear Sir—This will be handed to you by J. F. S. a bill who goes to Albany for the purpose of procuring some specie. I want \$2500, and send you that amount in bills. Mr. [Jacob] Barker says he has written Mr. Olcott on the subject. I should not trouble you, but want the business done correctly, and fear to trust it alone with Mr. Sherrill. I send a draft for \$2000; which, if Mr. O. prefers, you will please hand him—but I should prefer his taking the notes. If you have to give him the draft you will please deposit the notes in the M. and F. Bank, to our credit, which will make a good deposit of that amount in Albany.

G. R. BARKER, Cashier

P. S.—If Schuyler's note was payable *here*, I would take Washington and Warren gladly, but by his own act he has made it payable in Albany. Now let him pay what *they* will take, except I will take it in  $\frac{1}{2}$  Plattsburg and  $\frac{1}{2}$  current— $\frac{1}{2}$  Burlington,  $\frac{1}{2}$  current. If he has our notes let him present them. If not paid, write Baird that it must be done forthwith, or he will be SUED—Baird will make him pay it.

*Chancellor Kent scolded—Clinton declared to be raving mad—"Fair and Proper calls."*

[No. 31.]

SANDY HILL, July 14, 1819.

To J. Hoyt.—Dear Sir: Send the enclosed by the boat to-morrow—all goes well. The Chancellor's decision, in my opinion is disgraceful, partial, unjustifiable—(inter nos.) I pay from \$700 to \$1000 daily—chiefly in specie—*satisfying all FAIR AND PROPER calls.*

I yesterday tried the Replevin over again, and after a prodigious hard conflict obtained the inquisition. This secures the estate. The lease did not arrive in time for the trial, as I had it at Lake George. Got through summing up at 11 o'clock—Jury out till after 1, A. M.—tough business I can assure you. After Bank hours, rode through sun and dust to Lake George—12 miles—tried the cause—up till 2, A. M.—up again at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 4—home before bank hours.

CLINTON IS RAVING MAD, BESIDE BEING A FOOL. But I have no time for more.

Yours truly, B. F. BUTLER.

Capt. Coffin's letter contains cash. Let me know whether the Comptroller found the account of public monies received by the Attorney General [M. V. Buren] during my agency, correct. I furnished it last mail.

(Sent by Mr. Bacon.)

*"From Grave to Gay—from Lively to Severe."*—"Orator Puff had two tones to his voice."

[No. 32.] Jesse Hoyt, Esq., care of Jacob Barker, Esq., New York.\*

SANDY HILL, July 21, 1819.

My Dear Sir: I condole with you most sincerely. I commend you to Him who is able to bind up the broken heart—who alone can give you consolation in your distress—whose will is righteous, and whose mercy is unbounded. I HAVE NO TIME FOR MORE.

Yours most truly, B. F. BUTLER.

POSTSCRIPT. I have of this date written to Jacob Barker, Esq., stating my situation and pressing him to furnish me one thousand dollars at least in specie, to reach me by the 30th inst. If my letters are not received, please inform him of this postscript, and add that it is *absolutely necessary*.

*To Hoyt, on paying in a slow way!*

[No. 33.]

SARATOGA SPRINGS, Aug. 24th, 1819.

DEAR SIR: \* \* \* \* \* Your brother [Lorenzo Hoyt], has charge of the Bank during my absence—Mr. Barker left us this morning for the south. \* \* \* \* \* *The Bank will go on paying daily, IN A SLOW WAY*, until Mr. B. [Barker] is able to give me some liberal assistance—and in the meantime I shall take it slow and easy for the future, without laboring as I have done for the two months past, which have been in every respect the most laborious and perplexing of my life. I felicitate myself, however, with the reflection, that I have *relieved* MANY HUNDREDS of persons who would have been almost ruined if we had *dropt* as Mr. Barker advised me—that *I have kept up PARTIALLY the credit of the paper* in the vicinity of the Bank, which in the event of stopping would have been at 50 or 60 per cent discount—and, that in all that I have done, I have been actuated by a sincere desire to promote the interests of my employer, and the welfare and preservation of the community. \* \* \* \*

In haste, your friend, B. F. BUTLER.

*Preserve the Bank!—Butler's character lowered—Hoyt exhorted to repentance—Sabbath Keeping—Wisdom's Ways.*

[No. 34.]

[To Jesse Hoyt, Esq.]

SANDY HILL, Nov. 16, 1819.

My Dear Sir: Yours of the 11th is just received—I enclose a power of attorney which I presume will answer. Your letter of the 5th was received last week; but being called away for the two next days, and considerably engaged since my return, I had not found it convenient to acknowledge its receipt. I shall not pretend to deny your right to complain of my silence, but at the same time, I must retort the charge; and I presume you will admit that there is full as much ground for it in one case as in the other. I have no doubt of the multiplicity of your concerns, nor of your industry and perseverance; and I hope most sincerely they will be rewarded by that success to which they are justly entitled; but I believe you cannot have had so perplexing and arduous a tour of duty as mine has been for the last six months. Indeed, I am certain that no poor wight ever labored more sincerely for the public good, or received more of public censure

\*When it became evident that Mr. Barker would neither purchase the "good will" of the broken Bank of Niagara, at Buffalo, nor sustain the Washington and Warren Bank, Mr. Hoyt removed from Albany to New York to practice law, having taken out licences, as an attorney-at-law, and as a solicitor-in-chancery.

and abuse. For the last seven or eight weeks, however, we have had comparatively quiet times, and I have had some leisure for law reading and law labor.

You are right in supposing that the late catastrophe (for I consider it the end of that drama) in the Exchange Bank, is a common misfortune. To me especially it is a great one. *I had cheerfully suffered the depreciation of OUR PAPER*, that Mr. B. [Barker] might in the meantime bend all his efforts to the Exchange Bank, and in the resumption of payment there, hoped for the most auspicious results. The matter is past mending, and no doubt it is all for the best. *We continue paying daily in a small way, more to relieve the sufferings of community than for any other purpose.* The credit of the paper is very low in this country—hardly any one takes it at par—and were it not for the small payments of which I spoke, no one of my neighbors would have any confidence in the ultimate solvency of the institution. Some few, inferring from what has been done and what is now doing, that the intention is TO PRESERVE THE BANK, are rather disposed to think favorably of the concern; but their numbers are not great. Fortunately, however, by our redemptions and collections, we have got in nearly all the paper in circulation in this part of the State, and there is now but little more than half as much out as there was when the troubles commenced. The most interesting and gratifying part of your letter, was that in which you gave us reason to look for you here in December. We shall rely with certainty on your coming up; and if a cordial reception can make your visit a pleasant one, you will most assuredly find it so. Indeed, I can say most truly, there is no one of my *quondam* friends that I am more anxious to see than yourself. By the bye, my character is so depreciated at Albany (according to report) that but few of my old acquaintances would acknowledge or receive me. Some of them, I hear, have the kindness and condescension to compassionate and pity me, while others consider me *full as bad as Jacob Barker*, which in these days is considered a pretty severe specimen of invective and reproach. So be it.

They cannot rob me of free nature's grace,  
They cannot shut the windows of the sky,  
They cannot bar my constant feet to trace  
The woods and lawns, by living stream at eve;  
Of fancy, reason, *virtue*, nought can me bereave.

I am sorry to observe that you are obliged to turn casuist in order to reconcile your *Sunday* labors to your own sense of duty. You may remember what Sir Mathew Hale said on that subject, "That he tried both plans, and from experience could say, that no man ever gained anything in the end, or furthered his business, by attending to it on the Sabbath."

I know that you have had many and severe misfortunes to contend with; but I think there is a better method of consolation to be found than the one you have adopted. No doubt the poignancy of distress is often lessened and destroyed by the hurry of business and the active employment of the mind, and therefore those remedies should frequently be adopted—but no true consolation can ever be derived from anything that requires the neglect of a religious duty. The ways of wisdom, and of wisdom only, "are ways of pleasantness"—her paths, and hers only, "are paths of peace." Mrs. Butler joins in affectionate remembrance.

Truly yours, B. F. B.

*Pious exhortations to Jesse Hoyt—Trouble at the Bank—The Attorney makes his debut.*

[No. 35.] SANDY HILL, Dec. 17, 1819. My Dear Sir: \* \* [a private paragraph omitted.] \* \* I am sensible you have had many difficulties to contend with—many privations to endure—many afflictions to submit to—but that all has been *right and just*, however severe and painful it may have seemed, is no less the acknowledgment of REASON, than the dictate of REVELATION. The former assures us that the BEING who formed and upholds the natural world, so full of order, regularity, and excellence—who supports his creatures with every good of life—"who makes all nature beauty to the eye and music to the ear," must be Righteous and Benevolent; while the latter represents him as vindicating the mysteries of His Providence by saying, "What I do now thou knowest not, but thou shalt know *hereafter*."

We have been much troubled by visitors at the Bank for the 10 days past. The Court of Common Pleas, which sat in the village a part of two weeks, has just adjourned. You can hardly conceive how much I was vexed and molested. Every man who owned a dollar of our paper made a point of bringing it along. I made my *debut* as an attorney—was employed in two causes which I tried and argued, and had very good success. There is but little law business doing in this county. Such complaints you never heard from lawyers, of the dullness of the times and the scarcity of money.

Most truly yours, B. F. BUTLER.

*Butler's Pious Sympathy—Halleck initiated in W. & W. Banking.*

[No. 36.]

SANDY HILL, Jan. 3, 1820.

Dear Hoyt: We regret very much that Mr. Halleck has made his visit, and is returning without you; \* \* \* and our hopes that He "who tempers the wind to the



shorn lamb" will enable you to sustain your misfortunes with dignity and patience, and make your future life more happy than your fondest wishes could anticipate. Mr. Halleck has been with us a week, and I must really say that we have been greatly delighted with him. His genius and acquirements render him a most agreeable and instructive companion. I envy you the pleasure you must derive from a full and uninterrupted intercourse with such a man. He can tell you all about our Banking concerns.\*

Most truly yours, B. F. BUTLER.

To Jesse Hoyt.—Butler would be the Julius Cæsar of Sandy Hill—is a Bucktail—Self.

[No. 37.]

HUDSON, Feb. 7th, 1820.

Dear Friend: The release for Mr. Youle is enclosed. We have no Commissioner at our village (the men fit for it being chiefly Bucktails,) and I therefore brought it with me. \* \* \* \*

I am much obliged to you for your letter and the pamphlets. One of the latter I saw at Mr. Van Buren's last week, which he had from you. "For thoughts that breathe and words that burn" it is almost without a rival in modern political publications. I must confess that I have been guilty of considerable negligence, and frequent violations of punctuality. You are THE ONLY PERSON to whom I ever write, except on business topics, and perhaps I should write less frequently than I now do were it not for the occasional necessity of the correspondence. Not that I dislike the employment, or have forgotten the friend—neither is the case.

I have a tolerable prospect of getting a livelihood by my profession at Sandy Hill, the appointment of Mr. Skinner and his consequent desertion of the bar, having left room for some other person. I have taken his office, but whether I shall fill his place remains to be seen. I have been urged to hold myself in reserve until spring and then remove to New York with an old friend of ours, (M. Van Buren), but I prefer remaining where I am. "A rolling stone gathers no moss," and though I certainly would not have gone from Albany had I known what would follow, I have too much pride to keep always on the move—and upon the whole do not regret the removal. Besides, I doubt whether it would be advisable to locate myself in New York, even with the aid of wealth and talents. The saying of Cæsar's, that he would rather be the first in a small village than the second at Rome, is a fair expression of the sentiments of most men. At New York I could never hope to be even the SECOND—where I am [Sandy Hill] perhaps it may not be too presumptuous to aspire to higher honors. I believe Mr. Van Buren does not wish to have it known that he removes to New York in the Spring, therefore, if you have not already heard of it, you will please consider what I say as *inter nos*. I am fearful that Mr. Barker's misfortunes will prevent you from realizing all the prospects you indulged in when I last saw you. Pray inform me all about it. You know that my interest in your welfare is very great, and that nothing would give me more pleasure than to hear of your success. Do you meddle with politics? Or are you a silent spectator of the conflict?

Since my resolution to get all the law business I could, and to present myself before the public in that capacity, I have thrown off the restraints I had before preserved with regard to an interference in County affairs, and have engaged with some warmth, but pure intentions (as I hope,) in the political warfare.

Education, habit, inclination and principle all conspire to make me A BUCKTAIL. I have no sinister views to gratify—no resentments to satiate—no other object but the well being of the State—therefore my endeavors shall be to confine myself within the golden rule, of "doing to others what I would have them do to me."

I have received a letter from Mr. Barker, stating that the bank was unable to pay me the salary I have hitherto received any longer, which is what I have been compelled to look for for some time past, and which will render my prospects rather gloomy, owing to the large amount I have advanced for ——. Were I troubled with nobody's debts but my own I should care less about it. Still I think I can in time get a living by my profession.

This letter is filled with nothing but SELF from beginning to end—a lamentable proof of egotism, than which nothing is more unsufferable. Do you never expect to visit us at Sandy Hill? Please present to Mr. Halleck my best respects, and believe me, dear sir, yours sincerely,

B. F. BUTLER.

To Jesse Hoyt—on Law—Jacob Barker, Judge Edmunds, Mr. Van Buren, the election and Judge Van Ness.

[No. 38.]

ALBANY, March 17, 1820.

My Dear Friend: I have been here for three or four days. My business was to meet one of that drove of steers which broke into the enclosure of the Court of Chancery some time before I

\*Mr. Fitz Greene Halleck to Mr. L. Hoyt, at Albany. New York, May 1, 1829.—Dear Sir—I send by the steamboat Victory, which leaves here this afternoon at 5 o'clock, a box containing bank notes addressed to George R. Barker, Sandy Hill, which we shall be much obliged by your forwarding to him by the very first opportunity. I wish you to keep a memorandum of all the expenses you are at, and the various transactions you attend to, and make suitable charge therefor. It is all for account of corporations "which have no souls," whose stockholders cannot expect confidential services of this kind to be performed without paying.

Your assured friend,

F. G. HALLECK, for Jacob Barker.

left you. I have done nothing since I have been here but hear and talk politics. They seem to engross the whole soul of every person I meet with. For myself, though I feel some interest and take something of an active part at home, yet I must confess I am heartily sick of the *eternal ding dong* which is kept up at this place by the more noisy of both parties, and shall get home as soon as possible. It is but seldom that I hear from our friend Mr. Barker, for the very substantial reason, as I suppose, that he has nothing to communicate. Do you think he will be discharged in April? And can you form any sort of estimation as to the ultimate result of his affairs? Please give me all the information you have on his concerns, *and your own as connected with his, in which you know I take a deep interest.*

Since forming my connection with Mr. Mussey, I have considered it important that I should be admitted as a Counsellor as soon as possible. I have been gone all winter, while I ought to have been preparing for the examination. If I can prepare myself you may look for me in May. I do not yet precisely know what are Mr. Van Buren's expectations, nor do I believe he does himself. It is very probable that he will spend part of the summer in settling up his affairs in this part of the state and in Columbia. Mr. Edmonds, who is now with him, has had some conversation with him on the subject of business at New York, but *I have no apprehensions that he would form a connection with so young a practitioner*

I am sorry for your sake to hear such poor accounts of professional business at New York. We have something to do at Sandy Hill, and I think our office has its share. If I can once get myself into such a run of business as to provide for my family, I doubt whether I ever engage in any other pursuit. The more I become acquainted with the law, the more my attachment to it increases. We have a great many lawyers in our county—many of them *great spouters*—some of them very respectable in point of talents. The popular prejudice against the profession is also very great among us. It is rarely ever that a lawyer is nominated for the Legislature—but perhaps that may arise as much from the state of parties in our county, where both have been about equal in strength for many years—as from any other cause. Still I think my prospects as good there as they would be elsewhere, and as yet I am content with my location.

I never knew party spirit so very warm as it now is in this quarter, and probably the Election will be a very sharp one. The accounts from all parts are very favorable to the election of Tompkins. I consider it very certain. The old Lieutenant Governor, as I understand, begins to regret that he has suffered himself to be *linked with Clinton*, but cannot unwind the knot. The Legislature are doing nothing of any consequence, since the committees from the two Houses have reported on the accounts of the Vice President. [Tompkins.]

The Committee of Inquiry intended to report next week, but as Judge Van Ness has not yet returned, I do not believe they will be ready. That concern looks very dark for his Honor. If he is innocent he has been very unwise in the course he has adopted. If he shall be convicted, ultimately, what a degrading circumstance it will be for the judicial character of our State! It was *once* our pride and ornament—but how are the confidence and respect of the public to be preserved when its members are *suspected*, much less when they are *arraigned* for "high crimes and misdemeanors?" In truth, your very sincere friend,

B. F. BUTLER.

To J. Noyt. Van Buren and Butler, Counsellors and Attorneys at Law—Albany—Providence  
—Worth's Poems—Vander Heyden.

[No. 39.]

ALBANY, May 27, 1820.

My Dear Sir: I have been here two or three days for the purpose of seeing Mr. Van Buren. You may have heard that it was my intention to remove forthwith to Albany; if not, I take this occasion to inform you that *I have agreed to resume the law business with Mr. Van Buren*, and shall locate myself in this place as speedily as possible after the 15th of next month. I think I have every prospect I could desire. Mr. Van Buren says he will not abandon his profession; and if he remains in it he can get as much business as we can attend to. *He offers me one half of the Chancery, as well as the other business, which you will recollect is much better than our former terms; and as our Chancery Suits will be the most numerous and profitable, it appears to me that I cannot but succeed.* My admission as Counsellor will also enable me to attend to small motions in term, inquests at circuits, &c. &c., which, as my acquaintance is very general throughout the state, will be something towards the current expenss of the year. *With the assistance of PROVIDENCE, I am fully resolved never again to abandon or withdraw from my profession*, and to pursue such a course of study, industry and perseverance as shall make me a lawyer in time, if it is possible to make a lawyer out of such materials as I am composed of. It is with great reluctance that I leave Sandy Hill; the situation of that most charming village, the kindness of its inhabitants, from whom I have received every attention, and ABOVE ALL a sincere desire to comply with the wishes of our friend Mr. Barker, all induced me to remain, but I am satisfied that I ought not to pass by the present opportunity of establishing myself in the profession. I wrote Mr. Barker from Sandy Hill, but have not had the pleasure of hearing from him. *Please inform him that I wish*

*to resign on the 15th June, and to leave the next day if I can. Every day I procrastinate is an injury. We have so little time allotted us in this world, and that little is so uncertain, that it becomes important to take it by the "forelock."*

I have just seen a poem by G. A. Worth, entitled "American Bards," which I have skimmed over with deep regret. *There is not a line of merit in the whole book.* It would seem that genius declines and degenerates in the woods, for Worth, when in New York, was a fine writer—brilliant in prose, and more than tolerable in poetry. Even in the notes there is nothing of that vivacity and elegance which distinguished the Correctors.

Our friend Van Der Heyden is looking out for the Clerk's Office, for the next Assembly. Do give him all the help you can. Horace Merchant is to be his deputy, so that the objection of Clark, that he is a raw hand, &c. &c., is wholly obviated. Clark reports him as a federalist. Please contradict that falsehood. Van Der Heyden is a fine fellow and a man of talents—and deserves encouragement, not only on that account but also for his filial and fraternal affection.

I shall get to Albany in time to take the "laboring oar" in the Hart cause, and also in the Plainer suit, in both of which I shall probably be solicitor. And as for politics, I give you notice that I intend to leave you and the other champions to fight it out, having neither time nor inclination to buckle on the armor, though I may possibly always carry a small sword about me. Present my best respects to your sister and brother.

Yours affectionately, B. F. BUTLER.

*To J. Hoyt.—Van Buren & his Clerks—Lorenzo Hoyt—Barker's last offer.*

[No. 40.]

ALBANY, June 24, 1820.

DEAR FRIEND: I thank you for your kindness in attending to my Bouck cause. The letter enclosing the [wrong or wing] bill and the decree, came to me charged \$1 11 postage. I mention this for no other reason, than that you may be informed of the carelessness of the person by whom you sent it. The letter to Judge Platt I will deliver. He is on the tour of the Northern circuit—holds the Washington circuit this week—the Troy circuit next week, and I shall very probably see him on his return. I have been here three or four days—found every thing in an elegant state of confusion, but have got pretty much arranged for business. Take it all together, we have the pleasant establishment in the city, if not in the state. We occupy the whole lower floor of the Secretary's house. Mr. Van Buren has the front room, with the library. I keep my office in the back room, which is cool and pleasant, besides being better adapted for study than the other. We have two students besides Lorenzo. A young man, a brother of Caldwell (Gourlay's son-in-law) who has been 13 months in our office, and is a sedate, attentive, and, I expect, useful clerk—and a son of the loud talking Pugsley, who is a wild fellow, and whom I keep on condition of good behaviour. So far, he has not forfeited his engagements. If Lorenzo remains with Mr. Van Buren, I will, with great pleasure, pay particular attention to him. He is digging away at Blackstone, which I shall permit him to continue until I get my books from Sandy Hill; then I shall set him about reading a course of history, and studying the latin grammar. At his age, a knowledge of general history may be easily acquired. The memory, which is the principal faculty concerned in its acquisition, is then vigorous and unburdened by the various knowledge and the distracting cares of riper years. *He is a very fine boy, and I think will do well.* He has not the genius nor the energy of his brother, but at the same age is *much his superior.* (You may think this no great compliment to yourself, but pray remember that you are one of those whose talents were buried in bales of cotton and hogsheads of rum, until dragged from obscurity by the "strong arm of the law.")

*When Mr. Barker was at Sandy Hill, he offered to accede to the terms I proposed when at New York, or even to double them if necessary—but I was not at liberty to receive the benefit of his good wishes.* I now consider myself pretty permanently settled at Albany; and I think, at all events, I shall never leave the law for Banking or any other pursuit. I now feel the same ardor and fondness for my profession that a lover does towards his mistress, after having been separated from her society. (By the bye, they say you can understand the force of this simile, and feel it too, when absent from New York. How is this?) Do let me see you this summer,

And believe me, most sincerely your friend, B. F. BUTLER.

*To Hoyt. Law—Chancery Practise—Mr. Van Buren and his mortgage—the Albany folks.*

[No. 41.]

ALBANY July 19, 1820.

DEAR FRIEND, \* \* \* \* \* We are boarding at Mr. Jones's, directly opposite our office, (Gilbert Stewart's house,) where we have very pleasant lodgings. Our departure from Sandy Hill was so sudden, that we left all our furniture in the house, and for the present shall continue to board out.

As to business, I have enough to keep me very busy—chiefly in Chancery—old and new. It would be well enough were it not so long before the cash was realized. But it must come some day or other. I think my expectations will not be disappointed. At all events, as I told you before, I am for the Law and nothing else—and I regret now that Mr. Van Buren ever thought

of leaving his profession, which you know was what put it into my head to leave him. I think I shall make my debut at August term in the argument of some motions and cases. Though as to the last I am rather squeamish. Mr. V. B. is certainly very desirous to assist me. He has several heavy causes in which he insists on my speaking.

I like Albany about as little as you do—and, *with the exception of a few persons who are worthy of esteem*, have very little to say to the goodly inhabitants of this renowned metropolis. I think the eastern junto the most disagreeable of them. They are generally bigots in politics, and very full of prejudice and envy.

Lorenzo is a very fine youth. I have got him at the Latin Grammar, in which he makes tolerable progress. I shall pay particular attention to him. I have paid \$1.25 for the order to the Register, so that you owe me 25 cents. My compliments to Mr. Barker, &c.

Yours truly, B. F. BUTLER.

[No. 42.] To the same.

ALBANY July 26, 1820.

Dear Friend: I am about filing a bill to foreclose *the mortgage held by Mr. Van Buren* against the Kane property, to which Judge Livingston and Messrs. Blackwell and McFarlane must be parties. To avoid costs in case they should disclaim, it is necessary to tender them releases. I herewith send you the releases, and if it is not too much trouble must call on you to present them to the gentlemen above named, with an explanation of the object for which they were prepared. I do not believe they will execute them, tho' they would save trouble if they should. They will never get anything from the mortgaged premises, nor from any other of Kane's property, and might as well release it. Nothing new.

Yours most cordially, B. F. BUTLER.

*To Hoyt, on struggling at the Bar—Judges like to dine—Van Buren the Erskine of America.*

[No. 43.]

ALBANY, August 9, 1820.

Dear Sir—Yours of the 5th went round by the way of Troy, so that I did not receive it until this day—but, as I had no opportunity to make the motion on Monday, no harm results.

I took my place in such a position as I supposed would ensure me a hearing, but unfortunately there were some tedious fellows ahead of me who took up so much time that when my neighbour next above me was reached it was just on the stroke of three; and *you know how eager our Judges are for the comforts of a good dinner*. If I had not received yours I should have procured an order to stay proceedings. I hope you will not fail to stay with us at Jones's while at Albany. I shall not be able to accompany you to the Springs—*neither time nor funds would permit*. The truth is, I am poor, and I mean to economize, and \* \* \* \* I should like to join on a tour *anywhere except to the Springs*, of which I had enough last year. There is a great deal of business this term, but a great part of it is small business such as Certioraris, &c.

Your New York classmen are a troublesome race—perfect snarlers and marplots. *Mr. Van Buren stands higher throughout the State than he ever did*—witness the toasts at the various celebrations. But if I were in his place I would trouble myself but little about the carpings of such men as you name—they can do nothing without him. What would have become of the opposition if it had not been for him? I will say more—if I was Van Buren, I would let politics alone. He can be and will be the Erskine of the State, which is an ambition more laudable than the desire of political preferment. He yesterday opened a cause in the Supreme Court in the most concise, elegant, and convincing argument I almost ever heard. Believe me,

Yours truly, B. F. BUTLER.

*To Hoyt.—Law tedious—Judge Spencer uncourteous—Butler too forward.*

[No. 44.]

THURSDAY, 17th August, 1820.

My Dear Friend: \* \* \* \* The Court gets along very slowly with the Calendar. There are 400 causes, and they begin this morning at 71. I have done nothing more than oppose a motion, in which I was successful—but to-morrow expect to make some provided I can get a *hearing*. I attempted it last week, but His Honor, the Chief, [meaning it is presumed, Ambrose Spencer,] in his MILD WAY, told me to wait until my SENIORS had been heard; and as I was the youngest Counsellor at the Bar, perhaps this was right; but it excited a great deal of observation among the bar, and is generally spoken of as not *very liberal* nor proper.

*I really don't know how it is; but I am considered, by some persons, as possessed of a remarkable degree of forwardness, &c. &c.*, merely because I am unwilling to remain forever at the foot of the professional ladder. However, if my life is spared, I shall grow older every day, and therefore, sometime or other will be entitled to a hearing.

My causes on the Calendar, which are three, will not be reached this term.

Most truly yours, B. F. BUTLER.

*Fifty Dollar Fees scarce—Judges Woodworth & Spencer talked about.*

[No. 45.] To Jesse Hoyt, Esq., Wall St.

ALBANY, Oct. 12, 1820.

Dear Sir—I am happy to hear of your success—and hope it may continue—\$50 and \$100

fees are not very plenty in this part of the country, at least not with young lawyers. Our circuit still continues. Judge Woodworth, in person and in business—"Like a wounded snake, drags his slow length along." He has given very general dissatisfaction this court. \* \* \*

\* \* \* \* \* The city has been full of farmers, &c., these two days—at a cattle show—but I have seen nothing of it myself. Chief Justice Spencer delivered a speech on the occasion, *by way, as I suppose, of preparation for the period when he will be compelled to retire to the shades of private life.* \* \* \* In haste, yours, truly, B. F. BUTLER.

[In another letter, April. 1819, Mr. Butler tells Mr. Hoyt, that "The appointment of Judge Woodworth is universally reprobated here; without any exceptions, except the Clintonians."]

[No. 46.] *To Hoyt, on Noah & on Caucus Nominations.* ALBANY, Nov. 7, 1820.

Dear Sir: At the caucus last evening, 68 Republican members of Assembly were present. Two very staunch republicans absent—not yet arrived—so that we shall not lose a single man. Mr. Sharp agreed on for Speaker. Mr. Vanderheyden for Clerk, 45—to 23 for A. [Aaron] Clark. The votes to-day will be unanimous, and every thing will go as it ought to. The Council did not meet yesterday. Mr. Noah will attend to your letter—he takes great interest in it. I have not been able to see either Mr. B. or Mr. D.

In haste, most truly, yours, B. F. BUTLER.

*To Jesse Hoyt. Henry & Campbell defeated—Van Buren & Butler not very busy—Clinton's abusive Message.*

[No. 47.] [per Counsellor Caines.] ALBANY, January 18, 1821.

Dear Sir: We have had a very tedious Session. The Court have been principally occupied with non-enumerated business, and have been able to reach only No. 98, on the Calendar. There was no business of interest except some pretty important motions—among others, a motion to quash all our scir. fa. proceedings in Otsego, which was fully argued by Mr. Campbell and Mr. Henry for, and myself against it. This was the first cause of any importance I ever argued in the Supreme Court, and this was the most interesting matter before the Court. I made out tolerably well, I believe, and was heard very patiently for near two hours. The motion will not be decided until next term.

I was sorry to hear from you in so sombre a strain as that which pervaded one of your late letters. I hope, however, that with the new year your prospects will revive—and I have no doubt that *industry and merit like yours* will command, as it certainly deserves, success.

We [Van Buren & Butler] are doing hardly any business—what we have is in CHANCERY, and THE EXPENSES ARE SO HEAVY AND THE PROCEEDS SO LONG IN COMING, *that my present hopes are confined to a bare subsistence.* The only consolation is, that I am making, as I think, some progress in professional knowledge, of which one day or other, I may reap the benefits.

There is every prospect of a stormy session. The Governor [De Witt Clinton,] has communicated the documents relative to THE ORGANIZED CORPS, accompanied WITH A VERY ABUSIVE MESSAGE. *This business will injure him greatly throughout the Union.*

I don't think I shall be an applicant for any thing this winter—certainly not if I can get a living without, which I hope may be the case. Mr. Esleeck is the most prominent candidate for the office of District Attorney, and feels confident of success, and will probably be appointed.

I hope to see you soon at Albany, when we shall expect you to stay with us. \* \* \*

With sincere regard, yours, B. F. BUTLER.

[To J. Hoyt]. *The Bucktail Council very unpopular—Albany near a rebellion.*

[No. 48.] ALBANY, Feb'y 20, 1821.

MY DEAR FRIEND—\* \* \* I hope the Council will soon finish all they have to do, as the excitement produced by their labors is very great, and the difficulty of pleasing everybody very strikingly illustrated. You will have seen by the time this reaches you, *that they have given me an office*—without any trouble or exertion on my part—or much on the part of my friends. The minor appointments for this city have given great dissatisfaction, *and it is as much as we can do to keep the people from open rebellion.* Of all this, however, say nothing—as I hope a few days of reflection will compose the angry elements. To judge from the violent expressions of those who are disappointed, one would think that our prospects for next Spring were rather blank—but you know it is the genius of Democracy always to be impetuous and sometimes to be rash. I have only time to say that you are always one of those for whose health, happiness, and future prosperity I feel the liveliest solicitude, &c. &c. &c.

B. F. BUTLER.

*A close Election—the Chances stated—Disaffection to the Bucktails.*

[No. 49.] To Jesse Hoyt. ALBANY, March 3, 1821.

Dear Hoyt: Having been engaged in a long and tedious Court of Sessions, I have been unable to write you sooner. Notwithstanding the dissatisfaction which prevails in many parts

of the state, I think we have a fair chance of success. Dutchess is not yet to be abandoned—Saratoga is *certain*—Essex ditto—Cayuga may be hoped for—Genesee and Niagara promise favorably—Ulster and Sullivan may perhaps be lost by the nomination of Sudam. There is a *faint prospect* of success in the new counties erected from Ontario. The other counties may stand as they did last year, except Montgomery and Queens. In the former we have strong hopes of electing our whole ticket. As to the latter, you have better means of information than I have. For my own part I set it down as against us.

It is not to be denied that *disaffection* prevails in some counties, and indifference in others—and as our adversaries will strain every nerve to the utmost, they *may* secure the state.

In the Eastern District we shall elect our Senator, having a *most noble ticket*, while the Clintonians have a wretched one. Probably Seymour may be elected in the Western, tho' there is not much hope of it. The election will be close, and some of our friends give it up, though without sufficient reason. \* \* \* \* In haste, truly yours, B. F. BUTLER.

*To Jesse Hoyt, on Law, Religion, Releases, the Court of Errors, &c.*

[No. 50.]

ALBANY, April 2, 1822.

My Dear friend: I am glad to hear of your safe return from Washington, and have to thank you for your letter from that place. I regret that you lost the opportunity of arguing your cause in the Supreme Court. It would have been a circumstance equally creditable to you, and gratifying to your friends, to have had you come forward so soon after your admission to the bar, in the first court, and against the highest law officer of the nation.

It is not at all surprising that you should know how to appreciate our solicitude for \* \* \* \*  
\* \* \* \* *Our chief prayer is that she may be prepared for the closing scene, through the Grace of her Creator and Judge. My dear friend, THIS, after all, IS THE ONLY IMPORTANT BUSINESS OF OUR LIVES—and every new instance of mortality admonishes us to set about it in due season.*

I am much indebted to you for your attention to the troublesome business of my releases. I do not care whether they are executed or not—the only object is to save costs by tendering them. Enclosed is a list of all the judgment creditors of J. Kane who have not released. Please mark opposite to each, the names of those who are absent, and where, so that I may bring them in by publication.

The Court of Errors yesterday decided the cause I argued there (Manahan vs. Gibbons) in favor of my clients, (Defendants,) 34 to 4—a great triumph to me, and some little mortification to Mr. Henry, who was uncommonly positive and sanguine. I have argued two, and have several other causes to argue in the Court of Chancery.

Mrs. Butler desires to be affectionately remembered by you and by Mr. Ward. No one stands higher in her estimation than yourself. She thinks you the most ardent friend I have, and therefore she feels for you as she ought to. I hope to see you in May, but may be disappointed. In haste, most truly yours, B. F. BUTLER.

*[To J. Hoyt, at New York.] Political scheming—Instructions how to keep Power from the People—Noah told how to behave—efforts to elect Crawford.*

[No. 51.]

ALBANY, Jan'y 29, 1824.

My dear friend—The Electoral Law was to have been taken up in the Assembly to day \* \* \* \*  
\* \* \* \* There is no doubt whatever that a majority think it inexpedient to pass the bill, and yet they are so hampered by premature commitments, and many of them so goaded by their constituents, as to render it almost morally certain that they pass it in some shape or other. Our reliance is on the Senate, and we still entertain strong hopes that it will be rejected there in whatever form it may come. Still, this is by no means certain, and the greatest caution and prudence, as well as the greatest firmness, are required in presenting the subject to the Senators. We have not been, and are not, idle; on the contrary, if ever men labored incessantly, the 'Conspirators' and the 'Regency,' &c., deserve that praise. \* \* \* \* Make a suggestion to Mr. Noah, which I trust will not be improperly received by him. It is simply to suggest that, for the present, the *Advocate* should not press the claims nor descend on the merits of Mr. Crawford. We have in the two branches of the Legisl. about 105 members who are thorough-going Caucus men. Of these a majority, beyond all doubt, would prefer the nomination of Mr. Crawford, the remainder are for Mr. Clay or Mr. Adams, the smallest number being for the latter. *While these men are willing to abide by a CONGRESSIONAL NOMINATION, it is useless to advocate the claims of Mr. Crawford to such a nomination, it being certain that if any is made it must fall on him.* Besides, by pressing the claims of that gentleman you incur the risk of alarming the feelings and encountering the opposition of those firm and honest men who have gone with us nobly so far, and are willing to go with us to the end, but who are yet unaccountably wedded to Mr. Clay or Mr. Adams. And though I do not believe they could be driven from the resolutions they have concurred in, in favor of a Caucus at Washington, they may yet be induced to give a warm support to the *Electoral Law*,

if they become satisfied, either that their candidates have no chance of a Caucus Nomination, or that we are determined to force the claims of Mr. Crawford. Stick to principles; advocate the necessity of adhering to the old forms and established doctrines of the party—and express the utmost readiness to submit individual preferences to the decision of the Caucus. It will be time enough after the nomination, to defend and maintain the character and claims of the successful candidate. \* \* \* \* \* I should think it injudicious to call meetings on this ticklish subject, especially in the country, where the meetings from necessity would be more general than with you, and where our opponents would inevitably outmanage and outnumber us. In your city, however, the line is so distinctly drawn, AND YOUR FORCES ARE SO WELL ORGANIZED, that you have nothing of that sort to apprehend.

If the meeting about to take place should not be more formidable than I think it will be, it will not be misunderstood here. Its proceedings will be considered as the voice, not of the republican party, but of the supporters of Mr. Wheaton and his colleagues, who are now very well understood by the country members—and instead of injuring I think it would render us a service if it should stand alone. \* \* \* \* \* Still it seems to me that we have nothing to gain, and much to hazard by giving to this subject any farther excitement of a popular character—but as Mr. Bowne knows perfectly the state of things here, your Committee should confer with him fully before they adopt any course definitely.

I omitted to make another suggestion for Mr. Noah. It is not very serviceable to talk much of *Burrites*, *Lewisites*, or the *High minded*. Several of the two former classes are here among our best friends; and as to the latter, *Sudam*, *Bronson*, and *Wheeler*, are as true as steel, in the Senate—and Whiting, Hosmer and several others in the Assembly are among our best and most hopeful supporters in that House.

I have not written to Mr. Barker about his proposition as to voters for Electors. It has been mentioned to several, but we doubt the power of the Legislature to pass it, and if they have it, we are still more apprehensive of its policy, for reasons which on reflection I think will occur to you. Yours truly,

B. F. BUTLER.

I opened this letter to show to Judge S. [Skinner.]

*Young nominated—the Governor's folly in going for the people—the Argus affront—Barker's Conspiracy Trial.*

[No. 52.]

To Jesse Hoyt.

ALBANY, April 13, 1824.

Dear Hoyt—Political affairs stand well. *The nomination of Young has defeated the plans of the opposition; and though I did what I could TO PREVENT ITS NECESSITY, I am yet persuaded, that, under all circumstances, it is the best thing that could be done.* You will see the two addresses. To ours we have more than two-thirds of both Houses—and though it does not speak directly of the presidential question, I think its tendency, &c., can hardly be misunderstood. If matters go as we expect, there will be a large majority for Mr. Crawford at the next session. Indeed it is very certain that he has received a majority of both branches. Rely upon it every thing will go well.

Yours truly, B. F. BUTLER.

[No. 53.]

To Jesse Hoyt.

ALBANY, June 5, 1824.

My Dear Sir—You have by this time heard the consummation of the Governor's folly by the issuing of his proclamation. . . . . You will see that the *Argus* business has been at last accomplished. I was obliged to become responsible for the moderation of the New York paper, and to execute a Bond of Indemnity, &c. I have written to Hamilton for it. Do see that it is sent soon.

Yours ever, B. F. B.

[No. 54.] To Lorenzo Hoyt, Esq., Albany.

NEW YORK, Oct. 1, 1826.

Dear Sir—Mr. Henry has gone home with an intention of preparing himself in the case of the Bank of Plattsburg against Levi Platt, Wells, and others, (the account cause.) I wish you would therefore \* \* \* \* \* I have but a moment and few details of the trial, [Jacob Barker and others for a conspiracy to defraud.] must refer you to the papers. They bring down the details to yesterday at one o'clock. In the afternoon and evening we had a fine time of it, and when the court adjourned last night the cause was left remarkably well for us. I send a paper for Mrs. Butler. Mr. Barker has done wonders.

Truly yours, B. F. BUTLER.

*To Hoyt, on the Law Revisers—Dr. Hosack upset—a successor to Talcott.*

[No. 55.]

ALBANY, Dec. 11, 1827.

My Dear Sir—I cannot send you copies of the chapters that are to commence on the first of January, as passed, as there are but a few extra copies in print. \* \* \* \* \* There is nothing in them, however, that can interest or affect you, in New York, except Chap. 14, "Of Public Health," which mitigates the Quarantine Laws and upsets Dr. Hosack. Chap. 18 cuts up some operations that used to be in vogue, but it was so altered by the Legislature as to be entirely confined to Corporations hereafter created or renewed.

Incessant occupation has rendered it impossible for me to answer your kind letter. My situation as a member of the Assembly will render me ineligible to the office you speak of, in case

Talcott [Attorney General] should resign. [See the Constitution:] And even if not disqualified by that circumstance, I should be unwilling to withdraw my attention from the remainder of the Revision [of the laws of N. Y.] which will require all my efforts for some months to come. I must get that concern off my hands before I set up for any thing else, especially if it requires labor. There is, however, little probability that the good people will suffer for want of candidates. In a case so prominent there are generally enough to grasp for it. In haste,

Very sincerely yours, B. F. BUTLER.

[No. 56.] To J. Hoyt, on his claims on him over Duer. ALBANY, March 19th, 1829.

My Dear Sir—I have not been able to furnish Chancellor Walworth with a copy of ——'s answer, my original copy having got into that celebrated receptacle of Chancery papers, from which nothing is ever to be withdrawn—the draw or bushel basket, (I don't know which,) of his venerable predecessor. . . . I wish I had time to say something of your last letter, but as the hour for closing the mail is at hand I must defer, and if I defer the whole matter will tumble into Limbo, for I never can undertake to answer an *old* letter. You do me injustice in your mode of stating the case. As between you and John Duer I never can hesitate. You are not only the *oldest* friend, but most assuredly HAVE THE STRONGEST POSSIBLE CLAIMS UPON ME—*claims which I hope to convince you I have not forgotten, and can never forget.*

Mrs. B. continues to think ill not only of the Washington people, but of *your* arguments in its favor. I shall submit the matter wholly to her decision, though my judgment, not less than my inclination, tells me she is wrong in some of her objections—if not in all.

Most truly yours, B. F. BUTLER.

*Maher (like Marcy) to be saved from ruin, and made respectable.*

[No. 57.]

WATERFORD, July 26, 1830.

To Lorenzo Hoyt, Esq., Counsellor at Law, State Street, Albany.

My Dear Sir—When I left this morning, I could not ascertain whether Mr. Reynolds had returned or not. If he has not returned, I must get my cause postponed, and return to assist Mr. Ostrander before the Vice Chancellor to-morrow. Let me know by the first stage or mail for Ballston.

Notice should be given at the Post office to send Mr. Van Buren's letters to Saratoga Springs. Those you sent yesterday to my house are yet there. Will you see them sent back to the Post Office properly directed?

Once more. Just as we left this morning, I heard that our excellent friend Maher was dead. It occurred to me instantly that J. H. Strong was very well qualified for the place of State Librarian. IT WOULD SAVE HIM FROM RUIN, and make him a respectable living; and *having that*, he would be a respectable man. I beg you to call on Mr. Flagg, and name him as a candidate for whom I feel a deep interest; also speak to Mr. Croswell and Mr. Phelps and others. If it can be done, *it will be a great affair* for Strong. Don't omit seeing Mr. Flagg.

Yours, B. F. BUTLER.

*Noah—Judge Sutherland—D. B. Tallmadge a Successor to Duer.*

[No. 58.] [Mrs. B. F. Butler to Mr. Jesse Hoyt.] ALBANY, December 4th, 1830.

My dear Sir: I am greatly obliged to you for sending me the paper containing the article "Albany Institute." I am very much inclined to believe that the author of the address merited the rebuke, not because our friend Croswell is mentioned in an honorable manner, but because the whole editorial corps were not ingratiated in the note.

If I had written the note, I should not have forgotten Noah—I would have given him a high place, for he is certainly entitled to *rank*, being King and High Priest, &c. &c., of the Jews. In his literary store-house, he has ammunition of all sorts; and altho' he is too fond of amusing us with squibs, he can, and does occasionally, send up a sky-rocket. I write in great haste, and have only time to add that I am a lone widow yet—and that the very elements seem to conspire to keep my loving lord away. Did you ever know such a continued spell of unpleasant weather?

Yours, very sincerely, HARRIET B.

[No. 59.] [private.] [Mrs. B. F. Butler to Mr. Jesse Hoyt.]

WASHINGTON, 15th February, 1834.

My Dear Sir—You must either work for Judge S. [Sutherland] or yourself, if you do not wish Tallmadge to get the office of D. A. [District Attorney.]

His brother works like a Cart-Horse in the matter, and things are working well for him.

Mr. B. [Butler] only yielded to Judge S's claims over yours, *on account of his* (the Judge's) *peculiarly unpleasant situation on a pecuniary point of view.*

Do help the Judge. The decision of the matter is to be left to the N. Y. Members—Representatives and Senators—and they are all pretty much to a man, committed to Tallmadge.

Great haste, sincerely yours, H. E.



*Judge Edmonds and Pauperism—Price to get the Office—Hoyt's troubles.*

[No. 60.] [Mrs. B. F. Butler to Mr. Jesse Hoyt.] WASHINGTON, Feb. 24, 1834.

My Dear Sir—I can only say in relation to the office which was the subject of a former letter, that you have become a candidate too late in the day for any hopes of success.

If Tallmadge and Sutherland are set aside, as is very likely they will be, if the matter is referred to the Delegation, I think Mr. Edmonds will succeed.

So far as PAUPERISM is a qualification and recommendation to the favor of party, surely you will give in to THE LAST NAMED PERSON.

But it is a pity, if you really want the office, that you did not say so at the commencement of the session. You may as well, however, write to Cambreleng, who I hear is committed for you, and he will be able to tell you all the difficulties about the affair.

PRICE, it is thought by Mr. B. [Butler] will be the person the delegation will unite upon, if they cannot agree not to disagree upon either of the first named persons—but I am of opinion Edmonds would be the man.

I am happy that you can talk so cheerfully of your misfortunes. I hope that you will yet see brighter days though.

I perceive by one of your letters you are getting to be quite an old man.

Mr. Butler still continues strong in the faith (Jacksonism) and thinks that all the political troubles of the day are necessary to the purification of the body politic. That lessons of wisdom will be learned now (and learned by heart) that will do men good.

[Here four lines of the lady's MS. are carefully erased. She adds—]

Don't be curious to know the above—it only showed a little of the old leaven of Federalism, which my admission to the Cabinet cannot or has not yet, covered.

The mail will close and I must haste. Sincerely yours, H. B. [HARRIET BUTLER.]

*Down with the United States Bank, but we may want another.*

[No. 61.] Private. [To Jesse Hoyt, Esq.]

February 24th, [1834.]

My Dear Sir—I thank you for all the news (bad enough most of it) in your several letters—and most heartily concur with you in all the censures and three-fourths of the abstract notions you utter in them. As for supposing that Newbold, George Griswold, Stephen Whitney, or any of the old federal commercial men, were with us on this occasion, for any other reason than because they found it for their interest to go with us, I never for one single instant had such an unwarrantable idea.

As for myself, I have NEVER doubted that THE PRESENT Bank ought BY ALL MEANS to be put down—but, on the other hand, I have never been perfectly satisfied that we could get on with the business of the country without SOME SUCH AGENT. But Mr. Taney thinks we can, and he is the judge. Mr. Gallatin also once told me we could—and I am desirous TO TRY IT; because if we can get on without any of this machinery, I think it best to dispense with it, for it always has been, and always will be, abused, no matter who controls it, we or our enemies.

Come what will, we must adhere to the Pres't policy FOR THE PRESENT, even if it sends us all into the minority. It would be better to go ten years into the minority than to recharter THE Bank, or make a new one NOW. Truly yours, B. F. BUTLER.

*Jackson's Proclamation and Protest—American difficulties with France.*

[No. 62.]—Extract of a letter, B. F. Butler to Jesse Hoyt—dated Albany, Dec. 14, 1832.—“The President's Proclamation has electrified our whole community. Next to the Declaration of Independence, it is the most p—— state paper our country's—— have produced.” [The words left out are torn off the original.]

[No. 63.]—Extract of a letter from Butler to Hoyt, dated Washington, June 29, 1834.—

“Mr. Taney and myself were nominated this morning; Mr. Stevenson is also yet under consideration. They are very furious in their attacks on Stevenson, and it is by no means certain they may not call for information about MY SUPPORT OF THE PRESIDENT IN HIS PROTEST, &c., in which event Mr. Wright is authorized by me to speak strongly.”

[No. 64.] Same to same.

STUYVESANT, October 1st, 1834.

My Dear Sir: I have just received your letter of the 27th, which I found at my father's, on my return to-day from Hudson, where I have been for the purpose of aiding our friend Blunt in his arbitration.

I had noticed the information from France, this morning at Hudson, and it had occurred to me that the article in the Times, was a judicious comment upon it. Indeed I think it very certain,

that the clamor which has existed in this country against the administration, for the last eight months, has really had its influence on the French Chamber. And there is as little reason to doubt, that the opposition will oppose any coercive measures which the President may recommend, and by their factious course possibly give this matter such a direction as to produce very serious embarrassment. I have, however, full confidence that the subject will be well weighed by the President and his advisers: and that the course he may determine on will meet the approbation and support of the country.

I have not thanked you as I ought to have done for your letter in relation to Patterson. On receiving it, I wrote him, telling him where I was and should be, and a few days ago I received \$1500 from him, with a very *proper* letter and a promise to send the balance in a few weeks.

It was my intention to have left this place to-day or to-morrow for Washington, but Mrs. B. is neither well enough to go with me, nor to be left behind. I shall therefore remain till next week, when, if she is sufficiently recovered, (as I hope she will be,) Mrs. B. will accompany me. If practicable, I shall endeavor to see you on my way down, and at all events on my return about the 22d of October. The Democracy of your city have taken a course which does them infinite honor, and must secure them success. With kindest regards to Mrs. H., I am, as always,  
Very truly yours, B. F. BUTLER.

*Law—Office—Jackson's escape.*

[No. 65] [To Lorenzo Hoyt, Esq., Counselor at Law, Albany.]

WASHINGTON, February 13, 1835.

My Dear Sir: I ought long since to have acknowledged the receipt of your letters on the Rail Road case, &c. Till the 10th or 15th of March, I shall be incessantly occupied—and even if I had Mr. Van Vechten's opening, could not prepare the answering brief. But if you will get and send me the points and authorities on the other side, which we are entitled to, as they demand, I will prepare the argument on our part, as soon as I get out of the Supreme Court. I presume I shall be able to attend the Albany Circuit, as it is altered to April.

Our friend Chadden is rather hard on me. I told him expressly that Mr. Witbeck would expect to be re-appointed; and, if not, that it would belong to Columbia county, as the other one has always been given to Greene county. I have also received a letter from him; and, as soon as I can get time, will write him.

You may well say that the President's escape was *providential*. I was walking with Major Donnellson, and just behind Governor Dickenson and Major Ravy,\* who were next to the President and Mr. Woodbury—Forsyth and Cass being both absent—and though I heard both explosions, did not see the poor wretch till he was seized. My own impression, at the moment, was, that the pistols had been discharged—the reports being quite loud—and for an instant, I feared the President had been wounded, but soon discovered that to be a mistake. It was, as you may well conceive, a moment of great excitement. We are all well!

Very truly, yours, B. F. BUTLER.

[No. 66.] To J. Hoyt, on Jackson's Caution and Forbearance. WASHINGTON, Nov. 26, 1836

My Dear Sir: The President continues to improve, and by Monday next, I trust, will be able to resume the transaction of business, though it must be with *great caution and forbearance—qualities for which he is not remarkable*—and hence the real danger of his condition.

Though we have not the precise returns of any one of the missing States—yet there is no reason to doubt the election of Mr. Van Buren. Have not Virginia and North Carolina done nobly?

Truly yours, B. F. BUTLER.

*To J. Hoyt, on Banking and Barker—Opinions change.*

[No. 67.]

WASHINGTON, January 25, 1837.

My Dear Sir: I thank you for the loan of your pamphlets, and still more for *not* exposing me to the public. The performance, according to my recollection of it—for I have not yet looked through it—was a very *jeune* one; and besides, was so much mixed up with Mr. Barker's affairs, as to prevent it from being regarded in any other light than as a plea for *them*; and as *they* went by the board, the public will be apt to conclude that the doctrine of the writer must have been bad. In some respects, also, I should no doubt find it necessary to modify, and in others, perhaps, to change altogether, the sentiments expressed. Sir, who is there that, on subjects of this sort, [Washington and Warren, Barker's Exchange, and similar Banks, it is presumed,] does not change his mind more or less in the course of nineteen years—especially if they come between twenty-two and forty-one? I mean to examine the thing with some care, and possibly I may be willing that some passages of it should be quoted—but my present impression is, that I had better leave it alone. [The rest of the letter is about Colt's fire-arms.]

Yours, truly, B. F. BUTLER.

\* Or Esley

*Flagg to J. Hoyt, on Speaker Crolius, Gen'l Tallmage, and the Electoral Law.*

[No. 68.]

ALBANY, January 11th, 1824.

DEAR SIR: Your letter was handed to me the morning after the Caucus. I had however, anticipated its contents in the course taken in Caucus. Your seven evil geniiuses fancied they were to take the country democrats by the hand and lead on a fine dance, but we gave them an intimation, that inasmuch as they came from a seaport, they must show a regular clearance from the democrats of that port, or be regarded as political pirates. In the Caucus, Mr Tallmage, assuming the ground of an old democrat, said he could not bear to see his aged, grey-headed friend, (Croly.) turned out. They had walked together in the reform path, &c. I replied, that he spoke feelingly—it was natural that he had a sympathy for his old friend, and should be sensitive on account of his removal, for *they both stood upon this floor upon the same footing.* Mr. Tallmage corrected me as to the fact, and said he did not by any means stand upon the same footing with the gentleman from New York. A pretty compliment to his friends, "thinks I to myself."

SINCE THE PASSAGE OF MY RESOLUTION, THE "PEOPLE" HAVE BEEN AS QUIET AS LAMBS.

Yours, &c.,

A. C. FLAGG.

P. S. Drop us a few *tender lines* now and then.

*Flagg to J. Hoyt, on Young, Butler and the Elections.*

[No. 69.]

ALBANY, 4 o'clock, November 7, 1827.

SIR: The canvass of the 5th ward gives Butler 75 majority, the other two of our Assembly about 70. Warren not less than 80.

A letter from Watervliet yesterday, says 200 votes polled that day, and two to one for our ticket.

A person who left Saratoga Springs yesterday, says it is probable that the Jackson ticket will be elected; Samuel Young opposing the regular nomination, as he understood.

Returns are momentarily expected from the other wards; if received the result will be given in this letter; if not you may rely upon several hundred majority in this city for the Republican ticket. Last year it was several hundred the other way. In the 2d ward Butler has 352. Hamilton 279. Seventy-three majority over Hamilton, and 148 majority over Dorman. Verplank, (Rep) has one majority over Hamilton, and Staats 60 over Dorman.

Butler's majority in the city over 450—Warren's will be 500.

A. C. FLAGG.

*Flagg to Hoyt, on Selden, Van Buren and the Convention.*

[No. 70.]

ALBANY, March 26, 1832.

DEAR SIR: You will have seen the proceedings of the Convention, and will, I doubt not, be gratified with the general results. Bowne had been the prominent man for a State delegate before the N. Y. delegation arrived, and a majority of the delegation agreeing upon him, it settled that matter at once. Your city delegation was kept back until nearly the hour of the meeting of the Convention—and Selden and a few mischievous spirits among your members, of the House, induced your delegation to believe that some contrivances adverse to the city were agreeable to them—and that they would have delegates forced upon them who would not be agreed upon here, and that they would have delegates forced upon them who would not be agreeable to them—and Selden did all in his power to throw the Convention into confusion. He was mistaken in his men, and only made himself appear factious and foolish. \* \* \* \* \* The strong vote of the Convention rebuked the factionists, and all things went off with the most entire unanimity, both in the Committees and the Convention.

The delegates to Baltimore, I have no doubt, form a unit in regard to any measure to promote the interests of Mr. V. B. and the Old Hero.

The political affairs of this State never looked fairer—there is some diversity of opinion as to a candidate for Gov., which will be settled at the Herkimer Convention—and the names of Jackson and Van Buren will get a triumphant vote and bear down all opposition.

Yours truly, A. C. FLAGG.

*Selden considers Calhoun the dupe of somebody behind the curtain—Chancellor McCoun's chances.*

[No. 71.]

Dudley Selden, Esq., to Jesse Hoyt, Esq., N. Y.

MY DEAR HOYT: My friend's letters have not, perhaps, been answered as soon as he thinks they ought, but I have not been able to read them yet, and a man is certainly entitled to be praised for his punctuality who makes his return to a letter as soon as he has perused it.

You need not endorse "confidential" on any of the communications to Livingston or Stilwell; they are both in my room as soon as they break your seals for the purpose of obtaining a full understanding of the contents. They cannot imagine how I can unravel the mysterious marks and signs with such rapidity: the truth is, I do not, but make a letter for you as I go along, of such capacity and merit as would seem suitable to come from a man of your understanding. If

you cannot read this you may do the same thing. My time has been very much occupied in the committee; you shall have a report if you will engage to read it; and let me say to you that it is spoken very well of.

On reading Calhoun's correspondence, I made up my mind very soon that he had been the dupe of some poor devil behind the curtain, and had exhibited most egregious folly in being caught. Your successful competitor for a high place, seems to have been the most conspicuous man in bringing up this by-gone transaction; and I am glad that Mr. Van Buren, like the high-spirited horse, has shaken the dew from his mane and exposed the rogue to be taken. No news here. Your kind efforts in favor of D. D. & H. are duly appreciated. I felt satisfied that in sending me the little pamphlet your whole object was the public good. So is mine, and I will if I can give the rascally speculators upon time a thrust under the short ribs.

Yours, truly DUDLEY SELDEN.

McCoun hangs heavy in the Senate. I know not why. As soon as withdrew (and so I read his letter to the Chancellor) I have aided him all I could.

*Cutting to Hoyt, on Bank measures and the "Lobby Whores."*

[No. 72.]

ALBANY, January 5, 1836.

My Dear Jesse: I send you [an] extract from the Albany Argus. You will perceive that our friend Charles takes the true stand; and, with his invincible popularity, will add strength and currency to Democratic measures, in contradistinction to the federal views of certain leaders at Old Tammany. Get the Post to republish them; and, if you can, let them say a word or two for Charles. I suppose the Times will not republish, but as it is a matter of general interest just now, the Courier might copy it, in order to inform its readers that it is probably a useless expense to keep any LOBBY WHORES this winter. Yours, in haste, F. B. CUTTING.

*Thad. Phelps on Free Banking—Swearing on paper.*

[No. 73.] Mr. Thaddeus Phelps, (of Park Place, New York,) at Albany, to Mr. Jesse Hoyt, at New York, [April 29, 1836.]

"Dear Hoyt: We arrived this morning and have already accomplished wonders. Our influence has already made six Banks in the House, (no fear of the Senate,) and by to-morrow night there is very little doubt we shall have made twenty or thirty more. You fellows who are in favor of the *Repealers*, may all now go to Hell in your own way. Consider your restraining law repealed. Consider me a partner in a Banking Company—I put in 2,000,000—Call on John Ward for the money. No more at present—your loving friend,

THADDEUS PHELPS.

Arrived on Monday morning.

Monroe has sent in his allegiance—and go to the D—l. Boat off.

29 April.  
the Native American party. May  
T. P."

*Flagg on Free Banking, addressed to J. Hoyt.*

[No. 74.]

ALBANY, July 27, 1836.

Dear Sir: I have received your letter of the 15th, and fully appreciate the importance of taking hold of the Restraining Law, as you mention. Your letter came while I was attending a meeting of the Canal Board at Utica, and I have this afternoon returned from a meeting of the Trustees of Union College. I have thus been prevented from answering your letter, or attending to its suggestions. In due time I will have something done. The quarrels about the Banks of last session, will aid in pushing forward this just measure, if taken in proper time. The great mass of the Democratic papers in the state are sound on this point, and will co-operate with zeal and efficiency. With much respect, your obedient servant,

A. C. FLAGG.

*Flagg to J. Hoyt, on Banks, Paper Dollars and Log Rolling.*

[No. 75.]

ALBANY, October 3, 1836.

Dear Sir: The repeal of the restraining law, so far as to allow officers of Discount and Deposit, is universally assented to by town, county, district, and state conventions. To this extent

<sup>1</sup>On reference to the N. Y. Evening Post of Sept. 19, 1836, it will be seen, that a public meeting was held in New York on the 25th of April, four days before the date of Mr. Phelps's note, of which Stephen Allen was the Chairman and Jesse Hoyt the Secretary, and that a Committee was appointed to address the public in favor of repealing part of the restraining law. This committee issued its address on the 12th of September, asking "can there be a more tyrannical exercise of power in any government, than is here manifested in an act emanating from a Republican legislature?" The law, upheld as it had been by the party for many years, was denounced as "a barefaced monopoly," and the address signed by Thaddeus Phelps, D. B. Tallmadge, Saul Allev, W. B. Lawrence, Stephen Allen and Jesse Hoyt, as the Committee. That Hoyt and Allen's object was to try a new scheme to make money out of the public is very evident.

a law can be passed with little opposition. If the issuing of Bills is added, so as to multiply without limit the manufactories of paper money, a new aspect will be given to the whole matter, and those who are opposed to any change may be enabled to keep things as they now are. If we can open the way, and build up a class of Banks which not issue paper, these will co-operate in making the currency more sound than at present; if they have nothing to make by the issue of small bills, they will not be aggrieved by seeing gold and silver take the place of the small bills. After the fetters are knocked off, and the new class of money changers are "in the full tide of successful experiment," such other modifications may be made as experience may recommend, and as "the business wants of the community may require." *Repeal the restraining law, refuse all banks, unless their stock is sold at auction, and those who trade upon legislation, (the hon'ble the lobby) will be blown "sky high:" and the scenes of log rolling and corruption would be replaced by a decent regard to moral and official purity, and a reasonable attention to the public business and the general welfare.* Truly yours, A. C. FLAGG.

*Marcy to Hoyt, on Illumination in Banking.*

[No. 76.] [To Jesse Hoyt, Esq., N. Y.]

ALBANY, 24th November, 1836.

My Dear Sir: You promised me *some illumination* on the subject of the restraining law or rather the repeal of it. I am informed that there is a *probability* that I am elected, and if so, it will be expected that I send to the legislature a message. If you have any publications or other matters too cumbersome for the mail, you can, if you choose, put them in the charge of one of the electors from your city. If you are extravagant in your notions, they will not be adopted—you expect, as a matter of course, they will be modified.\* I will not ask you to get what you write yourself copied, because it is possible that some one may be found in this city or vicinity who will be able to decypher your hand writing.

I am, with great respect, your to be obliged and humble servant, W. L. MARCY.

*Flagg on Free, Private, and Privileged Banks—General Mason and the Restraining Act—Flagg on the Usury Laws.*

[No. 77.]

ALBANY, December 4th, 1836.

To Jesse Hoyt, Esq.—My Dear Sir: I have received your letter of the 2d instant. I have not seen the pamphlet of Mr. Hammond, and therefore cannot speak of its contents. The repeal of that part of the Restraining Law which prohibits offices of discounts and deposits, I wish to see achieved, and I believe to make the object certain, no private Banking System should be connected with this measure.

After this is done, if there is a press for paper manufacturing Banks, then a system of private banking, to issue 50 dollars, and over, may be brought forward and discussed as a substitute for the present mode of dealing out charters.

It has been pretty well settled, that a *MOULD for running bank charters cannot be made constitutionally*: that there must be a distinct vote of the Legislature upon every moneyed Corporation. A general law for establishing a system of private banking, and conferring corporate

\*Governor Marcy had signed very many bank charters, or contracts bestowing special privileges on the share holders of banks, as such—so had Governor Throop. Mr. Van Buren had, in his safety fund message, recommended organized wholesale restraints. Governor Marcy, in his message to the Legislature, Jan. 3, 1837, (whether through Mr. Hoyt's illumination or not, I cannot say,) advises a partial repeal of the privileges of the chartered banks, in the following words:

[From Marcy's Message, Jan. 1837.]—"In every country where banks, with the exclusive privilege of furnishing the circulating medium, are numerous, and particularly where the business of loaning money is embarrassed by restraints imposed on other associations, and on individuals, it is reasonable to expect that pecuniary pressures will be frequent and severe; and if not more frequent, they will probably be more severe, and continue longer than in countries where all sources of relief are left entirely open, and competition is permitted to operate in adjusting the relation of equality between demand and supply. In this respect, the operation of the statute usually called the restraining law, so far at least as it denies to individuals and associations the right of receiving deposits and making discounts, is unquestionably injurious.

It is the essential characteristic of private property, that the owner should not only have the right of exclusive possession, but the liberty of free use, modified only by the equal rights of others to enjoy their own property, and the public right to provide for the general welfare. The reasons, therefore, that should induce the legislature to enact or continue any law circumscribing the rights of individuals in relation to their private property, must arise from a strong and clear necessity of providing for the well-being of society. I have not been able to convince myself that any such consideration can be adduced in support of that part of the restraining law, which interdicts to the community at large the right of receiving deposits and making discounts. If it originated, as is generally believed, in a desire to give this kind of business exclusively to incorporated banks, and subserves no better purpose than to carry out this design, I anticipate a ready disposition on your part to repeal it.

There is nothing, I believe, in the history of the times when this law was first enacted, which is calculated to inspire a high degree of respect for it, or from which sound arguments for its continuance can be fairly deduced.

The restraint in respect to deposits and discounts, being regarded as injurious to the public, and devised as a special favor to the banks, the law that imposes it is not efficiently sustained by the moral sense of the community, and is constantly evaded with impunity. The efficacy of laws depend, in a great degree, upon the concurrence of public opinion in their favor; and when, for the want of this sanction, particular enactments are in a great degree inoperative, they should be repealed, that the evil example of disregarding them may not weaken the force of the salutary sentiment which all should feel—that obedience to laws, without regard to individual opinions as to their expediency, is a high moral duty."

power, is not attainable. If the fetters are knocked off by the repeal of the Restraining Law, private banking associations may be formed, and these may be regulated by law, and this law be general. The general laws for incorporating manufactories and church societies, were passed before the constitution was adopted: these laws were not revised and re-enacted, but inserted in the 31 volume as they stood.

The Senate referred the matter of the Restraining Law to a committee, of which General Maison is Chairman, and Mr. Hunter is one of the members. I suppose General Maison will be prepared with a bill. Mr. Cutting, I presume, will renew his bill in the Assembly; and the provisions of his bill I am in favor of. This bill breaks the chains, except as to issuing bills. To allow all the world to manufacture paper currency might do more evil than good. At all events, before this is done, a well devised system of guards should be matured to protect bill-holders and other creditors. The demolition of the Usury laws, in relation to commercial paper, such as you mention, is probably desirable; and certainly worth an "experiment." But, as you mention, this measure should stand by itself; and in the same way, the system of private banking, if one is presented, may as well be discussed and settled separate from the repeal of the Restraining Law.

I do not think it politic or proper, to make special war upon existing banks, as may be the case with Mr. Hammond. We have taxed the Safety Fund banks three per cent on their capital, for the protection of their creditors, and we hold them to strict regulations, which they sometimes break over: yet give them fair play even though they do not in all cases extend it to the business community. Those who insist upon an unlimited repeal of the Restraining Law, if they accomplish their object, will do enough towards disciplining the banks without bringing any other artillery to bear upon them: Truly yours,

A. C. FLAGG.

*Ex-Speaker Livingston to Jesse Hoyt, on Free Banking—Young, Maison, &c.*

[No. 78.]

ALBANY, Dec. 30th, 1836.

My Dear Sir: I have just received the draft of the law prepared under the directions of your committee, accompanied with your private letter of advice as to the mode of procedure.

The proposed amendments are well enough—but you must not expect that the legislature will adopt them in the hasty manner suggested. In modifying so important a provision in our laws a variety of thoughts will necessarily engage the mind, and no little time will be consumed in discussing them before the Senate can arrive at a final decision. This is unavoidable, however desirable it may be to hasten the accomplishment of your objects. Gen'l Maison, the chairman of the committee which has this matter in charge, has, for the last month, been so constantly occupied in maturing opinions for the Court of Errors, that we have not yet had the opportunity of comparing our views; and it would be indelicate in me, whatever ambition I might feel "to become the father of the measure," to press your bill without his sanction. Be patient and all will go well.

Young, I am informed, intends to urge an unconditional repeal—to permit the issuing of bills if adequate security can be given for their redemption. Such a measure can be sustained upon principle, and I shall not hesitate to give it my support—not, however, if I should think such a course would hazard the main chance.

That part of your bill which contemplates an alteration in the usury laws I propose to erase altogether—not because I am hostile (as at present advised) to the change, but I prefer for many reasons to consider the usury laws a separate question.

So soon as our committee arrive at any definite conclusion I will inform you of it.

Yours truly, CHAS. L. LIVINGSTON.

*Ex-Speaker Livingston on Free Banks—Hunter's scheme to limit capital.*

[No. 79.]

ALBANY, Jan. 3d, 1837.

Dear Hoyt: The anti-restraint committee met this evening and our chairman (Maison) submitted his bill, the main provisions of which are as follows—

"1st. Removes the prohibition against offices of discount and deposit—restrains all associations formed under the law from engaging in the purchase or sale of real estate, or dealing in merchandise, but authorizes them to hold real estate in payment of antecedent debts, and so much as may be necessary for the transaction of their business—prohibits the agents or officers of foreign corporations establishing associations for the purpose of the act within this state—certificates to be filed with county clerks, setting forth the names of the co-partnership and amount of capital employed—prohibits all corporations from entering into the business authorized by the act, except such as are expressly permitted by law."

Hunter will probably offer, when the bill comes before the Senate, his darling amendments, limiting the amount of capital. This I imagine will be offered more for the purpose of displaying his consistency than with the expectation of its being adopted. When the bill shall be printed I will send you a copy, from which you will be able to judge more correctly of its provisions than you can from this sketch of them.

CHAS. L. LIVINGSTON.

*Counsellor Cutting on Banks, Edward Livingston, Ogden, Postmaster Graham, &c.*

[No. 80.]

ALBANY, January 6, 1837.

My Dear Hoyt: Charles Livingston has sent you a copy of the bill to repeal the restraining law, reported by Maison in the Senate. The first section is all that ought to pass, but I suppose that being in the hands of the Philistines we must be thankful for any favors, no matter how small. Edward Livingston, ¶ I am afraid has turned a sharp angle, and will come out Bank. See his vote to-day. To-morrow he will be brought to the bull ring, and stamped as he deserves, if we should go into committee of the whole and he should participate in the debate. We beat them to-day elegantly.

Do you see who compose the committee on the repeal of the restraining law in our House? Ogden, Chairman! the violent opponent of the measure last year! the agent of the Farmers' Trust and Loan Company! the intimate of John L. Graham, Seymour & Co.! the guest of the former last spring in New York, and his lobby friend at the Syracuse Convention! ¶ But we will defeat the gang. The restraining law will be modified—the usury laws partially repealed, and no Banks chartered. F. B. C.

*Ex-Speaker Livingston on 'Chartered Nuisances,' Free Banking, the free use of Capital, and Young's Usury Bill. Cutting's queer postscript.*

[No. 81.]

ALBANY, Jan. 9th, 1837.

Dear Hoyt: The mail of last evening brought me two letters from you. Since I last wrote, nothing new has transpired, except the introduction of Maison's bill, a copy of which I forwarded to you for critical examination. I am sensible that many of its provisions will be regarded as unnecessarily severe—indeed, it has already been characterised as a *restraint upon the restraining law*; but it should be understood as having been offered in its present form, now, for the purpose of affording an opportunity to bring under consideration all the advantages as well as injurious consequences of the proposed restrictions, rather than with any hope of their being adopted. So far as I can discern, the legislature have sound views on the subject; and before long, you will be in the enjoyment of all the benefits which are expected to flow from the *free use* of a natural right to deal in money. But after all, and you may rely upon it, the repeal will be found to be of little importance, so long as persons are restrained from issuing notes to be put in circulation as money.

Bank petitions begin to shew their ugly faces from all quarters; and unless their fate be decided at the threshold of the session, the friends of these chartered nuisances will struggle desperately for another shuffle of the pack. *If they dared, they would put a stop to all DECENT legislation till their monopolizing appetites were gorged with special privileges.* But there are some good fellows in the assembly, with Cutting, King and Clinch to lead them, who will hold on to their grasp without mercy.

Young has introduced his promised bill to repeal the usury law. He goes the whole figure; but I doubt if he can persuade the Legislature to go with him. If we succeed in exempting from its penalties all commercial paper having six months to run, an important point will be gained, and perhaps it is better to stop here for the present. If this experiment works well in practice, the law may then be extended to all contracts. Cutting desires me to leave a space for him in this letter.

Yours,

CHAS. L. LIVINGSTON.

*On the same sheet, as a Postscript.*

*Take care how you write too freely to the Speaker.* Time will show whether he goes with the bank-men or not. As to his disposition to do so, I have a strong belief. The assembly was engaged this morning on the resolution to instruct the bank committee. To-morrow the discussion will be resumed. The final vote will not shew the full anti-bank strength, but I think it will speak strong enough to satisfy the most sceptical, that all expectations for banks this year will be disappointed.

F. B. CUTTING.

*Ex-Speaker Livingston on Maison's Bill, Protection to Safety Fund Banks, Foreign Corporations, Capital, Currency, Free Trade in Money, the United States Bank, Thaddeus Phelps's views, and picking the feathers from our Pilots.*

[No. 82.]

ALBANY, January 12th, 1837.

Dear Hoyt: Your last, received this evening, expresses astonishment that I should have assented to Maison's bill. I have, in a former letter, attempted to explain the reasons for this course. If these reasons are feeble and unsatisfactory, then I must submit to the consequences of my error. I could endure any punishment, no matter how severe, *that the people should choose to inflict upon me*; but I confess it would make my heart bleed to think that I had by any *faux pas* incurred your displeasure. But in truth, my good friend, you seem to entertain groundless fear of the designs of the Legislature. Believe me, there is no serious intention to transfer the government of the State to banks—our sympathies are with the people, and their rights will

\* Edward Livingston of Albany.

be respected. Look at our proceedings for the last ten days—they will satisfy you of the truth of this remark, and they may also indicate the probable result of this whole matter.

I think I sent you a copy of the bill. The first section has been adopted in committee of the whole. The second rejected, and we are now upon the third. This provides that *the bills of the banks of this State only shall be circulated as money by private bankers*. Such a restraint is deemed necessary (and I concur in the opinion) to protect our citizens from an unsound and worthless currency. To this extent, I am prepared to believe you would go in imposing restrictions.

If foreign corporations, of whose condition we know nothing, and over which the Legislature has no control, are not checked in their inconsiderate and dangerous issues of a sickly currency, to be circulated as money through the State, the people would curse their representatives for suffering such an evil to be inflicted upon them. The regulation of the currency has always been admitted to be a subject of legislative control; and there is, as the Governor [Marcy] says in his message, a marked difference between free trade in money and free trade in the fictitious representatives of money.

There is no danger in confining private bankers to the bills of this State; they will always have a supply equal to the wants of the community. The great object to be accomplished is the free use of *capital*. Invite capital, say I, from all quarters; but away with your worthless promises to pay.

So far as Maison's bill interferes with the free influx of capital, just so far I will oppose it; and here let me observe, that I regret to discern a disposition in some of those who were most liberal last winter, to hold up the United States Bank as a bugbear, and seek by appeals to prejudice, to drive away all agencies. There is a section in the bill which, if adopted, would have this effect; but I think I can persuade Maison to abandon it. If he consents, all will go well.

I had written thus far, when I received a letter from our mutual friend, Phelps, on this subject, which contains sound views, and much good advice. I would write to him this evening, if it were not so late—have the goodness to say to him that I will defend his rights against all invasions. He also has the impression that the bill has been dictated by bank officers for the purpose of protecting their institutions in the enjoyment of their exclusive privileges. He ought rather to rejoice at the appearance of the bill, for it not only presents the opportunity fairly of discussing the restraining law in all its bearings; but it also serves to exhibit the odious character of that law more strikingly than could be done in an elaborate essay upon the subject. Present my kind regards to him, and say that I will acknowledge his letter to-morrow.

Very truly, CHAS. L. LIVINGSTON.

By this time you will think me one of your most stupid correspondents. I have just read over what I have written, and almost feel ashamed of my incoherence; but you will pardon this fault in a public man overwhelmed with business. Don't laugh! I forgot to ask you to say to Phelps, that as soon as I receive the necessary papers from New York, I will begin to pick the feathers from our pilots.

*Ex-Speaker Livingston on the Bank Bill—Bank Charters will go, root and branch—the Senate—Move the Press and tell Phelps.*

[No. 83.]

To Jesse Hoyt, N. Y.

ALBANY, Jan. 12, 1837.

My Dear Hoyt: I wrote you a letter last evening just by way of filling up an interval before bed time. The discussion on the restraining law has been continued this morning upon the all engrossing topic. The third section of the bill has been rejected, and an animated debate arose on the fourth. What disposition do you think has been made of it? can you believe that it has been adopted? and yet such is the fact. This intelligence will be received by our citizens with indignation and contempt. It aims a fatal blow at the introduction and use of capital, and may result in the ruin of many of our merchants. What will be the consequence of prohibiting agents of foreign corporations from making loans of their capital? The question is easily answered. *All debtors must forthwith pay up*, and the amount of payments to the Morris Canal and United States Bank Agency, as I am informed, would be about \$12,000,000. Drive away their agents and you would produce a pressure such as has never before been felt. If I mistake not, the proceedings of to-day will *awaken such a spirit among the people as will not be appeased till all bank charters are destroyed root and branch*. THIS WOULD BE CALAMITOUS, but I would more cheerfully endure such a state of things than legislate (as it would seem) for their sole benefit. I made what effort I could command against the section, as did also Young and Tracy. These gentlemen deserve the thanks of our city [New York] for their able and manly support of its interests: see that justice is done to them. *It would be well TO STIR UP OUR PAPERS*. Let them agitate—agitate—agitate—and the country will follow their example. For the present I despair. If an intelligent Senate of this State cannot and will not be made sensible of the advantages of a free trade in capital (come from what quarter it may) why then it is waste of time to maintain so evident a maxim in political economy.



What advances have we made in this science? But my friend, let me conclude with the tender of my congratulations upon the progress of your principles.

You may communicate this scrawl to Phelps.

C. L. LIVINGSTON.

*Comptroller Flagg to Hoyt, on Free Banking—the causes of Hoyt's new born zeal for the repeal of restraints on dealers in Currency.*

[No. 84.]

ALBANY, Jan. 15, 1837.

Dear Sir: I have received your letter in relation to Maison's restraint of the Restraining Law. By this time you will have seen that the Senate have cut the bill all to pieces. If there had been two or three votes more on the free trade side they would have cut out every section but the first, which was a simple repeal of the restraint upon offices of discount and deposit; as it is, they have only retained the 4th, with modifications, and one other. *The bill now, in my opinion, is about right. I think foreign corporations should not be allowed to establish offices here: we have trouble enough with our own monsters, without legalizing a brood from Jersey and Connecticut.* Maison showed me his bill, and I told him the better way was to strike off the fetters upon capital, and allow private Bankers to do every thing which incorporated Banks now do, *\*except to issue bills.* We all told him his machinery would not do; but he had moved the committee as an opponent of the repeal of the measure for relief. Mr. Mack goes the whole hog against Maison's restraints; and so do several others whose support he expected.

Tracy has offered, in communication with the subject, a bill for private banking, allowing bills to be issued of \$50 and upwards. This bill will get only a few votes at this time. There is not a prospect of any Banks this winter, of any kind, to issue paper.

Truly yours,

A. C. FLAGG.

*Senator Livingston on Bank Bills and 'the Devil'. John B. Yates.†*

[No. 85.]

ALBANY, January 16th, 1837.

My Dear Hoyt: The repeal of the much talked of law may be disposed of this morning without any material change of the form in which it stood when I last wrote. The proposition now under discussion contemplates a removal of the restraint upon individual issues; limiting the bills that may be issued, however, to \$50. The proposition has been ably supported by Tracy and Young—and if I mistake not, I said in a former letter that I should support it, but I confess subsequent reflection has shaken my opinion, and I am rather inclined to go against it. Such a privilege might be extensively abused, and in voting against it I may possibly be influenced rather by fears than realities—but my object in writing is to explain what may seem to you to be an inconsistency in my vote with a former opinion. In seeking to reform abuses or correcting evils, it is always prudent to commence by gradual steps. Defeat generally attends a reformer if he aims at too much in the onset. The issuing of bills to circulate as money is properly a matter for legislative control—and if we can preserve the currency from variableness or injurious deprecia-

\*Mr Hoyt's anxiety for free banking appears to have arisen in a great measure from his anticipations of enormous gains to be made out of such villainous concerns as Beers's Trust Co. William G. Bucknor, one of Hoyt's Wall street acquaintances, on being interrogated by the United States Commissioners, in 1841, whether it was he, at the brokers' board, that Mr. Hoyt was largely interested in purchasing the stock of the North American Trust and Banking Company, answered that "it was the general impression among the brokers that Mr. Hoyt was largely interested in operating in the stock of that institution. This impression probably arose from the knowledge that he was strongly addicted to stock speculations, and from the fact that certain persons dealt largely in that stock, to be operating for him, or that he was interested in their operations." And, further, that he "believes these operations were extremely unprofitable." Mr. Barr, another Wall street broker, remarked, that "certificates of deposit creasing until certificates on time were sold in some instances at the rate of 5 per cent. per month discount. I that McJinsey, Hoyt's brother-in-law, (also a Wall street broker,) was a large operator in the stock of that bank, and that it was believed that Hoyt was interested with him. At times when the Treasury of the Union was borrowing at high rates of interest, Hoyt was depositing hundreds of thousands of dollars of the public funds with the Sub Treasury is to be revived, so as to enable future Hoyts to play over again the game of this minion of Van Buren, throughout the Union—and what is there to prevent it?—I, for one, would doubt its efficiency. Hoyt lent deposits affected the value of the stock, which fluctuated from \$95 till it got down to \$3.

†In 1835, John B. Yates introduced into the Assembly of N. Y. a bill to repeal the restrictions on banking, under which for many years, certain branches of business had been confined to chartered companies, privileged by law, and the privileges sold by the legislators and executive officers. (Of course, Van Buren and his friends were on the other side till after his election as President next year, when a new game was to be played.) Mr. Preston King, who ably aided the friends of education by his unwearied efforts in Congress to get cheap postage established, took the same course, as did Colonel Young. Mr. Yates was rich, anxious to educate the people, and fond of internal improvements. I was a director for the colony in the Welland Canal Company, in which he, his brother Governor Yates, and others of his family, had embarked \$50,000, and had much conversation with him. If Governor Yates was as sincere a friend of his country as John B. he was not very well treated by his Van Buren friends.

tion it is our duty to do so. I hope you will find no fault with me in changing in so short a period my opinion on an important subject. If you do find fault, then **GO TO THE DEVIL**.  
Yours, &c. C. L. LIVINGSTON.

*F. B. Cutting, Member of Assembly, to Jesse Hoyt, N. Y., on Banks.*

ALBANY, January 16, 1837.

[No. 86.]

My dear Hoyt: The vote on the resolution instructing the Bank Committee to report against all Bank petitions was taken to-day, seventy against, and fifty in favor. Thus decides the fate of all these applications this year. The latter are good men and true, and will be consistent under all and every contingency. The seventy embrace twenty-nine whigs, and one of our men who voted with them by mistake. Our fifty includes only one whig, C. Rogers of Washington County, and two loco-focos—Andrew, Franklin, Labagh, Willes and Zabriskie, in favor of Banks. All our purposes are accomplished. We have succeeded in committing more than enough to render all hope on the part of the Lobby perfectly desperate. Having demonstrated to those who were charged with petitions that success is out of the question, I presume that all will unite in favor of the repeal of the Restraining Law, AND OTHER IMPORTANT MATTERS. \* The mail is just closing. It is admitted that we have gained a triumph.

Yours, F. B. C.

*Cursing on Paper, like John Van Buren—Let Blood follow the Knife—Miseries of Legislation.*

ALBANY, January 20, 1837.

[No. 87.] To Jesse Hoyt, (private.)

My Dear Hoyt: I am so damnable pressed for time that I can scarcely send you a line. Judiciary Committee; references daily; reports; drawing Bills; active debates in the House; Bank investigations; consultations, &c., and infernal letters from New York, from applicants for office, all requesting answers of some kind.

Look at my resolutions of to-day. Do they cover ground enough? The Speaker wanted to put Ogden on the select committee—I threatened to resign as chairman and state my reasons before the House and the State—he yielded. I have had serious work with him as to who shall be associated with me upon the committee to be appointed to investigate the Banks—have had three interviews—warm ones too; but he will not give me the names of those he intends to appoint. I have urg'd, that if I am to be Chairman I have a right to the best talent of the House to assist me. No bank directors, stockholders, or participants in the stock of last year, [1836,] but all will not prevail upon him. So, to-morrow, I shall move to refer my resolution to the select committee of investigation of which King is chairman. If defeated in this, we will make an open war, and I shall resign as chairman, if appointed, stating my reasons. This is a most unpleasant duty, as it will necessarily wound the feelings of many gentlemen; but the occasion requires frankness, and if necessary I will not shrink from what I believe to be called for.

DON'T BE SO DAMNED HOT in your way of writing and talking. Fight coolly, desperately, nay savagely if any end is to be gained: ride booted and spurred, as I have to do in the House sometimes, to make milder spirits quail; but make no threats—net, and let blood follow the knife, if surgery is required; but let the blow be felt before you give notice of your intention. "Charlie shall have his own again" in spite of sundry political brokers and shavers that we vot of. I know of no way to success, but by bold, straightforward, manly, uncompromising opposition; and to unfold to our own true and sound Democracy the shuffling and trickery of the knaves who filch them.

In haste yours.

Did you see how the Whigs and Bank Men joined Kimmy upon the resolution instructing the Bank Committee? Let the votes be made public—undecieve the people! If you would pay half as much attention to dissect our votes, and put the Whigs in their true position, hand in hand with the Banks and their adherents, as you do to some other things, such as writing congratulatory epistles to Ned Livingston, &c., and advising with him [the Speaker] as to committees, &c., you would, according to my notions, be doing more service. Do you take?

Truly yours, F. B. CUTTING.

*Senator Livingston doubts New York wisdom, and with reason.*

(To Jesse Hoyt.)

[No. 88.]

ALBANY, Jan. 21, 1837.—I am inclined to think, my good fellow, that you are more than half right in the opinion expressed in your last letter—I have given the subject of private issues much anxious thought, and I confess new light begins to dawn upon my darkened intellect—the clouds are fast breaking away and I should not be surprised if I finally determined to maintain even to obstinacy that a note of an incorporated bank was no better than the bill issued by a private solvent individual—I may have been deluded by the charm which too commonly attaches to a cor-

\* The bill enabling speculators in general to associate as bankers in buying stocks, puffing, selling bonds, &c., enabled the Democratic Review of May, 1839, to talk about "some of the most sound associations of the city [of N. Y.,] like the North America Trust and Banking Co." R. M'Jinsey, Jesse Hoyt, J. D. Beers, or either of them, may have dictated the patriotic article.

poration, but the spell is nearly broken, and another night's reflection may metamorphose me into an inflexible advocate of shin-plasters. Some limitations and securities are indispensable to guard against abuses, for I cannot admit your theory to its full extent, that the people are under all circumstances capable of managing their own affairs. In some cases they must be protected against themselves. My distrust of their intelligence commenced when they elected such a poor devil as myself, and until they choose agents who will respect their feelings and their interests, I will dispute their capacity to govern themselves. Don't disclose this heresy, and above all don't let me see it in the Evening Post in the form of "an extract from a letter from Albany." Do you understand? In a few days we shall have under consideration a general plan for private banking, provided there is sense enough in Albany to mature one. It is designed to keep this subject distinct from the restraining law. Cutting has just called in to say that he has received some letters from you, and desires me to say that you must work harder and talk less. What impertinent language for a servant of the People to hold to one of his masters!

Yours, &c., CHAS. L. LIVINGSTON.

*All the World may become Stock-jobbers—even Beers's Trust Co.*

[No. 89.]

The same to the same.

ALBANY, January 25, 1837.

My Dear Hoyt: After a well contested fight we succeeded this morning in rejecting the 4th section, 13 to 12—a substitute was afterwards offered and adopted, to which there can be no very serious objection. It simply re-enacts the existing Law as it is found in page 712, sec. 6, Vol. 1, R. S. which restrains incorporation *in their corporate capacity* from establishing themselves in our State, and circulating bills, &c., but agencies may be established to loan funds. Morris Robinson, Louis McLane, *et id omne genus*, may now pursue their lawful business without subjecting themselves to a fine of \$1000, or the fear of going to the State Prison. I have only time to congratulate you on this happy result. PUELFs will participate with you in the gratification you experience in witnessing the progress of reason and common sense in our Senate.\*

All yet seems well: and if it end so meet,  
The bitter past, more welcome is the sweet.

My room is full of *loafers* tormenting me to death about a sixpenny Canal claim, and compel me to close this so abruptly. Cutting is in New York; he will give you some interesting news from this place.

Yours, C. L. LIVINGSTON.

*Freedom to Banking—Arkansas, Michigan, India, and Illinois Stocks, our next Sureties!*

[No. 90.]

[To Jesse Hoyt.]

ALBANY, January 27th, 1837.

Dear Hoyt: Restraints are removed—the people may walk abroad, disembarassed of the chains they once hobbled with. The bill passed this morning with a unanimous vote, after having altered the character of the 4th section, as I pointed out in my last. If you want to snap any other bolts, you had better indicate your wishes while we are in the humor. The bill will doubtless pass the Assembly; and, if with any alteration, I trust it may be, if possible, for the better.

Yours, C. L. LIVINGSTON.

*Comptroller Flagg to J. Hoyt, on the Multiplication of Paper Credits.*

[No. 90a.]

ALBANY, January 29th, 1837.

Dear Sir: The repeal of the Restraining Law, after substantially striking out the 4th section, has received a unanimous vote of the Senate. The prohibition against non resident monopolies remains as in the Revised Statutes. The prospect is, that the vote will be equally unanimous in the House. Maisson's bill, therefore, has been entirely demolished, except the first section. Offices of discount and deposit can do every thing which Banks now do, except to issue bills. There were some phrases in Maisson's 4th section, which I had not particularly noticed when I wrote you, and which caused its rejection. Maisson's original bill was such a bill as the Banks would desire to have passed; it tied up the free use of money with numerous cords which were not used in the old Restraining Law. But the good sense of the Senate has set the matter right.

There is considerable discussion going on in various sections of the State, in relation to a general Banking Law. Onondaga has taken the field on this side. After the passage of the Restraining Law repeal, there will be a fair field between the safety fund incorporations, and a law applying the Safety Fund restraints to simple banking associations. The multiplication of paper credits in either mode, I apprehend, will produce more evil than good. But there must be

\*The following is a draft of a resolution drawn up by Jesse Hoyt at New York, and sent to Colonel Young and F. B. Cutting at Albany, to be proposed to the Legislature.—"Resolved, that the Banks in the city of New York which do business under the Safety Fund act, do report without delay the amount of money they respectively have had on deposit from corporations out of this State on the 1st day of every month, viz: from the 1st of Dec. 1835 to 1st of January, 1837, upon which deposits interest has been paid or agreed to be paid."

a change as to the mode of dispensing stock, and perhaps a general law would do this in the most acceptable manner, and secure the location of Banks where there was business to support them.

Truly yours,

A. C. FLAGG

*Let us have no Quarrelling about Free Banks, till after Wright's Election.*

[No. 91.]

[To Jesse Hoyt.]

ALBANY, Sunday Evening, Feb. 21, 1837.

My Dear Hoyt: I arrived this evening, and have seen certain publications in the Albany Argus, relating to myself and my course in regard to the Committee of Investigation. I am too much fatigued to prepare an answer this evening; but in the course of to-morrow, will place the subject in its correct light, and will endeavor to have it published on Tuesday, *unless it is deemed advisable to avoid all collisions UNTIL AFTER THE ELECTION OF SILAS WRIGHT*, as to whom there has been a strong opposition—indeed it is said, that on Friday last, there was a majority of the Legislature against him. If, therefore, my observations do not appear on Tuesday, they will be inserted on Wednesday. Request Mr. Bryant to copy them, in case he has inserted the articles from the Argus, and see that *the Times* does me the same justice.

Yours, F. B. CUTTING.

[No. 92.]

[Favored by Capt. Stoddard.—Sunday.]

My Dear Hoyt: I sent you yesterday, a Bank Commissioners' Report. How is money and real estate? Could a sale at public auction be effected at fair prices, of good property to the amount of \$100,000, on accommodating terms? Without mentioning my name, call upon Bleeker, and Jenkins, and make the necessary inquiries, and write me. I send you a little public opinion.\* The stage is starting.

Yours,

F. B. CUTTING.

*The true Van Buren School—have principle in proportion to your interest—be all for self*

[No. 93.]

Dr. Joel B. Sutherland, to Joseph McCoy, New Market, Philadelphia.

LAZARETTO, June 27, 1816.—Dear M——: When I received your letter last night, I immediately took a chair to my front door, and commenced reading it—I was much pleased with your notions of buying out Peacock, but the difficulty that will have to be encountered, will not, I think, be of a trivial nature: I may perhaps make the arrangement with Boileau, in relation to the adjutant-generalship, but whether he would be willing to endorse a note to raise the wind is another question. I am told he is avaricious. However, on this point I would

\*From the Onondaga Chief, a Van Buren Paper.—We are glad to see so many sound democratic journals in different parts of the State, speaking in terms of decided reprobation of the conduct of Speaker [Edward] Livingston, in regard to the formation of the committee of bank investigation. Wherever the judgment of men is not paralyzed by bank influence, or its expression restrained by motives of interest, there is but one sentiment of indignation in the mouths of the people. Even the Speaker himself has bowed before the omnipotence of public opinion, and has felt himself compelled to attempt a vindication of his conduct, over his own signature, in the columns of the Argus, but in our humble opinion, he has succeeded miserably.

Judge Sutherland is an old and a shrewd, cunning, good natured politician, of Scotch parentage, and Van Buren principle. He is a regular Democrat; was health officer at Philadelphia when he wrote the above letter; went for Jackson and the pet bank scheme; ran for Speaker in Congress, in opposition to Andrew Stevenson, who had the Van Buren presses to aid him; went into Congress in 1838, for the 1st district of Pa., as a conservative, or unchanged democrat; supported Harrison in 1840; and in 1841 was appointed Naval-Officer at the port of Philadelphia, by Tyler, from which post he has since been removed by Polk. He avows, in the above letter, the system on which Van Buren and the regency worked the old council of appointment, the press, patronage, and the safety fund banks—namely: to hood, deceive, and plunder the millions, under any cloak, and by adopting whatever was uppermost in men's minds, that could be turned to party account. The sub-treasury, as Jesse Hoyt, Stephen Allen, Joseph D. Boers, Cornelius W. Lawrence, and their banks, carried it out, would be a new means of cementing a powerful band of evading politicians, by giving them the specks to speculate on. Joel opposed that. Steve Allen kept carefully all the cash Jesse gave him; but Jesse allowed no more to pass into Steve's sub-treasury than the surplus beyond his own wants for speculation; and as the Van Buren family went shares, Secretary Woodbury allowed him his own way. When the day of reckoning came, Jesse Hoyt was \$220,000 short, and the judges found that the pains and penalties of the law of 1840, did not apply to the case of Jesse Hoyt! I copy Dr. S's letter from Mr. Duane's Aurora. "The Doctor, it appears, expected to be appointed adjutant-general of Pa., for the purpose of becoming recruiting sergeant to the party leader most likely to succeed to power.

"Very soon after Mr. Snyder came into the chair of the executive of this state, (continues Duane,) it was discovered that his elevation had been procured by a concealed combination of persons in the legislature, who compromised the affairs of the people, in a division of the offices, power, and patronage of office among the conspirators. As part of the compact, the press was to be placed under the control of this secret combination; every free press was to be proscribed, and prostituted presses established, or purchased, in every part of the state, so that this combination should not only direct public opinion, but exclude from the eyes of the people the knowledge of truth, or the announcements that are usual in a state of freedom on public measures. Those who considered the press as free and vigilant, did not perceive that it might be placed in corrupt hands, or in the hands of ignorance; and that freedom might be exercised as simply in the cause of villainy and fraud, as in the cause of virtue and justice; that the activity and vigilance of iniquity might employ it, with as much zeal and labor, as the friends of freedom, of social happiness."

Who will wonder that Colonel Duane died poor, or that his son was unfit to be a member of a cabinet which Van Buren secretly conducted on the Sutherland principle? How can the press guard the American people against the dangers arising from the substitution of secret corruption for the principles of free election? the guins of a rapacious band of midnight conspirators for public office, and the control of the state, for the welfare of the whole society?

just say, that for the present, nothing can be effected in relation to our scheme till Mr. Boileau returns from the state of New York, which will be in about 4 or 5 weeks. The truth is, M'Coy, Boileau is but a child in politics, he is not half enough acquainted with the underhand work that marks the bold and discerning politician. I will tell you who I think will embrace this scheme much sooner than Boileau. I mean Wm. Findlay. He is so full of schemes and notions, that he is literally running over with them. But there we cannot well go—we have unfurled the flag of discontent, and it would look cowardly to furl it up again, unless it should be thought better to surrender at discretion.

While I write this about Findlay, do not suppose that I doubt Boileau. No, I am far from doubting this man's honesty, but, I frankly confess, I doubt his policy. When I see him I will read his heart. Findlay at this time stands the best chance of any man I know, if a few of us would become recruiting sergeants in his cause. Moreover, he will be hostile to Binns, who is going down fast. You may think me a damned strange creature to be vacillating between Boileau and Findlay—BUT AS YOU AND I, AND ALL POLITICIANS, ARE MEN OF PRINCIPLE IN PROPORTION TO OUR INTEREST, I have written to you undisguisedly upon this matter. If you have time to come down with Hart in the stage some afternoon, and have a long talk with me, you and I will understand each other more fully. I want to talk with you about our joining with Leib. I wish to know whether the democrats might not come in this way in the city, I know they would—I wish you to go on the ticket, at your leisure you could then make arrangements with Peacock, we would then be on the spot to join the man most likely to succeed.

I would like to see you before I see Dr. Leib. I know I shall see him before the election—I see there is no chance for my success in the N. Liberties, except it be through the assistance of old schoolism—Bussier, if he is rejected, will quit the party; but by that time the opposition will have their candidate. We ought to watch them well now, and be prepared for the worst. Remember me to all our family—tell my dear parents that we are all well.

Your friend, J. B. SUTHERLAND.

*A Secret Chapter in New Jersey Special Legislation.*

[No. 94.] Dear Sir: I was too late to-day in my application to Council. They met, and immediately adjourned without doing any business, so as to get off in a coach that was waiting for them. But you need not despair. I have seen Halsted the member from Essex—he would have offered the resolution if an opportunity had occurred. He is opposed to the Morris Canal and Banking Co., upon principle, and would have *opposed their bill*, if he had been in his seat; but knowing his sentiments, they watched the opportunity, and passed it in his absence. James L. Green says he thinks they have done wrong in letting that bill pass, and he would avail himself, I think, of any chance of crippling them.

Halsted will offer *the whole resolution* and support it, whether the return is filed or not by Tuesday next, and I think I can induce Green to assist as a member of the committee.

It requires some little management and trouble; but Wm. Halsted and myself will engage to get it introduced *notwithstanding any return they may make*. The forfeiture of their banking privileges has accrued, and the return cannot restore it.

We therefore will introduce it; have it referred to Halsted as chairman of committee, with some other member (Green if we can get him appointed,) and *will get a report of an unfavorable character*; how far it will go we cannot tell—that depends upon the investigation and disclosures made.

We can *raise such a dust about it* as will bring the President back to defend himself. We propose to ask the committee to give us a fair hearing, which the chairman will readily grant.

*As there are now two of us engaged, and this is the last plank upon which we can make a stand*, you must tell your friends THEY MUST PROVIDE ACCORDINGLY in case we succeed in our operation.

I forgot to tell you to have the *Evening Post* sent to me as *Editor*, immediately, and if you think it necessary the *Times*.

Yours, &c.

["What affair is this? Who besides Hoyt can explain it?"—W. L. M.]

*Send my clothes to my Washerwoman, hire my lodgings, and get Duer to choose my Wines—Ought such services to have been paid with \$50,000 a year, and a douceur of \$220,000 at parting? Wherein does the favoritism of Louis XIV. and of Martin I. differ?*

[No. 95.]

Martin Van Buren to Jesse Hoyt, Albany.

C. skill, June 25. 1819.—Dear Sir: I arrived here last night from New York, and go to-day with General Root in his chaise [or chair] to Delhi. I hope to be in Albany on Friday next. I send by the boat my valise, *containing some clothes which I wish you would send to my washerwoman*. She is the same who washes for Mr. Bleeker. Yours in haste, M. V. BUREN.

[No. 96.] Same to same. Nov. 17, 1819.—Dear Sir: I want about fifteen or twenty gallons of table wine—say prime Sicily, Madeira, or some other pleasant, but light and low wine

to drink with dinner. I wish you would get Mr. DUER, who takes this, to select it for me, and buy it and send it up.† Get me also a box of good raisins and a basket of good figs, and send them with the wine. There is yet \$94 (I believe that is the sum) due me from Mr. George Griswold on my fee in the Washington [that seems to be the word] cause, which I wish you would get from him and pay for the above articles out of it, and remit the balance to me by Mr. Duer. If you don't get it, Commodore Wiswall will give you the money, and receive it here again from me. Excuse the trouble I give you. The report you mention of the Comptroller has not reached here.

Your friend, M. V. BUREN.

[No. 97.] [Martin Van Buren to 'Jesse Haight, Esq., Wall St. N. Y.']

April 29, [1820.] Dear Sir: I shall leave here with Tuesday's boat, and will stay in N. York some time. I wish you would get for me, from Mrs. Henderson, the use of her little parlor and a bed-room—and if she cannot accommodate me, get it elsewhere. I would, however, prefer altogether to stay with her, but can't do without a room other than a bed room.

*I think the election is safe.*

Yours in haste, M. V. BUREN.

[No. 98.] *Martin Van Buren lends his Money by the \$5 to the Poor, and buys Wine by the Pipe for the Rich.*

Attorney General Van Buren to Mr. Jesse Hoyt, N. York.

June 21, 1820.—Dear Sir: Just as I was going from New York, Abraham P. Van S— who is a clerk in Jacob I. Barker's store, 456 Pearl Street, a nephew of John C. H—, Esq., borrowed \$10 of me, under a promise to send it up, which he has not done; and, from what Mr. Hogeboom tells me, I apprehend he did not intend to do it. I wish you would see him and make him pay it to you. Ask the Secretary about the enclosed. I have never heard any thing about it since I paid my \$10.

Your friend, M. VAN BUREN.

[No. 99.]

The same to the same.

Date and place torn off.

"I am afraid you will begin to think me a very troublesome friend—but I AM CONSTANTLY THE VICTIM OF IMPOSITION—that man Plimpton who owns the *Abolition*, BORROWED FIVE DOLLARS† of me, when he went off, under a promise to send it up. If you happen to fall in with him I wish you would him—he is a graceless dog. It would incommode me very much if I should not have my carriage next week. The Governor is to be qualified to day, but Albany is as quiet as a church. It is said that efforts have been made to raise the wind, but in vain. Mr. Clinton is universally considered here as politically defunct. I will believe that there is nothing in the story I heard in Philadelphia [a part is torn off] out of courtesy, and will want them. I go from hence in a few days.

M. V. BUREN.

P. S. Mr. Hoyt will oblige me by presenting the above to Mr. Beekman, and transmitting me the money."

[No. 100.]

Martin Van Buren to Jesse Hoyt, 40 Wall Street, N. Y.

August 20, 1820.—D. Sir: You will oblige me by presenting the above draft to M. Kaufner, and the within check at the City Bank, who will, of course, give you the money for it, which pay to Dominick Lynch, Esq. for a half pipe of Wine I bought of him sometime since. I have mislaid the bill, but I believe this is about the amount. If there is a difference, pay it, and let me know what it is.

M. V. BUREN.

[No. 101.] August 23d.—D. Sir: I enclose you a draft this moment received from Mr. Kaufner [or Kaufman]—be so good as to use it as before directed, and to call on Mr. Kaufman, and say to him that I have received the \$150—that his cause has not been reached on the Calendar—and of course goes off until the next term. *My prospects of success are good.* Give Mr. K. the receipt on the other side.

Your friend, M. V. BUREN.

[No. 102.] *§ E. Livingston to J. Hoyt, on Butler's influence, Van Buren's young tribe, and New Leaders—Jesse's Stock.*

ALBANY, Feb. 24, 1821.—Dear Hoyt: The Notary bill will not pass, nor will any regulation be made concerning Commissioners or Masters in Chancery. *Do you wish Ward appointed a*

† Mr. Hoyt was at the Franklin House, New York.

† Bennett declares in his Herald (Oct. 3, 1815), that had he known that \$5 or \$10 were of so much importance to Mr. V. B., and that Mr. V. B. required the endorsement of C. C. Cambreleng to enable him to borrow \$4000 when he went to Washington as Jackson's secretary of state, he would never have attempted to borrow \$2500 thro' his influence.

§ Edward Livingston was elected Clerk of Assembly in 1822, and held the office a long time. Having removed from New York to Albany he was elected to the legislature from that county, and succeeded Charles Homobrey as Speaker in 1835, by 50 votes, against 27 for Luther Bradish, who was Speaker in the session of 1838. He was a brother-in-law of Judge Sutherland, and was succeeded as Clerk by Senator Seger, who had been his deputy. The Albany Evening Express said to have been dear us to elect Mr. L. Clerk H. of R. in Congress, Dec'r 1838. "The head quarters of the monopolizing democrats (said L. again) is in the city of Albany—and Edward Livingston, whose perfidious and tergiversing conduct, as Speaker of the Assembly, earned for him the scorn of every true democrat, is one of their mouth pieces."

*Master?* If you do, a line to Butler would fix it. There appears to be some discontent in the Camp—some say that we must have new leaders, but I believe all is safe, and that *the power of the party will be permanent if ordinary discretion is used.* † Peter R. told me that if he collisions which have taken place since had happened before the New York appointments, that he would be d—d if I should not have had my appointment. Sutherland did not want any thing for himself, but went away quite in a hurry. Van Buren's young tribe, that he has been training for the last 18 months, thought they could rule the State, but he is too cunning for them. The party is in an unsettled state; we want a firm leader. We must puff up some of our clan into a great man. Bowne is pressing the bill to divide the mayoralty as fast as possible, to enable him to give us a mayor, &c. But who they will be he keeps to himself. Hatch writes me that he was much surprised at my sudden departure. I should like to know whether Noah has appointed his Att'y. I do not think he will give it to us. I should be very glad to be in New York, for I am tired of Albany; \* \* \* \* Believe me, dear friend,

Yours most sincerely, EDWARD LIVINGSTON.

[No. 103.] Same to the same—Nov. 22, 1821.—Dear Hoyt: I suppose you will learn from Mr. Van Buren and other friends every thing new and interesting \* \* \* \* Owing to the rise of wheat I am fearful that United States Stock is lower, but God grant you a safe deliverance. \* \* \* \* I think you had better try your hand at matrimony.

*On Marriage—advice to Hoyt—Albany very dull.*

[No. 104.] Edward Livingston to Jesse Hoyt, at New York.

Albany, December 3, 1821. My Dear Jesse: I presume that you have by this time returned from Rhode Island. Your visit to Hartford was, I guess, about a certain libel suit, which business may possibly cost you some money. You are beggarly poor; granted; pretty sentimental, &c. Now, in my opinion, if you get married on the spur of the occasion, you stand a *small chance* of being taken in—as you are as apt as other folks to be deceived by first impressions. You are generous, and therefore the more danger. Your standing in society is very good, be careful or else you may be worse off. As Noah says, Prithee good Mr. Aotheany give me an ounce, not of civet, but of common prudence: But you will ask ‘how the devil shall I take it?’ Taht is more than I know, I do a-sure you. It is a pity that there is no shop where such commodities can be bought, for I should like to take a pretty powerful dose, and would prescribe the same to my friend Hoyt. \* \* \* \* \*

as you dont appear to care what you take by frequenting No. 55, &c. If a woman that you should esteem should have too much money, get me to draw up the marriage articles, and I will rid you of all difficulty upon the subject. You ask me to dispel the difficulties stated in your letter, but in the first branch of your argument you explicitly admit that they are all of a visionary character and complexion. My advice is, *not to think of getting married*; it appears like doing the business by the job. JUST KEEP QUIET and you WILL BE MARRIED SOON ENOUGH.

Your poetry I have no doubt was very fine, but I did not exactly, as Lord Byron says, comprehend it. The why, &c. You need not apologize for your letters, for they are always received with a cordial welcome. Sheriff Gansevoort is going to make a *dye* of it they say. There are no persons here with whom I associate but Denniston and King, and Henry Davis, consequently the town must be very dull to me. I think by present appearances that you will make money by your stock contract if you hold on. \* \* \* \*

Yours most sincerely, E. LIVINGSTON.

*Speaker Livingston canvassing for the Clerkship of the Assembly.*

[No. 105.] Edward Livingston to Jesse Hoyt, New York.

ALBANY, Dec. 21, 1821.—Dear Hoyt: I am fearful that Hatch is a snake in the grass, so be cautious. I have understood that Mat Davis is coming up to Albany with the members. I want to have him engaged in my favor. Judge [W. P.] Van Ness will do it for me, if you will mention it to him. \* \* \* Benjamin Knower says he will not interest himself about the clerkship, but is committed to support Esleeck if he does any thing. Butler and Knower are Es'eeck's only friends, and [Judge] Skinner is alone in backing [Ephraim] Storr. \* \* \* John Cramer has been very active in my behalf. \* \* \* James Burt, and every other man who respects himself, will not vote for Vonderheyden. \* \* \* I wish that Gardiner would speak to Romaine for me, and explain how things stand. I hope Hatch has written to Boston and spoken to Munson. I want you to have every member of the N. Y. delegation spoken with once more, and especially Mr. Verplanck, (by you,) who could, and I doubt not, will, do me much good. \* \* \* I wish you would ask Butler, when he thinks that E. has no chance, if he would give me a lift. I was very sorry to learn that Mr. Ulshoeffer was determined to support Vonderheyden. \* \* \*

E. LIVINGSTON.

† Peter R. Livingston of Dutchess Co. was elected Speaker of the Assembly, by 117 out of 123 votes, in Jan. 1823. He was the most ultra of Governor Clinton's opponents. In Jan. 1823, Mr. Livingston was elected President of the Senate of N. Y., and has long been a most decided partisan of Henry Clay for the Presidency. Hammond describes him as “imaginative and eloquent.”

*Noah's malignity—Ulshoeffer's cunning—Tompkins, Yates, Spencer, Crolius, &c.*

[No. 106.] Edward Livingston (Speaker, &c.) to Jesse Hoyt, New York.

ALBANY, Jan. 21, 1822.—Dear Hoyt. \* \* \* Our people all seem disposed to be in good humor with each other, and ridicule Noah's attempt to interest the party in his personal squabbles, and say that he makes an unjustifiable use of his paper to gratify his personal malignity. \* \* \* Ulshoeffer is even more cunning than I supposed him, before the accurate inspection I have given him for the last three weeks. As to President of the U. S. our people don't know what the devil to think. Tompkins drinks too hard—so they say. I wish our people would back the Secretary of the Navy [Smith Thompson], but he appears to have a small body of friends. His conduct about the post office here has done him some service—and Adams's letter, together with his 4th of July oration, is enough to D—n any common man. Governor, I should like to have Yates chosen for it, but they say he will keep Spencer on the bench, which *some people* do not like. \* \* \* I keep my *tounge* as close as possible, and attend to my own business. \* \* \* I will get the *Examiner* birth for Ward if possible—if not, I will get it for you. Tell S. Cambreleng that I am satisfied, and so are the people here, that our members of Congress *were* entrapped into signing for S. Van Rensselaer [to be P. M. at Albany.] Crolius and Hale electioneered for each other. Hale was to make Col. Crolius speaker, and the favor was to be returned. Crolius is a \* \* \* and I hope *you* will find ways and means to keep him at home. Believe me, as ever, your true and sincere friend,

E. LIVINGSTON.

[No. 107.] Senator Van Buren to Jesse Hoyt, Attorney-at-Law, N. Y.

Georgetown, Col'a, Jan. 23, 1822.—Dear Sir: Be so good as to deliver the enclosed. We have nothing new here. The Bankrupt Bill is under discussion in the House—its fate is becoming more doubtful. Please to get and send me the *American* containing the numbers of 'the Federalist of 1789' published last summer. In haste, your friend,

M. V. BUREN.

[No. 108.] Senator Van Buren to Jesse Hoyt.—WASHINGTON, Jan. 25, 1822.—I have this moment received yours, for which I thank you, and beg of you as a favor to write me often on the subject of the interesting concerns that agitate you. For the present, I have only to say that I never heard of the report that Mr. Sanford would not accept one of the vacant missions until the receipt of your letter. Mr. King, however, heard such a suggestion. I am however entirely confident that that report had no influence on the question.

In haste, yours truly,

M. V. BUREN.

*No Backtail no Office—a singular Chancery sale—'Stop my Newspaper.'*

[No. 109.] Speaker Livingston, to Jesse Hoyt, N. York. ALBANY, March 26, [1822.]

Dear Hoyt: I was unable to procure the appointment of Ward as an Examiner in Chancery, *as they thought here that HE HAD NOT BEEN A BUCKTAIL LONG ENOUGH*, and they would not let your merits count in his favor: I therefore changed my ground and had you appointed.† I hope this will be grateful to you and my friend Ward. Let Ward act as your sworn clerk. It is supposed the legislature will adjourn about the 10th of April: the sooner the better. Everything in the political way goes on smoothly. Young looks as if he had been bled; I feel sorry for unsuccessful candidates. I think in this state we ought to have a peculiar prayer for such people, and especially one in the common Prayer Book. I shall soon have the pleasure of seeing you. Write me a long letter. Yours sincerely,

E. LIVINGSTON.

[No. 110.] Same to same. ALBANY post mark, May 14, 182—“I have abandoned all idea of settling at Albany. The chancery has been so much perplexed, harrassed of late that he this day permits his furniture to be sold at sheriff's sale and bought in.‡ This will be my apology to you for this short letter. \* \* \* Seymour, it is supposed, is elected in the Western District. Make me one of the Committee in the first ward [of N. Y.] for nominating. Tell Hatch to attend to it.”

† Hammond tells us, in page 116 of his 2nd volume, that under the law of party, then and now prevailing, the Governor must carry into effect the wishes of his political friends; that is, he is a mere tool of the faction of the hour, and must unite to the Senate as fit candidates for office, whoever a caucus or county majority of politicians may dictate. This is setting republican government at defiance.

‡ It had been the custom to appoint a notary-public for each bank, and as he was a bank agent the Directors named him, without reference to his politics. The amended constitution vacated all offices—Chester Bulkley, teller of the state bank Albany, was recommended by the Directors for re-appointment. He was a moral man of high character, and an elder of B. F. Butler's favorite church, but because he differed a little from Van Buren's party caucus system, the senate rejected Governor Yates's nomination, and refused to let that petty office be filled by any other than one of their creatures! The next move was the Safety Fund, thro' which bank stock, directors, officers, the county presses, and the public credit were converted into state machinery for the elevation of Van Buren and the wholesale plunder of the public.

‡ Can this allude to Chancellor Kent?



[No. 111.] M. V. Buren, to Jesse Hoyt.—ALBANY, June 2d, 1822. Dear Sir: I wish you would pay my *old friend* Mr. Carter,<sup>†</sup> what I owe him, and ask him to *discontinue his paper*. It is UNNECESSARY TO SAY that I am influenced in this solely by a necessity to curtail my expenses of that description which are too heavy. Your friend, M. V. BUREN.

*Ulshoeffer praised—Gibbons the Butcher—Hoyt—Van Buren—Offices—Swearing, &c.—Jacob Barker.*

[No. 112.] Edward Livingston, Albany, to Jesse Hoyt, N. Y. June 3, 1822. Early in the morning and quite warm at Albany, after sundry refreshing showers. My dear Hoyt: \* \* \* \* \* Your friend Don Juan, queer as it may seem, reminds me of Lord Coke, for he says that it is not from many books that a man deriveth knowledge, but from the well understanding of a few. \* \* \* Mr. Van Buren is here, but intends going to Schoharie this week with Judge Sekinner, to see Sutherland. How does Ulshoeffer come on? I sincerely hope they will not be able to break him down, as I think him the flower of the flock, and indeed his frankness and steadiness must always commend him to the *Republican party* as one of its best men. About your being crazy, I do not feel alarmed, for you have already had the strength of your nerves tried, and they have not been found wanting. \* \* \* How would you like Taleoit for chief justice? Gibbons the butcher wants to be mayor of Albany, and Southwick governor. Huzza for universal suffrage; when connected with universal knowledge and honesty, you would perhaps add, to make it a little safe. How does Judge W. W. Van Ness come on, and is Win. P. going to South America? Amen, so be it, says Jesse. \* \* \* \*

Yours sincerely, ED. LIVINGSTON.

[No. 113.] The same to same. ALBANY, July 18, 1822.— \* \* \* \* \* We had a frolic, 4th of July, about 12 miles below the city, Judge Buel, J. Stevenson, Peter Gansevoort, &c. We had a turtle feast at Cruttenden's about eight or ten days since, when I sat between Mawne Bleeker and Mat. Van Buren, and received from the latter sundry protestations, &c. The Fortunes of Nigel I shall commence this evening, and hope they may be better than either yours or mine. \* \* \* You will have warm work this fall in New York. If you can get on the [Assembly] ticket you will (frankly) disappoint me as much as you have your Albany friends. They asked here, 'Who is this Hoyt of New York that was engaged in a cause in Rhode Island, with Webster, &c?' 'The store keeper,' said I. 'The Store keeper!' said they—'well, what's this world a coming to!'

ALBANY, July 24, 1822.—My Dear Jesse, \* \* \* \* \* The people here are such cursed misanthropes, in their dispositions that I feel convinced you gave the city of Albany its true character, while I labored under an error.

[No. 114.] August 13, 1822, ALBANY. (Please *burn* this letter.) Dear Hoyt \* \* \* \* \* since my last letter I have heard your wonderful perseverance and various other estimable qualities extolled by your friend Butler. I would fain tell the rest, but will not make you vain. \* \* \* Beware of a restless desire to know what is said of yourself, for Solomon sayeth, "Take heed to all words that are spoken, lest thou hear thy servant curse thee." \* \* \* Court was very full this morning, Judge Van Ness made some motions—Buel wants to be Senator from this district; so does Dudley—Talcott, Sutherland, and Woodworth are currently spoken of as Judges of the Supreme Court. All in doubt about Chancellor. How would you like Savage for Attorney General and Duer for Comptroller? \* \* \* I have left off Swearing, Chewing, and Smoking, and Drinking. What a *Devil* of a mixture! \* \* \* The old rule was to bring your mind to your situation—the greatest misery in the world is poverty coupled with magnificent notions. Be moderate: begin with cider and get up to wine—not with wine and come down to cider. \* \* \* Who would make the best Chancellor—Harmanus Bleeker, Nathan Sanford, or 'Jacob Barker? They say Barker is the only man who will be able to keep up with in the rapidity and wisdom of his decisions—but they say that neither Van Buren nor Jacob will take it. No telling what would take place if Southwick should succeed! \* \* \* Believe me, as ever,

Your sincere friend, E. LIVINGSTON.

*E. Livingston to Jesse Hoyt—Hoyt's appointment—the Elections.*

[No. 115.]

ALBANY, November 1, 1822.

Dear Hoyt: I have just received your letter stating that my dear friend, Mr. Cooper, had made a vacancy for you to fill up. To thank him becomingly, would be my great joy. Now, in sober truth, what could be better than to have you and Gardiner both here? You have exceeded my expectations, for I did not think that you could get the nomination. Gardiner, I always thought could come when he pleased to make the effort. The ticket is a good one, and one I hope that will be popular. *Alas! poor Junius* has too romantic a name for a legislator. He had better go too New England and get christened afresh. Our people here were all in hopes that you would get the nomination, and I doubt not will be joyful on the occasion. We calcu-

<sup>†</sup> Nathaniel H. Carter was editor of the N. Y. Statesman, and one of the stenographers who had reported Mr. Van Buren's speeches in the state convention at Albany the year before.

late to get in our Senators, and to elect Jesse Buel, who is already spoken of as Speaker. In case he should be elected; but this is *inter nos*. In Ontario, General Swift and his ticket will prevail. Orange county is said to be in trouble—Evans, it is said, will be elected to Congress in his district, by the Clintonians and leaders. In Ontario, Dudley Marvin, a self-nominated gentleman, together with Rose, a regular candidate, it is stated, will be elected to Congress. Sanford is spoken of pretty currently, for Chief Justice, and Sutherland and Woodworth as the side Justices. Do not give me as the author of any political speculations of this kind, or of any other kind. This is intended merely for your own information and amusement. Remember me to Gardiner, Ward, &c., and believe me,  
Yours, sincerely, E. LIVINGSTON.

P. S.—Lorenzo has just been here, and his eyes are as big as a *tea saucer*, and he appears to be rather glad, or so. I saw Bowne at the Reading Room, and he says he is glad you are on the ticket—likes the ticket, &c. He appears to be well pleased to be out of the way, during these troublesome times in New York. I shall be most happy to send you the Rules of the House, as likewise the other Members after you shall have been duly elected. "*The Honorable Mr. Hoyt*"—it looks well, and hope it will sound well. Amen.

*Secretary J. V. N. Yates's Courteous Epistle to a Member elect.*

[No. 116.] John Van Ness Yates, Albany, to Jesse Hoyt, N. Y.

ALBANY, November 8th, 1822.—Dear Sir: Permit me to congratulate you on your election to the Assembly. To find an *Albanian* after so short a residence in the metropolis of our state, rising into notice, and securing the confidence of his republican brethren, is no small proof of merit, and argues that those who *bestow* and he that *receives* can equally penetrate into, and justly appreciate the character of a friend. Republicanism has triumphed in this county. Federalism has died in agonies. Mr. R. Ten Broeck of this city, a good, clever, poor fellow, and a good active republican, wishes to be a door-keeper of the house, &c.

I am, dear sir, sincerely yours,

J. V. N. YATES.

*Van Buren not fond of the third heavens in the M. H.*

[No. 117.] [To J. Hoyt.]—Nov. 14, 1822. Dear Sir—Why did I not see more of you at New York? Judge Skinner, General Marcy and myself will come down with Saturday's boat, and wish you to engage rooms for us at the Mechanics' Hall. If he can give us his little parlor for a sitting room and bed rooms, it will be well; if not any other good rooms will do, so that they be not too high. I would rather stay on board a vessel than go into his third heavens. If you cannot do better you may let General Marcy's room be on high, and he can have the use of my room to do his business in, &c.

In haste, your friend, M. V. BUREN.

*A well known Wall St. Broker's Instructions to a Representative of Tammany Hall, in 1823—No small notes—Don't tax the Banks—Danger from the U. S. B.—folly of Connecticut—the way Bank Capital is created in N. Y.—Our State Securities—those of Pa.—Keep cool.*

R. H. Nevins, Broker, Wall street, N. Y., to Jesse Hoyt, House of Assembly, Albany.

[No. 118.] New York, January 23, 1823. Dear Hoyt: I did not mean to be understood as opposed to the passage of Mr. Rathbone's Bill, only so far as it falls short of what I think it ought to be. I think the circulation of all Bank Notes less than five dollars, should be prohibited. In mentioning the objections to his Bill, it was rather to encourage a more extensive prohibition, than to recommend none at all. Perhaps his view of the matter is more correct than mine—and it might be attempting too much to go further at this time.

As to the alarming project of Taxation, it is one which I hope may be arrested. When I reflect upon the proud pre-eminence of our State; the high character of its public securities; the solidity and respectability of the most of our chartered Institutions; when I see New York stand alone among her sister states, an *Empire, as it were, surrounded by tributary Provinces all looking up to her for examples of sound Wisdom*, of magnanimous policy; confiding in the belief that, as hitherto she has been the great repository of their wealth, so will she continue to be. When I perceive such a fair fabric of political grandeur about to be overthrown, or at least undermined, I cannot forbear repeating the sentiment so often in every man's mouth, "*Whom God will*" &c. &c.

Do the men at Albany consider how far the effects of such a measure may reach? It will not simply touch the pockets of the rich. The inhabitant of the Log House will feel it too. W.

† Mr. Yates was a son of Chief Justice Yates, a distant relation of Joseph C. Yates, a lawyer, had been Recorder of Albany, filled the office of Secretary of State in 1822, and canvassed against Young and for his own namesake, as the bucktail candidate for Governor, who succeeded in Nov. 1822, and had the distribution of the gro offices of state, under the new constitution. In Feb. 1823, the bucktail legislature re-appointed J. V. N. Y. Secretary, and Marcy as Comptroller. Gen. Tallmadge was Marcy's competitor; but Van Buren, though in Washington, did his utmost to oppose Young and Cramer's influence, which they vainly exerted for Tallmadge. Mr. Yates was a friend of Adams, and opposed to the Crawford, Van Buren party—and in Feb. 1826, he was removed by the legislature, 85 votes to 37, and A. C. Flagg, elected Secretary of State; with Marcy again as comptroller, and Talcott attorney general. Yates is described by Hammond as rather lax in his morals, sociable, and of engaging manners—he was much attached to Clinton, not too fond of Tompkins, liked Southwick, and was disliked by Ambrose Spencer for not supporting Madison in the early stages of the war.

is it that a Farmer in the State of New York can borrow on his Land, and thus prevent frequently his own ruin, when in some of our neighboring States, such a thing is too vain ever to be attempted? What but our Laws, together with the great flow of capital that comes here to be invested. When will the Canal Loans be taxed? When the State has no longer occasion to borrow. Will the holders of our Bank and Insurance Stocks have any confidence in the exemption of the Canal Stock from taxation any longer than the State wants to borrow? Will not the argument be among Men of Property, that it is better to place their property in Stock of the United States, or in the United States Bank? Are not the friends of the latter looking on now in high exultation at the prospect of their prediction coming about sooner than their own wishes had expected it? "*The United States Bank will crush all the State Banks.*" This has been for a long time the cry. Will our Legislature do all they can to help on such a result? Will they not rather put a stop at once to the whole project, and by an overwhelming vote quiet apprehensions which never ought to have been raised? Harm enough has been done already. The States of Connecticut and New Jersey have driven away Capital to a large amount by taxing Bank Stock. Real Estate has fallen in various parts of these States to half what it was; and in some instances the depreciation has been two-thirds. What has left them has come to us. The next place it will go to if the tax passes, will be into United States Bank Stock, &c.

I understand it to be a very frequent remark of those in favor of taxing, that the personal property taxed in the city of New York, is very small to what it ought to be; and in proof of it, the amount of Bank Capital, &c., is cited.

Suppose we have a new bank in the Bowery, with a million capital—or let it be five millions if you please. Will any man undertake to say it would increase the amount of personal property in the city? What would be necessary to make up such a bank? Only a few thousand dollars of specie, and bank credits for the balance.

Suppose, for argument sake, a man is worth \$10,000, and it consists of 100 United States Bank shares. He would subscribe to a new Bank—he borrows \$10,000 on his stock—and as likely as not may put down for four times that sum in the new concern, for probably 25 per cent of the money may be all that is called for, and his notes for the balance. Or, if the whole [amount of stock at once] is to be paid in, it is only for him by a little management to borrow of the Bank, or of A. B. and C. by a pledge of his stock. Behold then how our capitals are made up!—\$50,000! where there is only in fact \$10,000. Verily there is more personal property taxed than exists.

Contrast the character of our State securities with any around us, or in any part of the Union. Is there one of the whole number that has the least credit in a foreign country? There is a Canal stock of the State of Pennsylvania, bearing an interest of 6 per cent, the payment of which (interest) is guaranteed for twenty years by the State, and it now sells in Philadelphia at 97 per cent. Our Canal stock having twenty three years to run will bring 110½ per cent: it may be said that the Pennsylvania does not guarantee the ultimate payment of the principal, there is force in the remark; but to make up for that there is every prospect that the Canal itself will be *very productive*. Such a stock in our State I have not a doubt would be worth 107 or 108 per cent.

Write me again and often. I promise you I will not again trouble you with any long letters. Dont get out of patience when you see Men act like fools, remembering always that it is an every day matter, and would keep one always in a ferment. I make this remark because you speak of being *tired of legislation*. Keep cool and try to persuade our country friends of their error

Yours in much friendship, R. H. NEVINS.

*The Sentinel to be the New York Patriot—C. K. Gardner.*

[No. 119.] W. Wiley, New York, to Jesse Hoyt at Albany.

New York, January 26, 1823. Dear Sir: The bearer, Mr. Ketchum, proceeds to Albany to-morrow morning, and I have availed myself of the opportunity of tendering my thanks for your attention to the *SENTINEL*. A prospectus is issued for the establishment of a daily newspaper under the title of the "*New York Patriot*," which we expect to be able to issue within a

\*Mr. Russel H. Nevins was one of the Vice Presidents of the great Anti-Texas-annexation meeting, at which Albert Gallatin presided in the Tabernacle, Broadway, New York.

Col. Charles K. Gardner conducted the *Patriot*, Mr. Henry Wheaton aided in getting it up, and Hammond tells us that Mr. Calhoun very probably exerted himself in starting it. It took a decided stand against Crawford, Van Buren, and his Regency. Gardner had been aid to Genl. Brown during the war, and was afterwards an Assistant P. M. General. This office he again filled under Barry and Kendall, and it is said that he is now post-master of Washington, in preference to Kendall, by the express desire of Mr. Polk. Mr. Gardner married a daughter of General John McLean, of N. Y., an officer who fought side by side with George Clinton in the days of the Revolution, and is said to be friendly to that excellent educational measure, Cheap Postage. The *New York Patriot* took the lead in opposition to Van Buren's caucus nominations, and urged that the electors of President and Vice President should not be chosen by the members of the Legislature, but by the people. If the people are for Mr. Crawford, said the *Patriot*, let them have the election, and the minority will cheerfully agree to their declared wishes. This proposal was resisted by Van Buren, Flagg, Wright, Butler, Hoyt, Marcy and other pretended friends of freedom, but assented to by Governor Clinton and his supporters. Wright, elected a senator under a pledge to support a bill giving the people the choice of electors, wheeled into line under Van Buren, and voted against his pledges.

short period. The *Sentinel* will then, of course, be merged, and our subscribers served with the daily paper. \* \* \* \* \* W. WILEY.

*A Central Press, under Van Buren's control, essential to the successful working of his Party Machinery.—The Albany Argus.*

[No. 120.] Senator Van Buren to his friend Jesse Hoyt. Jan'y 31, 1823.

My Dear Sir: I am overwhelmed with the account of poor Cantine's death. I know that nothing from me can be necessary to secure your zealous attention to Mrs. Cantine's interest, if anything can be done for her. I have written to Mr. Hoes to be at Albany; you will find him a most useful man. I have also written to Mr. Buel, which letter I want you to see. Among you all you must do the best you can. If anything can be done for Mrs. C. I hope and believe *no republican* will oppose it. MR. HOES AND MYSELF ARE RESPONSIBLE TO MR. BUEL FOR \$1500 of the last payment. If nothing better can be done, *no person ought at least to be appointed who had not previously purchased the establishment; and under no circumstances ought any one to be appointed who is not a sound, practicable, and, ABOVE ALL, DISCREET republican.* WITHOUT A PAPER THUS EDITED AT ALBANY WE MAY HANG OUR HARPS ON THE WILLOWS.† With it, the PARTY can survive a thousand such convulsions as those which now agitate and probably alarm most of those around you. Make my sincere thanks to Mr. Duer and Mr. Sutherland for their kind letters, and tell them I will write them soon. In haste, yours truly, M. VAN BUREN.

*Judge Betts—Noah—Leake—the State Printer—'Nolo Episcopari,' with variations—'my views are humble.'*

[No. 121.] Extracts of letters, Judge Michael Ulshoeffer, to Jesse Hoyt, at Albany.

New York, Feb. 3, 1823.—Dear Sir: \* \* \* All eyes are directed towards Albany, and your proceedings have been of such a character as to keep alive public interest and expectation. Let me know who is to be put in [Judge] Betts's place!—who will be comptroller—and why the appointments to be made by the legislature are delayed—who is to be our *cireni* and first judge, &c.? I regret to learn by your letters, that in settling the salaries of the Judges, some *feeling*, growing out of the nominations, may be experienced. It was a surprise to me that Governor Yates nominated the Judges before their salaries were fixed by law. It was not good policy. Was the strong vote against Betts, evidence of the strength of the opposition to *him*, or to the *Executive*, or was it only evidence of Young and Tallmadge's strength? Or how was it to be accounted for?

I presume that our city appointments are to be recommended by the members, at least I have been informed that such is the wish of the Governor. Will your friend Noah consent to this?—for I see by his paper that he rules at Albany, and that those who offend him are to receive no quarter. Pray inform me whether he is authorized to say, as he does in his paper, that all who are not *his* friends had better stay at home or not offer their names at Albany this winter? What are you doing about state printer, will not *Leake* obtain it? Let me also know whether any open or concerted opposition is made, or making against the Governor. I must again trouble you respecting a small appointment in this city. William A. Seely, Esq. whose business is much in the collecting line, is anxious to be continued a notary, and desires to be remembered to you. Heretofore, no consideration of politics has governed in these minor appointments, and for that reason I have without hesitation written to you in behalf of several of the present incumbents. *What is to be done in this respect hereafter, you must determine.* I feel some anxiety respecting H. Westervelt, who wishes to be a notary, *who has always been a republican* and has a large family. Do not forget him. You see I have given you room to write me a long letter at your leisure. Yours truly, M. ULSHOEFFER.

† On the 25th of August, in 1821, Jesse Buel transferred his interest in the Albany Argus to Cantine & Leake, after being six years state printer. The *Columbian* of March 23, 1821, states that Messrs. Hosford of Albany offered to do the public printing for one third less than the Legislature afterwards agreed to pay Cantine and Leake, and Mr. John C. Spencer was for letting them have it; but Ulshoeffer had previously paid the party, and \$7000 of additional profit thus went into the pockets of C. and L. In February 1821, says the Northern Whig, "Martin Van Buren having procured himself to be made Senator of the United States by the legislative caucus—(for the majority were against him)—then directed the following appointments to be made, viz: J. I. Van Alen, the half brother of Martin, Surrogate, and to be the assistant judge of the common pleas; Martin's brother, Abraham Van Buren, to be Clerk; a Mr. Wilcoxon, who is the partner of Van Alen, who is the brother of Martin, to be District Attorney; Cornelius Hogebloom, who is the brother-in-law of Abraham, who is the brother of Martin, to be District Commissioner; Barnet Hoes, who is the brother-in-law of Martin, Deputy Sheriff for Kinderhook; and all these in the County of Columbia. Then near by in Albany, Moses I. Cantine, the brother-in-law, also, of Martin, is State Printer; and Benjamin F. Butler, the partner-in-law of Martin, is District Attorney." "When Buel sold the Argus," says Hammond, "the contract was probably, in reality, made with the leaders of the democratic party." How true this is the above letter will show.

‡ Samuel R. Betts, now U. S. D. C. Judge, New York, was nominated by Governor Yates, in January, 1823, as a supreme court judge, under the new constitution, and rejected by the Senate, while Sutherland, nominated with him, was confirmed. Betts was next nominated by Yates as a circuit judge, and the same Senate assented.

[No. 122.]—NEW YORK, Feb. 18, 1823.—With respect to the Comptrollership, I can only say that it was not desired by me, and that I had so written before I received your kind letter. I have no such views, I assure you. Even that highly respectable situation would not tempt me to leave here and reside at Albany: *Nor do I desire to be made first judge in any event.* My views are more humble, and I have no intention at present to become a candidate for any office beyond that of a Notary Public. Accept, however, my grateful thanks for your friendly intentions, and if I have an opportunity, I will reciprocate. Do not make a State Printer, who will transfer the feuds of New York to Albany, and throughout the State. Dulness would be preferable to indiscretion. Do look to this. I regret that the appearance of things is unpropitious at Albany. But is it necessary to oppose Governor Yates? Will not things go on smoothly in future? If the members of Assembly have recommended the county Judges, how comes it that the Governor nominated *Burston, &c.*? Has not the Governor complied with the members' wishes in this respect? But I must conclude with my queries, in the confident expectation of another interesting letter from you whenever you are at leisure, or in a humor to write to your ob. st. and friend,  
 \* M. ULSHOEFFER.

*The N. Y. delegation puffed—Hoyt's Oratory—Public Opinion whimsical—The Merchants of New York deceptive, traitors in war, and not to be trusted in peace—General Brown—Help Drake to a place.*

[No. 123.] James Campbell, Surrogate, New York, to Jesse Hoyt, Assembly Chamber, Albany.

NEW YORK, Feb. 15, 1823.—Dear Sir: \* \* \* \* You wish to know in what estimation the New York delegation are held by their constituents. *As far as I can ascertain public opinion, you stand well; indeed I believe I hazard nothing in asserting that we have had no Representation from this City for several years past that has given half the satisfaction.* Recollect, however, that you have not as yet more than half finished your labors; that public opinion is a very uncertain and precarious thing—more easily lost than acquired: and altho' things look fair at present, I would not be at all surprised if, at the end of the Sessions, some of you should find yourselves as unpopular as certain of your predecessors. From the debates which are published, I am glad to find that you frequently address the House; and, without designing to flatter you, it affords me pleasure to observe that your exhibitions as a speaker, do you no discredit. I was much amused with that debate, where you had the courage to enter the lists, and to break a lance with the great Demagogon of our State. His attack on the merchants was unnecessary and unreasonable; at the same time, you must pardon me for telling you that, in my opinion, your defence of them displays more of the spirit of chivalry than sound judgement. Of the conduct of this class of men in the Revolutionary war, I can say nothing, but during the late war, I feel no hesitation in saying that the nation is very little indebted to their patriotism. The merchants, by which denomination I mean the shippers and importers, as a body, opposed the war, and by their great weight and influence, they were but too successful in embarrassing the operations of the Government. Their conduct in this memorable contest, was the more culpable and flagitious, because it was in a great degree owing to their clamors, and chiefly to protect their interests, that the Government was induced to take the firm stand which resulted in hostilities. It was a holy, a sacred war, declared and waged to protect Free Trade and Sailors' Rights, and should have enkindled into a blaze every latent feeling of Patriotism. At the commencement of the war, these votaries of the Counting Desks it is true, made some professions of public spirit whilst the Government held over their heads their forfeited bonds; but when their remission was procured, they then dropped the mask, and how violently, malignantly, I may add *traitorously* they subsequently acted, is too strongly impressed on our recollections to be easily or speedily obliterated. You say that General Brown was a merchant. Do you then consider a village storekeeper a merchant? If I remember right, this same gentleman was once a school-master. According therefore to this mode of reasoning, we may yet expect to see the gentlemen of the birch and ferule also asserting *their* pretensions to Patriotism, because this same person was formerly a member of their humble but useful fraternity. The merchants, as a body, possessing great wealth and intelligence, must necessarily exercise a great deal of influence in every community; nor have they ever been known to be wanting in availing themselves of the advantages of this influence, or of being backward in urging their claims to superior consideration. It is a dangerous thing, in my opinion, to flatter a set of men already too inflated, and always disposed to be too arrogant; and altho' they are entitled to their share of weight in our National Councils, I should regard it as a most unfortunate event to see the destinies of our happy country committed to the guidance or control of mercantile power and policy.

\* Michael Ulshoeffler is a cunning politician, and played the demagogue in the legislature long enough to secure a judgeship, the reward of party services. When De Witt Clinton had concluded his annual speech at the opening of the legislative session, Ulshoeffler obtained a committee of inquiry, and reported, in substance, that for a Governor to speak to the legislature what he has to say to them, instead of writing it on paper and sending it as a message, and for them to reply to such a speech no matter how discreet it may be, "is a remnant of royalty," and ought to be abolished." Undoubtedly a speech is the most respectful mode of the two.

This tedious digression about your speech has swelled this beyond the ordinary dimensions of a letter; an effect which I did not foresee, or I should have taken care to have avoided it. Other matters that I intended to communicate, must be deferred to a future occasion. I would thank you to exert yourself for my friend Mr. Drake, who is an applicant for the office of Master in Chancery. Drake is quite a fine fellow, and I should be much gratified to hear of his obtaining this situation. *He has not been a Clintonian for some years, and when he was one, he was a fair and moderate opponent.* Give my respects to your colleagues, Mr. Rathbone and Mr. Verplanck.

Your friend,

JAMES CAMPBELL.

*Noah after the Printing—Buel's fortune—Peddling State Patronage—being true to each other.*

[No. 124.] M. M. Noah to Jesse Hoyt, Albany. NEW YORK, 23d Feb. 1823.

Dear Hoyt: \* \* \* \* \* Mr. Phillips will hand you this, and explain fully the object of his visit. *With respect to the State Printing, I cannot but consider myself as unhandsomely treated by those from whom I had a right to expect a different course; and am positive that on the death of Mr. Cantie there was but one voice in my favor. If management and intrigue could have been so successfully exerted as to wean away my friends or impair my claims, then there is nothing to expect from the justice of the Republican party. I cannot blame Mr. Buel in wishing to be secured in the payments due him, but considering the difficulty we labored under in bringing the ARMS in the republican from the Clintonian ranks—considering also the fortune which Mr. Buel has made out of it—I think that opposition does not come with a good grace from him, and that a further surveillance over the State Printing should cease. \* \* \* \* I am not so certain that I can be defeated—but if so, I am willing to hazard a defeat, reserving to myself the right of spreading the facts before the world, and exhibit the system of peddling away the patronage of the State, \* \* \* \* Mr. Phillips, goes up to get a section, authorizing legal notices to be published in THE ADVOCATE . . . IT IS NECESSARY IN RELATION TO THE PRESIDENTIAL QUESTION. . . . He has full powers from me to enter into any arrangement, or come to any understanding, which may tend to keep things harmoniously and comfortably afloat, and prevent schism and division in our ranks—this can only be done by acting justly and fairly towards each other.*

Always, Dear Hoyt, truly yours,

M. M. NOAH.

*Jacob Barker's prospects—he likes 'the fun' of War in Europe, and desires to see Young Napoleon crowned.*

[No. 125.] Jacob Barker, at New York, to Jesse Hoyt, at Albany.—NEW YORK, 12th March, 1823. My Dear Sir: I have this moment committed to the flames, a sheet \* \* \* \* \* As soon as steam takes the place of ice, I perceive we are to have the pleasure of seeing you—I hope it will be soon, for many reasons, and particularly because Capt. Barker would be glad to see you before he goes south. He has de-velved with the John Wells—she goes into Byrnes and Tremble's Liverpool line, and Barker goes to Mobile to try his hand again at Merchandizing, having declined to command a line ship. He left for Boston this day—returns in ten days, when he will be one of the firm of Barker & Co. Halleck is in great spirits. \* \* \* \* I have no news to tell you—am poor, out of business, with bad prospects, yet cannot but smile at the freaks of fortune—money very scarce, stocks falling. I have sold my bale [of coal]—lost \$352 by it—so we go. I thank my friend Davis for this favor—I hope the like will be scarce. The Exchange labors not likely to succeed. What think you of the application for the Tradesmen's Bank? I feel an interest in its favor on account of Mr. Worth—yet I cannot believe it will pass. Mr. Ross sent his ship Mary to Norfolk, where she loaded and sailed from Jamaica—from thence she goes to Mobile—from thence to Liverpool. She will probably make him a great voyage, while I, a poor devil, am not making anything. But, nevertheless, very glad of it. The

† Mr. Campbell dislikes the merchants: Hoyt, when in office, was unwearied in his efforts to harass and annoy them; Butler and Van Buren were his mentors in that course; Birchard, from the Treasury, advises the marshals to disfranchise them on juries; and the following is an extract of a letter from Jacob Barker to W. L. Mackenzie, dated New Orleans, Oct. 21, 1843:

"It is true that Mr. Van Buren [and Samuel Young] did support Rufus King for a seat in the United States Senate, at a time when the republican party was distracted with dissensions, and when the Kings, the Hamiltons, the Duers, the Verplancks and the Bunnors had seceded from the Federal party, professing great faith in the Republican party, and, like most new converts, were among the foremost in support of the most ultra measures. Mr. Van Buren considered an alliance with these men the best way to secure the supremacy of the party, and with that view gave to Mr. King his fullest support, and he was appointed. I differed with him on the subject, and endeavored to dissuade him from his course. I did not think it just towards the members of our own party to select one of the Field Marshals of the enemy on whom to confer the most honorable and elevated places within the gift of the party. I considered Mr. King an able, polite, gentlemanly man, fully worthy of the Presidency of the United States, if his own party were in the majority, but I had heard him, in a speech to the merchants at the Tontine Coffee House, while the bleeding corpse of Pearce was lying on the deck of the Mail Boat, where he had been murdered by a cannon ball from a British ship of war, I believe the Leander off Barneget, declare that the hands of Jefferson were dyed in the blood of his countrymen, that unfortunate Pearce, for the reason that he had not resisted the Berlin and Milan Decrees, and thereby saved Britain the necessity she was under of sending a fleet to our coast."

affairs of Europe are somewhat agitated—I FEAR *the fun will be of very short duration.* Yet if John Bull supports Spain immediately and with all *her* might, *there may be fine fun*—or if the French army are worth a copper, they will, when organized, proclaim young Nap emperor—appoint a regency—and, with the aid of Spain and Portugal, sustain the same. Austria would co-operate, and Russia would not meddle, but turn her attention towards Turkey. *These things, however, are to be wished rather than expected.* Yours, sincerely, JACOB BARKER.

*Civic Economy—James prays fervently for the Party—all the Presidential Candidates democrats—Our old foes—James likes Adams worst, Crawford best, Clay next—Jackson is not even named.*

[No. 126.] James Campbell, Surrogate, N. Y. to J. Hoyt, Albany.

NEW YORK, March, 1823.—Dear Sir \* \* \* \* Our corporation, you have perceived, have commenced their operations in good earnest. The salaries of some of the offices in their gift were unquestionably too high. The offices of District Attorney and Clerk of the Sessions, for instance, would well admit of considerable reductions and still remain good offices. In their ardent zeal for retrenchment, I cannot but think that they have gone too far in cutting down the compensation of the latter officer to the paltry sum of \$1250! The allowance, in my opinion, ought to have been at least \$2000. To be frank with you, I think our Corporation are at present undertaking to do a great deal too much; and if they are not restrained in their career they will assuredly destroy the preponderance of the Republican Party in this city. Courts, Police, Justices, Collectors of Taxes, and I know not how many other things, are to be changed; and what is most singular, in all this business, several of these alterations instead of being agreeable to the People, are very obnoxious. For my part, I confess that I am weary of these incessant changes, and that I long to see something like permanence once more established in our city and state. As I do not wish to incur the hostility of the Corporation, *you must consider this as confidential.* I fervently pray, but I scarcely dare hope, that recent occurrences at Albany may not give rise to new divisions in our Party. The influence of this great State has already suffered much in consequence of our dissensions, and I am afraid that it is doomed to experience a further diminution from the same cause. On the eve of the Presidential election, it is of the last importance that the Republicans of this state remain united, that she may assume that station in the Union to which she is justly entitled from her superior population and resources. Indeed the ascendancy of genuine republican principles throughout the Union, will in a great degree depend on the course that shall be pursued by this state in the approaching election for President. True it is, there appears to be no direct or open opposition in this contest to the Republican Party, all the candidates professing themselves to be pure republicans; but if we examine the matter coolly, it will be found notwithstanding these appearances, that the stability of the Republican Party was never more seriously threatened or endangered than at present. Our old foes are still arrayed against us; the mode of warfare is only changed; and they now hope to effect by insidious wiles and stratagems what they never could achieve by open force. If the Republican Party should ever be guilty of such an act of dementation as to support John Q. Adams for President, farewell in that event to Republicanism: I expect to see the doctrines of high-toned federalism again in operation. Of the different candidates for this exalted office, I prefer Mr. Crawford. I believe that he possesses distinguished talents, and that he is a gentleman of great private and political purity of character. What recommends him not a little with me, and it ought with every true republican, is to find that he is so vehemently opposed by the old inveterate federalists, and the *newly converted republicans.* If, however, the Party should not be disposed to support Mr. Crawford, why then take up Mr. Clay, or some other person, but let the watchword be “any Republican against Mr. Adams.” Let me know your sentiments on this subject. I hope we don’t differ on this cardinal point; and do not fail to avail yourself of every opportunity to diffuse correct notions on this subject, among our republican brethren of the country.

JAMES CAMPBELL.

*L. Hoyt’s feelings in favor of a triumph of law over good conscience—To let the People elect their Presidents would be republican if good for our side—A bad candidate for the Clerkship—Hoyt ready to take office under him.*

[No. 127.] Counsellor Lorenzo Hoyt, Albany, to Counsellor Jesse Hoyt, at New York.

ALBANY, Dec’r. 24, 1823.—Dear Brother: \* \* \* \* McDonald’s cause is decided in his favor, and for which I think he may thank Chief Justice Savage. Sutherland and Woodworth, together with 11 Senators, were dead against him, and Savage and 16 Senators for him. I CONSIDER IT A TRIUMPH OF THE LAW OVER EQUITY AND GOOD CONSCIENCE. I must say I had but very slight hopes before the argument; but after the cause was argued, and the facts so ably and correctly laid open to the Senate, I thought McDonald’s prospects brightened. Messrs. Van Vechten and Henry, who argued the cause on the other side, were sadly disappointed at the result. *From the circumstances of Mr. Butler’s being engaged as Counsel, my feelings were much enlisted in McDonald’s favor, and I felt very much interested*

in the result. \* \* \* \* \* A meeting has been called, and is now, this moment, in full operation, in relation to the Presidential Electors. It was started by two notorious political rascals, to wit, W. Esleeck and Jacob Lansing—men who, despairing of becoming great by any other means than through the medium of such meetings, and who have become misanthropes because the world and its people will not acknowledge their superiority and greatness. To name a few of those who composed the meeting will supersede the necessity of any further comment as to its political cast—P. T. Parker, E. Baldwin, William James, J. Alexander, the Townsends, P. Gansevoort, the Cassidys, G. Hawley, Spencer, Stafford, &c. I trust that Republicans and the People in general will know from whom this popular measure, of giving the choice of Electors to the People, emanates. *The measure itself I must say, as I always have said, is a Republican one—but the source from which it springs will render it unpopular with the Republicans.*

Mr. Livingston's election to the clerkship of the Assembly I consider beyond doubt. His most prominent opponent is a man who is deservedly unpopular with the Republican as well as Federal party. He has long since forfeited the confidence of every body. A man devoid of every principle of honor, who is willing to sacrifice his character, and every thing else that a man ought to esteem, to the shrine of AVARICE, I think will not obtain the support of a Republican legislature. If, by any *casus omissus*, Livingston should lose his election, I shall endeavor to obtain a situation under his successor; but I think L. is perfectly safe, as also myself.

\* LOR. HOYT

*Bowne's Anti-Jackson Report by Butler—the New York Members disliked—Gardiner attacks Flagg—Trouble brewing.*

[No. 128.]

Lorenzo Hoyt, to Jesse Hoyt, New York.

ALBANY, January 11th, 1824. Sunday. Dear Brother: I send you by this mail the REPORT of Mr. BOWNE ON THE TENNESSEE RESOLUTIONS. The report is a voluminous, and, I think, knowing from whose pen it came, is an able one, although I have not yet had time to give it a perusal.

Mr. BUTLER wrote the report; and I leave it for you to judge of its merits and the correctness of its principles; but I presume, from the circumstance of your political views coinciding so exactly with Mr. Butler's, that the principles contained in the report are such as will meet your approbation.

The Senate went into committee, of the whole on the report, but rose and reported without taking any decisive step in relation thereto; it is supposed it will be almost unanimously approved of by the Senate—but I think there will be trouble when it comes to the Assembly, but will undoubtedly receive the sanction of a large majority of the members. Nothing of importance has been done in the Assembly this three or four days past, except the appointment of the standing committees, which you will see published in the Albany papers. I think they were very judiciously selected and arranged, although some of the opposition gentlemen are half inclined to take umbrage at the selections made by the Speaker: perhaps they think his honor the Speaker did not pay sufficient respect to their legislative experience. I apprehend friend Gardiner is a little disappointed because he was not made chairman of some committee, but I think he will meet with many more serious disappointments before the close of the session. If possible, there is more deep rooted prejudice, existing against a part of the delegation sent from your city this winter, among the country gentlemen, than there existed against the last winter delegation. *I think it will be impossible for one of the Opposition New York members to succeed in any project let it be ever so reasonable and just.* There appears to be a sort of suspicion attached to everything they have any connection with; and unless they can do something to convince the country members of the unjustness and absurdity of such a state of feeling towards them, you may rely upon it your city will not be much benefited by sending the delegation they have sent.

Mr. Gardiner, the other day, while the resolution of Mr. Flagg in relation to electors was under discussion, made an abusive and unjustifiable attack upon the editors of the *Argus* and *Ad-*

\* Who is Lorenzo Hoyt? I will tell you. When, in 1838, Mr. Van Buren rewarded Jesse Hoyt's peculiar services with the Collectorship of the Revenue at New York, he required heavy security, more especially on account of Swartwout's embezzlement. In March, 1838, Jesse gave his brother, Lorenzo; his brother-in-law, Robert McJinsey, the Wall Street Broker; L. M. Thurston, Thomas J. Oakley (the Judge.) and Sam'l Jones (the ex-chancellor?) Wm. M. Price certified that the securities were responsible for \$150,000, the amount of their bond. There was a second, and a third bond. Bond the third is for \$200,000. (Why not have made it for an amount equal to the sum of the British National debt?) The same persons, with Thaddeus Phelps of Park Place, N. Y., were again the sureties—and on the 16th Dec'r. 1833, Benjamin P. Butler, as U. S. District Attorney, certified on the bond that the sureties were amply sufficient for the \$200,000. Benjamin had certified twenty years before to the bond that the sureties were amply sufficient for the \$200,000 and would pay. He knew it. But it didn't and people of this State, that the Washington and Warren Bank could and would pay. He knew it. But it didn't and we couldn't—and so we may say of Lorenzo Hoyt, Lewis M. Thurston, Thad. Phelps, &c.; Jesse was found to have embezzled \$220,000—the jury gave their verdict—the marshal was ready to seize—James K. Polk could find no district attorney that would suit him so we let Butler again—and to this hour in 1846, not an effort is made, or meant to be, to recover a dollar of the monies embezzled, either from Lorenzo, Oakley, Thurston, Jones, Jesse, or any one else!! This is Van Buren democracy as I find it enthroned in the capitol of the New World!!! Thurston (like McJinsey) is Hoyt's brother-in-law, of whom he wrote to Seery, Woodbury in Mar. 1839, that he had employed him as a custom-house clerk, at \$1000 salary. In Dec. Woodbury receives this clerk as Jesse's surety for \$200,000 on Butler's recommendation!!



vocate, and by which he has incurred the indignation and disgust of every sensible man within his hearing. He accused *the Argus* of political inconsistency, in first advocating an alteration of the electoral law, and then in a few weeks after reprobating the measure as unwise and anti-republican.

The speech, if it had been an extempore one, would have appeared much better than it did, but it was perfectly apparent to my own, and the mind of almost every other person who heard him, that it was a written and committed speech, and CONSEQUENTLY was perfectly disgusting. The opinion that I always heretofore entertained, that Gardiner was a man of very limited talents, is now irrevocably confirmed.

As to Mr. Wheaton,† I am not sufficiently acquainted with him to judge of his abilities, but if I can form an opinion from what little I have seen, I should say he is nothing above mediocrity; but I think I have seen sufficient to warrant the assertion, that this winter's New York delegation, is in every respect inferior to the delegation that New York was represented by last winter. I must confess I was not a little astonished, when I see who the New York members were. I presume they are men of tolerable good sense, with the exception of Crolius and one or two others, but as for their abilities they are, in my opinion, contracted. Let them be as they may, I think they will wish themselves back to New York again, before the close of the session; for the Opposition are going to experience not a little mortification this winter. I can see already that much trouble is brewing; and that the Opposition must prepare themselves for the resistance of a hot cannonading. \* \* \* Yours affectionately, LORENZO HOYT.

*Croswell endorses Noah—Don't abuse Adams until you have used his friends to his injury—the wisdom of the Serpent—don't name Crawford, for we can pack the Caucus—The Electoral Law—Wheaton.*

[No. 129.] Edwin Croswell, State Printer, to Jesse Hoyt, New York.

ALBANY, January 31, 1824.—My Dear Sir: The course which the *Advocate* has taken since the return of Major Noah, as well as during his absence, has received the entire approbation of our republican friends here. There is one point of policy, however, which it may be well, perhaps, to vary. There are several republican friends of Mr. Adams in the legislature, who have gone broadly with us so far on every question. It is quite important, THEREFORE, that nothing particularly harsh respecting Mr. A. [Adams] or his friends, should be published, AT LEAST DURING THE PENDENCY OF THE ELECTORAL BILL, unless a plain distinction is made between his federal friends in your city, and his republican friends in the country.

As an extreme jealousy prevails among the friends of all the candidates opposed to Mr. Crawford, and as the Opposition make every use of even the most innocent suggestion to warp the feelings of our friends, it is also important that his [Mr. Crawford's] name, and especially his prospects of obtaining the Caucus nomination, should be kept out of view.† Our points, if they

† Henry Wheaton was then at the head of the People's Party in the Assembly, in opposition to Van Buren and the Regency. Next year he joined Van Buren's followers in the unjust and ungrateful act of removing Governor Clinton from the Canal board, and is now the representative of the U. S. at Berlin. In 1813 he was editor of the *National Advocate*, afterwards Reporter to the U. S. Supreme Court, and is by profession a lawyer.

‡ In these days, the *Argus* declared, that "the fact is clear, that Mister Jackson has not a single feeling in common with the Republican party, and makes the merit of desiring the total extinction of it." The *Nashville Banner*, on the other hand, copied the following hit at Van Buren's Crawford Caucus from a Calhoun paper [The *Republican*] in Washington.

Wend you with the Rads to-night—  
Sixty-five perchance they'll muster—  
There will be none of mind or might,  
But some three score in a fluster.

General Chandler will be there—  
Tough as steel and hold as Hector—  
Basset, with Virginia air—  
VAN the Albany Director.

FORSYTH, with his foreign graces—  
Edwards, Williams, in a stew—  
Plotting brains and dirty faces,

With the blushes reddening through—  
Shallow knaves, with forms to mock us,  
Straggling, one by one, to Caucuses.

Wend you with the Rads to-night,  
Tall and short—and weak and witty—  
Many an eye that hates the light,  
And loves confusion—more's the pity.

Wend you with the Rads to night—  
Caucus in his court presides—  
Promises and power invite—  
Traitors point, and faction guides.

Wend you with the Rads to-night—  
A motley crew, and had the best—  
Winging from the South their flight,  
With two poor stragglers from the West.

'Tis the tide of faction flowing—  
'Tis the noon of treason's reign—  
Lloyd, of Maryland, is going—  
DICKERSON, and Holmes of Malne:

Western Thomas looking grimly—  
From New York, a haggard few,  
Led by Lut Clarke, seeing dimly,  
Spectacles and vapor through.

Wend you with the Rads to-night,  
Where all eyes will gladly meet you—  
If you are a proselyte  
Every soul will spring to greet you—  
Where the demon of despair

Reigns, the tyrant of the hour,  
And every dark intriguer there  
Jostles in the race for power,  
Laborers, suited for the job,

Will be there at close of day;  
Barber, Floyd, and Foot, and Cobb—  
Lanman, ready for his pay—  
Both the Barbours, men mistaken!

Smith shall sorely save his bacon—  
Gallant Coker from Tennessee—  
Some in gloom and some in glee—  
Shallow knaves, with forms to mock us,  
Straggling, one by one, to Caucus."

are gained at all, may be more certainly secured in this way, than by giving even our honest convictions and hopes of the ultimate success of Crawford, if by it we give currency to the contemptible cant which the *enemy* promulgate so liberally against him.

It is difficult to conjecture what will be the result of the various propositions which are now before the House on the subject of the [Electoral] Law. A considerable diversity of opinion prevails as to a *majority* or a *plurality*; but I have strong hopes that our *republican* friends will unite upon the former, and defeat the scheme of Tallmadge & Co., to give the electoral votes for Mr. Clinton.

This afternoon, in committee of the whole, Mr. Waterman [of Broome Co.] explained the features of his bill, and the prominent arguments in favor of a majority, in a close and convincing speech. The committee rose after having passed the first section of Mr. Waterman's bill, with an amendment providing for the election of 36 instead of 34 electors by the people.

Perhaps there was never a more subtle scheme for the prostration of the *democratic* party than is hidden under this plurality plan of Mr. Wheaton, and it will require the whole vigilance and prudence of our republican friends, to meet, expose, and resist the designs of the faction that is now seeking their ruin. In great haste, yours sincerely, E. CROSWELL.

[Three letters, E. Livingston to J. Hoyt, N. York.]

*Aaron Clark vs. E. Livingston—Yates' Notions—Keep power from the People—Van Buren's Republicans described by Livingston—Down with Clinton, right or wrong!*

[No. 130.] ALBANY, NOV. 14, 1823.—Dear Hoyt: \* \* \* Aaron Clark is a candidate for the clerkship. Marcy, Knowler, Porter, &c., will do everything for me; but as Clark is an indefatigable fellow, and will prove troublesome to me, I feel anxious to give him a signal defeat. \* \* \* Romaine and Ulshoeffer could be of service to me—will you ask their assistance? \* \* \* Write me an answer to this letter, and *burn the same as soon as may be*. E. L.

[No. 131.] [Post mark; ALBANY, Dec. 5.] 1823.—Esleek put the stories in circulation in New York that I was under Van Buren's influence, made a speech, &c., but you know without my telling you, that he is an egregious liar. \* \* \* I have seen the Governor [Yates] since I last wrote. He is decidedly in favor of Caucus nominations, and *confoundedly* puzzled about giving the choice of Electors to the People—but he says that the *REPUBLICAN* party ought not to be afraid to go to the People.†

He will recommend the measure, in my opinion. This I wrote you before—but, if possible, I am now surer of it than I was before.

*The Republican members of the House, it is thought, will hold a Caucus upon this question; and, after coming to a conclusion, all go one way or the other.†* IF CLINTON IS VERY DANGEROUS, THEY WILL GO ONE WAY, AND IF IT IS THOUGHT HE CANNOT MAKE ANY DIFFICULTY, THEY WILL GO T'OTHER WAY. \* \* \* We have some prime stuff. Sulwell will act firmly and as becomes a *REPUBLICAN*. I presume you understand what I mean by 'firmness.' \* \* \* I should like a ticket in the Southern Lottery that has a \$100,000 Prize in its wheels. Now, as a favor, I will take half of a ticket with you, if you will purchase one—but recollect it is the last time, and that if [you] should draw a blank, I will not venture any more with you. If you consent to this proposition, let me know our number, and then I shall have something joyful in anticipation.

Yours, sincerely, E. LIVINGSTON.

[No. 132.] ALBANY, JAN. 6, 1824.—I rather think the Assembly will pass the Electoral Law—the Senate will not pass the law. I am dead against the law, or against anything

† See Wheaton's plan, Flagg's amendment, and the whole proceedings of a meeting of the democratic members of the legislature, on this question, held about a fortnight before Crosswell wrote—in Hammond, page 144 to 148 of volume second. Van Buren, Flagg, Crosswell, and Wright wanted to pass no law at all. Many were afraid of Clinton, as matters stood. See E. Livingston's letter to J. Hoyt, No. 131, written three months previous.

\* W. A. Thompson, in a letter to J. Hoyt, dated Albany, 16th Feb., 1824, says—"The Senate say they are in favor of the *Folks*, and the Assembly say they are in favor of the *People*. \* \* \* Sudam says that the Senate can count 15 in favor of the *Folks*, who can be depended upon, and who are not such fools as to suffer themselves to be deceived by the *People*. \* \* \* No one can tell what legislative bodies will do; but from present appearances, I do not think our *REPUBLICAN* friends have any reason to believe they are to be sacrificed. They seem to feel that if they surrender their power tamely, they are lost; and if they hold out manfully, they can but loose it at last. I shall stay here a week or ten days, until we hear the results of the Caucus at Washington."

\* Mr. Van Buren confirms this discreditable statement of the unprincipled character of his own party, by supposing that his adversaries are equally dishonest. In his address to the citizens of Syracuse, N. Y., as I find it in the *Globe*, Sept. 27, 1839, he affirms that he has been pursued by his political opponents with "inveterate malignancy;" but, says he, "when it is quite manifest that those by whom the conduct of a public officer is arraigned are resolved to condemn his acts in any event; when they only desire to know which side of a public question he espouses in order to take their own position against him; when all considerations of comity and of right are merged in an absorbing desire to expel him from office, and when nothing so much mortifies and enrages them as that he should devise or adopt measures that redound to the good of the country; in all such cases it appears to me an act of inexorable weakness in the part of the public functionary to suffer what such opponents may say or think of him to give him a moment's care or uneasiness."

that will tend to raise Clintonian or Federal stock. \* \* \* I think you may without doubt, say that our State is for Crawford [the *native* candidate of that day.] but it won't do to say so quite yet.

Yours, NED.

*Van Buren's friend, Skinner, interferes with the State Legislature and Judiciary, to prevent the People from electing their Presidents.*

[No. 133.] Judge Skinner, U. S. District Court, to J. Hoyt, N. York.—ALBANY, 11th January, 1824. Dear Sir: Mr. Latham A. Burrows† of the Senate, I understand, read law with Mr. Riker, the Recorder, (at any rate he is attached to Mr. Riker.) *Burrows is considered doubtful on the question of changing the law for the appointment of electors.* Now, Sir, if Mr. Riker is in sentiment with us, *his letter to Mr. Burrows on that subject will have great influence*, and you may be assured that every vote is important to prevent the change contemplated.

Cordially, H. SKINNER.

*Livingston to Hoyt—The Clerk's Logic—Mat. L. Davis kept out of Mischief—A list for Mr. Van Buren—Leake for Clay—The Caucus.*

[No. 134.] ALBANY, Feb. 16, 1824.—\* \* \* A majority of the legislature is a majority of the people. We recognize the people as the source of all power—this is a representative government. Our *old Democrats* wish for the old Council of Appointment. \* \* \* After you have read this letter, burn it.

E. L.

[No. 135.] ALBANY, Feb. 28, 1824.—Dear Hoyt: I forward a list of the members of the Senate and Assembly, marked as they now feel upon the Presidential question. \* \* \* Crawford has 88, Adams 36, Calhoun 11, Clay 6, Jackson 4. \* \* \* I have forwarded lists similar to those I now enclose you, to amuse your friend, Mr. Van Buren. Mat. Davis is here—he does no particular service; but as he is with us, it prevents him from doing mischief. He hates Van Buren—I know it. Leake will not let anything go into the Argus.†—he is for Clay, that is, he wants to be State Printer, let things go as they may. \* \* \* Let Noah see the lists. But as you like.

E. L.

[No. 136.] ALBANY, March 29, 1824.—\* \* \* Our folks all say that THEY conceive themselves bound in honor to nominate Gov. Yates, but that the *People* will not support him. \* \* \* K—n, S—n, &c., want to pay off some debts of gratitude, which they feel towards his excellency. I am ready to support the nomination. \* \* \* The [State] Caucus will be held to-morrow night, or Thursday. Marcy advises Thursday. \* \* \* E. L.

*Van Buren on Clay and Adams—he praises Maj. Noah—Noah's sketch of Van Buren.*

[No. 137.] Martin Van Buren to Jesse Hoyt at New York.

[Washington] March 3, 1824.—Dear Sir: I have the greatest aversion to having my letters extracted for the newspapers or much shown, and notwithstanding a laborious correspondence during the winter have hitherto escaped. The promulgation of *my anticipation* as to Messrs. Adams and Clay's withdrawing, would, you know, not induce them to do so, if it had not the contrary effect. It is best to let those things take their course, and there is no ground for fear as to the result. If they continue after New York has settled down it will be manifest to all that the contest is prolonged by them to the *great detriment of the party*, and of the public interest, without the least prospect of success; and it will be the business and duty of the press to make suitable animadversions on the subject. To me the course of the *Advocate* for the last few weeks has been entirely acceptable, as it has been moderate, but firm and rational, which course is, I

† Mr. L. A. Burrows, who was returned from the sixth district in place of Gen. Hathaway, was an Adams man, pledged to the people's party; and all the efforts of Judge Skinner, Jesse Hoyt, and Recorder Riker, (if he obeyed them,) could not change his vote, or induce him to wheel round with Wright and others. Burrows was strongly prejudiced against Clinton, and much opposed to the election of Jackson. Skinner, being a Judge of the U. S. Court, acted a disgraceful and unbecoming part in interfering, as above with the freedom of the Senate of N. Y.

† Roger Skinner was at the head of the old Van Buren regency which appointed Noah Sheriff of New York. He was a lawyer of Sandy Hill; and our present Governor, Silas Wright, was his law scholar and student—he also is a Sandy Hill lawyer. Wright was admitted as a lawyer by the Supreme Court in January, 1819, and left Sandy Hill some months after Benjamin F. Butler, Van Buren's partner, arrived there as President, Cashier, and Board of Directors of Barker's W. & W. Bank, in which institution he may have been an occasional assistant. Skinner sold out his law office at Sandy Hill to Butler, who succeeded to his business—and Wright settled at Canton, near the river St. Lawrence, in Oct. that same year. Wright went for Crawford—was one of the *immortal* seventeen Senators who voted to keep from the people the power of electing the electors of the President of the U. S.—the seventeen were defeated by 17,000 votes next election, and hung and burned in effigy—but Wright stuck to Van Buren and the cabal—they puffed and upheld him—and he is Governor of N. Y.

† Leake had to resign in favor of Crosswell, whom Butler and his partner, Van Buren, had confidence in, and who was willing to be their echo. A perusal of Van Buren's letter to Hoyt, No. 130 of this series, will explain where the real control of the Argus and its opinions lay.

think, the only one calculated to produce much real effect on public opinion.† Such is not however, the opinion, or rather the feeling of all; on the contrary there are many who have been so much pleased and so accustomed to the many good and pleasant things the Major has said as to regret the deprivation of them—and they occasionally complain to me that the *Advocate* has lost their spirit. As the Major has depraved their appetites, he is, they think, under some sort of obligation to feed them on such viands as have become most acceptable to them. Make my best respects to him, and to our friends; tell them that for obvious reasons, they may excuse me from not writing as often as I could wish.

Your friend, M. V. BUREN.

*Van Buren prophecies success to Crawford and the Caucus; thereby showing no political sagacity.*

[No. 138.] Martin Van Buren to Jesse Hoyt, N. Y.—WASHINGTON, March 6, 1824.—  
 Dear Sir: I have received yours this moment. I cannot help what Messrs. Lynch and King  
 may choose to infer from my looks, but the truth is that I have at no time doubted of our complete  
 success.† The great influence which was exercised here to prevent members from attending  
 the caucus, and the subserviency and ingratitude of some who have partaken largely of the fa-  
 vor of the party, were calculated to excite strong feelings, which were doubtless sometimes mani-  
 fested, but dispondency is a weakness with which I am but little annoyed. On the assumption  
 that New York will be firm and promptly explicit, we here consider the question of the election  
 substantially settled. Neither Mr. Adams or Mr. Clay can keep in the field after the course of  
 New York is positively known. *The information on which this opinion rests and the reasons*  
*in its support cannot be given in a letter.* I will myself be easy on the subject, and so will our  
 friends here who never were in better spirits or felt stronger confidence. Make my best respects  
 to our friends.  
 Yours cordially, M. V. BUREN.

[No. 139.] *Lorenzo to Jesse Hoyt—Party services on credit—Poverty—Office Hunting—the Morals of Van Burenism—Private Crib-board 16s.*

ALBANY, March 7, 1824, Sunday evening.—Dear Brother: Yours of the 4th came duly to hand. The substance of it I had anticipated, as I saw a letter that Mr. Thompson received from you while here, in which you spoke very discouragingly as to the result of your application to the Corporation, but as I had not heard from you since, I had not entirely despaired until I received your last. It is now I suppose, known to a certainty that you cannot succeed in getting the office you sought. If a person has nothing else to depend upon for a livelihood than offices, which at all times depend upon the fluctuations of party predominance, I think he will soon go to pot. *I thought, however, your services for the party had been sufficient to raise a just and equitable claim for some little office of the kind, that you have been endeavoring to obtain; but it appears that the opinion of a majority of the Hon. the Corporation and my own are at variance.* Well, I see we have got to contend with poverty and misfortunes as long as we remain in this life, and what we shall have to "*battle the watch*" with in the next the Lord only knows. You

† This letter does not exhibit much foresight or sagacity on the part of Mr. Van Buren. He expected that Clay and Adams would withdraw after the Caucus but they didn't. He had "no fears as to the result"—that is, he was quite sure that Crawford would be elected President. In his next letter to Hoyt he says: "I have at no time doubted of our complete success." His candidate got 41 votes out of 261—and Adams, whom he describes [No. 138], as "unable to keep the field," became Pre-ident, and would have been re-elected had he stooped to buy the trass of publicans and prostitute his office to party purposes, avarice, ambition and intrigue, as Van Buren afterwards did. In the above letter, Van Buren praises Noah. In July, 1838, Noah, thro' his *Evening Star*, annuls his bid. In the above letter, Van Buren praises Noah. In July, 1838, Noah, thro' his friend, in these words: "I bid the moderate Friends in Tammany," with a sketch of all that we had but eighteen men with us in the Legisla-

did. In the above letter, Van Buren praises Adams, in a way which did not do credit to his friendship. "With a sketch of his friend, in these words: "Old Democratic Friends in Tammany," with a sketch of his friend, in these words: "You may remember when in 1817 we ran up the Bucktail flag we had but eighteen men with us in the Legislature, and with only three presses in the State we opposed Dewitt Clinton, on the grounds that he had opposed the war, and run against James Madison for the Presidency, and in three years we carried the State. Where was Martin Van Buren at that time? With the democracy—with the War party—with the Madisonians! No such thing. He was hanging on the skirts of Mr. Clinton; and here let me remind you that hanging on the skirts of eminent men has been the peculiar feature and secret of Mr Van Buren's advancement. He was elected to the Senate as a Clintonian; he moved in the Convention to have Clinton's nomination as Governor made unanimous; he hung closely to his skirts until he saw the current setting against him, when he dropped off, and tucked himself to the skirts of Tompkins; and when Tompkins retired, he got hold of the skirts of Roger Skinner, Perley Keyes and Silas Wright, and clambered into the Senate of the U. States much to the annoyance of that disinterested politician, Col. Samuel Young. In the Senate he held on to the skirts of Rufus King, until he got introduced into 'good society.' He then took hold of the skirts of Crawford, and when poor Crawford lost the election of President, and John Quincy Adams succeeded he made two or three grabs at his skirts, but Adams wore a spencer and Van Buren missed his hold, and he settled down quietly in the Senate looking round to see whom he could next ride, like the old man in the story of Sinbad the sailor. At length when it was reduced to a certainty that Andrew Jackson would succeed, he crept by degrees near him, for the old Chief was afraid of Van Buren, and finally he succeeded in getting him by the button, and in this way got into the Cabinet; he then caught hold of the skirts of Eaton, Kendall and Blair, and finally, through their intercessions and efforts, he crawled into the old General's breeches pocket and he made him his successor."

2. Mr. Van Buren shows very little sagacity in this letter. His expectations as to Crawford were anything but realized. The members of Congress at Washington, contrary to Butler's reports, gathered by Bowne, decided, 181 to 66, out of a body of 261 members, to attend no Caucus to dictate a President to the Republic. Van Buren and sixty-five others held the Caucus, and pretend to speak for the Union, and dictate to the people; but they numbered only one-fourth of the whole Congressmen, and their candidate did not even get as many votes as that fourth.

mention your business is again increasing a little, which I hope is the case, for if it does not, where the end of 1824 will find us I should not like to undertake to say.

I understood Mr. Thompson, I think, if the river opened soon, that he should be up again before the close of the session; if he will not be up again I shall write him about what you mentioned, and shall also speak confidentially to one or two of my friends, myself on the subject; for ANYTHING I CAN DO TO THE PREJUDICE OF [EDWARD] LIVINGSTON AND BENEFIT OF MYSELF, I THINK I AM PERFECTLY JUSTIFIABLE IN DOING, PROVIDED ALWAYS THAT HE DOES NOT FIND IT OUT.

I think, and have thought all winter, that it would be best for me, after the Legislature adjourns, or after I get my pay, and square the yards here, to go somewhere else and locate for the summer, with a view to carry into effect the special order of the day, to wit, economy. Should you approve of this suggestion, I will mention Utica as a place combining both the great objects I have in view, economy and improvement. Mr. Lynch says I can get board there in respectable boarding houses at the rate of from 16s. to 18s. per week, whereas I pay here through all the summer 26s. I should regret very much to leave Mr. Butler, but I know it is decidedly for my interest to do so, and with your consent and approbation, I feel very much inclined to do it this spring. Charles is going to leave, and is going somewhere in the Western country to settle, and I shall have no person to give me any instruction in my studies if I stay. Mr. Butler cannot do it, because he is constantly engaged in his own business. The Senate take up the Electoral bill to-morrow, and no doubt will treat it as THE POOR THING deserves. \* \* \*

L. HOYT.

Extracts from a letter—Lorenzo Hoyt, at Albany, to Jesse, at New York—dated June 20, 1824.—“I have commenced reporting regularly for the Mercantile. Charles and me do it together, as we formed a partnership before the commencement of the session \* \* \* You say you are making a push for the office of attorney to the corporation, and I think your claims are good, I hope you may succeed—but I presume it is doubtful, as you undoubtedly have to contend with powerful opponents, I shall not be much disappointed if you fail—but I would make a grand sally to carry my point this time.”

[No. 140.] Private. W. L. Marcy to J. Hoyt. Stop the American. A cure for Adamsism.

ALBANY, 22, March, 1824. Dear Sir: I now take the American, and wish to discontinue it. I have presumed to trouble you to call or send to the office of that paper, pay the balance I owe, and direct it discontinued. I owe for the country paper from the 9th September last. Enclosed I send two dollars. The account may be a few shillings over. If you will have the goodness to pay it you will much oblige an old friend. The attack upon Mr. Mallory is by every body regarded as cruel and savage, and has called forth an universal burst of indignation. I am generally very indifferent to these paper shots, but my long intimacy and sincere friendship for the judge make me feel in a very lively manner this outrage upon as pure and spotless a character as ever lived. I hope this proceeding will cure him of his Adamsism.

Yours sincerely, W. L. MARCY.

Senator Sudam feels grateful for Mr. Hoyt's favorable opinion of his political conduct.

[No. 140a.]

John Sudam, Senate, N. Y. to Jesse Hoyt.

ALBANY, 11th April, 1824.—My Dear Sir: I thank you for your favorable opinion, and for your approbation of the course pursued by me during the present session. It has been an arduous one, and all I can say is, that I have discharged my duty fearlessly, but conscientiously. Your letter has been delivered to the Governor. Excuse me for not writing more at large—we are upon the eve of breaking up, and are very full of business of every description. The session you sent me has passed into a law.

Yours cordially, JOHN SUDAM.

† I presume that Mr. Marcy refers to James Mallory, one of the 17 senators who obeyed Van Buren's commands, to vote down the bill from the Assembly giving the people the choice of electors of President and Vice President, and for other measures in contempt of the democratic principle.

† John Sudam, a clever lawyer, who resided at Kingston, Ulster county, N. Y., was elected to the Senate of the state, of which he soon became an active and popular member. He had been an efficient and zealous federalist—had had a political quarrel with Van Buren—a challenge to fight a duel had passed between them, but it didn't take place—and had been an ardent supporter of Clinton, but wheeled suddenly round, in 1820, into the front ranks of that great statesman's most active opponents. He was one of the 17 senators who, in 1824, voted to prevent the people from electing the electors of President and Vice-President, and to oust Clinton from the canal board—and that same year he sat as chairman of the important committee which very slightly inquired into and exposed the monstrous iniquity practiced on the people and the legislature, in obtaining a charter for the Chemical Bank, N. Y. The question was taken on the passage of the bill, March 3d—yeas 18—nays 13—lost. The same question was again taken—yeas 19—nays 12—carried. Honest Jasper Ward was a yeas, and when the vote came up next Nov. for a repeal he and Bowman bolted. Sudam, Clark and Bronson, who had all voted yeas (Sudam having voted no twice, then wheeled round to the yeas), were the committee of inquiry. Why was not even one opponent appointed? Clark, Bowne, Greenly and Keyes, voted not to repeal the charter—Wright, Earl, Bronson and Dudley were for repeal—but Lieut. Gov. Root decided that a repeal required two-thirds, and the bank stands. Mr. Sudam died in Albany, April, 1835, aged 54 years—and Hoyt was acting in character when he expressed gratitude for Sudam's reprehensible conduct in the spring session of 1824.

*Five Epistles from M. Van Buren to J. Hoyt—a civil letter, and deerskin vest for 'a prodigious fellow—an attack on Calhoun—an attack on self expected—helping the Telegraph—endorsing Jesse's paper—Master Hayne.*

[No. 141.] WASHINGTON, Dec. 29, 1826.—My Dear Sir: I bought a deerskin vest, at the store on the corner of Broadway and Liberty street. Will you do my friend Mr. Rowan, Senator from Kentucky, the favour of purchasing one for him, and sending it down by the first opportunity? *It must be the largest in the shop, as he is a prodigious fellow.* If you can, oblige him—*write him a civil letter*—he is a very worthy fellow.

In great haste, your friend,

M. V. BUREN.

[No. 142.] WASHINGTON, Dec. 30, 1826.—Dear Sir: The attack on the Vice President [J. C. Calhoun] has produced very great excitement. The course pursued will cause it to recoil with severity. There is of course not the slightest prære for the allegation. Mr. Satterlee Clark of your city is the "gentleman from New York." My friend Judge Rowan is 45 inches round the chest. My quondam friend John A. King, whilst here, stayed with Mr. Webster; and when he parted from me, I was so sensible from his manner that he carried advices from here which would induce the administration folks to come out against me that I wrote confidentially to Campbell by the same mail my impressions, and requested General Van Rensselaer to look out for it in *the American* the morning after they left us. The result has, I think, verified my conjectures. Say nothing of this as coming from me. In haste, your friend,

M. V. BUREN.

[No. 143.] WASHINGTON, Feb. 3, 1827.—My Dear Sir: This will be handed to you by Mr. Davis, agent of the editor of the National Telegraph, who visits our State to obtain subscribers for that paper. Any assistance you can give him in promoting his object will be gratefully remembered by the editor, and oblige  
Your friend,

M. V. BUREN.

[No. 144.] WASHINGTON, Feb. 3, 1827.—My Dear Sir: *Being entirely free from ENDORSEMENTS now, and my situation rendering it highly proper that I should remain so, I did not suppose I could have been again drawn into them.* YOUR CASE, HOWEVER, DOES NOT ADMIT OF HESITATION. Wishing you all sorts of happiness,  
I remain your sincere friend,

M. V. BUREN

[No. 145.] WASHINGTON, Feb. 7, 1827.—My Dear Sir: This will be handed to you by Master Hayne, son of my friend Colonel Hayne of South Carolina. He wishes to come on to this place under the protection of some person travelling southward. Do me the favor to see that the wishes of his father, in that particular, are attended to. My friend Thomas Ludlow is coming on.  
Yours, sincerely,

M. V. BUREN.

*' Webster looks black, and Clay looks blue.'*

[No. 146.] C. C. Cambreleng, M. C., to Jesse Hoyt, New York.  
WASHINGTON, 13th Feb., 1827.—Dear Hoyt: We are carrying all before us. *Webster looks BLACK, and Clay looks BLUE.* I have subscribed for twenty-five copies of the Weekly Telegraph, at \$2 a year. I wish you would get that number of subscribers for me, and send the list to me. It's so cheap, you will have no difficulty in filling up the number. From the price of the paper, you will see it is designed for THE PEOPLE.

Truly yours,

C. C. CAMBRELENG.

*Van Buren writes to Jesse from South Carolina, to get Noah to copy his "concise and perspicuous" speech into his paper, and to get it into the Advocate.*

[No. 147.] Senator Van Buren to Jesse Hoyt, at New York.  
COLUMBIA, S. Carolina, April 23, 1827.—My Dear Sir: When I left Washington, it was my intention to have been back by this time; but the extreme hospitality of the Southrons, has rendered it absolutely impossible. We shall leave here on Wednesday morning, and after stopping a few days at Raleigh, ———, and Richmond, make the best of our way home. I have looked anxiously into the marriages and deaths for your name, but have not yet seen it in either. You will see my remarks on the Colonial Bill. I wish you would ask the Editor of the Advocate to republish them—and if the Major [Noah] wishes to present his readers with a concise and per-

† It was during this journey, that Van B. and Cambreleng visited W. H. Crawford in Georgia, and learning from him that Calhoun, while in Monroe's cabinet, had not approved of Jackson's conduct in the Seminole war, their confederates artfully communicated the particulars to General Jackson, and succeeded in causing much ill-will between him and Mr. Calhoun. While at Raleigh, Van Buren, in reply to a dinner invitation from the citizens, told them, amongst other oracular sayings, that "The spirit of encroachment has assumed a new and far more seductive aspect, and can only be resisted by the exercise of uncommon virtues."

*spicuous view of that subject, AND IS NOT APPREHENSIVE THAT HE WOULD INJURE HIS FRIEND MR. CLINTON,† he might do the same thing.* In haste,

Yours, sincerely, M. V. BUREN.

*Thomas Ritchie's Party Practice—The East Room Letter.*

[No. 147a.] From Niles's Register, Vol. 37—1829—'30.

Extract of a letter, dated January 1st, 1827, and addressed to, and published by, the Editor of the Richmond Enquirer.

"This being the day on which the President's House is thrown open to all visitors, I went, among others, to pay my respects to him, [Mr. Adams;] or rather, I should fairly confess, I went to see the EAST ROOM, for the furnishing of which we had voted twenty five thousand dollars at the last session of Congress. I was anxious to see how that amount of furniture could be stowed away in a single room, and my curiosity was fully satisfied. It was truly A GORGEOUS SIGHT to behold; but had too much the look of REGAL MAGNIFICENCE to be perfectly agreeable to my old republican feelings."—*Richmond Enquirer, Jan'y. 4, 1827.*

REMARKS.—Mr. Ritchie was instantly charged by other presses with having published a malicious falsehood, there being no truth in the above. Did he hasten to make amends? So far from doing so, it was four months (April 27, 1827,) before he could be induced even to try to excuse himself by saying that "The account to which the writer refers was forwarded to us by one of the most intelligent and distinguished members of Congress."

If a member of Congress really made him his dupe, by telling him a wanton and malicious lie, to injure another, why did he not expose him to his constituents, and why allow the untruth such a long circulation? Is it thus that *the Union* is to be used to give the signal to 500 servile or uninformed party presses? Is this democracy? In August, 1829, the Editor of the Telegraph attacked Mr. Adams on 'tother side. "It is well known (said he) that thro' Mr. Adams's aristocratic pride this elegant room [the East Room] was left unfurnished," &c. What an evil it is to have editors in power, and influencing the people, who, like Ritchie, Noah, Croswell, Blair, and their employers, say "all's fair in politics," and act accordingly!

*Exchanging a Carriage—an Apology for one cent of Postage.*

[No. 148.] Letters, Martin Van Buren, at N. York, to Lorenzo Hoyt, at Albany.

New York, June 2, 1827.—My Dear Sir: Will you do me the favor to get Dennis or some one else to clean up my harness and Phaeton, and send them to me by one of the boats, with directions to give me the earliest information of its arrival. I want to exchange it here. *I cannot pay the postage of this [12½ cents] but will repay it among your other expenses.* Excuse me for troubling you, and write me. Your friend, M. V. BUREN.

[No. 149.] N. Y., June 6, 1827.—My Dear Sir: I have sent a copy of the enclosed to Mr. Wilcoxon, with directions to advertise anew. The Chancellor would not grant the order B. sent by Mr. Butler. Consult Mr. B. as to the form of making the amendment, and do it for me forthwith. *I have no opportunity of paying the postage of this [it was one cent] but you will, of course, keep an account of your expenses in this matter.*

In haste, your friend, M. V. BUREN.

† By a reference to Van Buren, Butler, and Croswell's previous letters to Hoyt, about Noah, instructing him in the course that would best serve their purposes, and commending his conduct; and also to Van Buren's letter to Hoyt in Nov., 1828, [No. 151,] where he says "I sorely regret the loss of Noah's election;" and by calling to mind the fact that Van Buren set aside the claims of Coddington and many others, in 1829, that, with much difficulty in Washington, he might provide for Noah, by the Surveyorship, the candid reader will perhaps arrive at the same conclusion as myself, that Hammond is wrong in his opinion—that Van Buren, Marcy, Knower, Croswell & Co. acted in good faith towards Mr. Rochester, when they nominated him at their Herkimer convention, Oct. 1826, as a candidate for Governor, in opposition to Clinton. Clinton was for Jackson—so *now* was Van Buren; all his party capital was thus invested. Rochester was the warm, personal, and political friend of Clay, and anxious for the re-election of Adams—so was Peter B. Porter of Black Rock, who addressed the electors in favor of the Van Buren candidate, reminding them, and with very good reason too, that Rochester's election would probably give Adams the State of New York, while Clinton's might secure it to Jackson. Noah had tried to make money, eight or nine years before, by deserting the bucktails—it would be a good trick in Van Buren to allow him to appear to come out, of his own accord, for Clinton, against his own [the V. B.] party, by which means the chances of defeat to the Adams candidate might be greatly increased, while Van Buren and his friends would make capital on both sides, and *seem* to have kept their word. Van Buren writes from South Carolina to Hoyt, in 1827, to get Noah to insert his speeches, "if he is not apprehensive it would injure his friend, Mr. Clinton." There's something of the sneer in this saving clause—Croswell went for Rochester, who was defeated; Noah for Clinton and Jackson—many of Van Buren's confidential friends, at Albany and elsewhere, were against Rochester—and when the tug came in 1828, Noah, Van Buren, Croswell, Wright, Flagg, and the anti-Adams men, were found pulling steadily one way, with S. Sweetheart, FOR THE SPOILS. Noah's bitterness towards Van Buren, in 1831 to 1841, was probably in a great measure owing to the impression he had, that his useful duplicity had not received a *suitable* reward. There is at present, a very good understanding re-established; and Van Buren and Noah, as they deserve to be, are again friends. Clinton, as Governor, had 3650 votes over Rochester; and Pitcher, the bucktail nominee, was returned with him as Lieutenant-Governor. "Had Rochester (Van Buren's pretended candidate) been elected, there is every reason to believe (says Hammond) that the entire vote of the State would have been given to Adams"—and Van Buren writes Hoyt, Feb. 8, 1829, [No. 165,] that Westervelt, in 1828, had saved their party from defeat by preventing Pitcher's nomination at Herkimer—the very man they pretended to support in 1826. The apathy displayed by some of Van Buren's men, and the opposition of others, towards Rochester, having turned the scale in favor of Clinton, the Clintonians in the legislature rewarded the treachery (if such we may name it) by voting to re-elect Van Buren to the U. S. Senate, in Feb. 1827.

[No. 150.] Tuesday morning, June 12, 1827.—I must leave here on Saturday morning, and if my carriage cannot be sent down so that I can have it by Friday morning, it will not be worth while to send it.

[No. 151.] New York, June 13, 1827.—Dear Sir: I am detained here by nothing save the carriage; and, contrary to my letter of yesterday, I wish you would send it down upon the receipt of this, if I should have to wait until next Monday to *exchange it*.

In haste, Your friend, M. V. BUREN.

[No. 152.] John Van Buren, [Attorney General, &c.,] to Jesse Hoyt, Albany.

NEW HAVEN, Nov. 28, 1827.—Dear Sir: I wish very much to get my rifle here; and *I know of no other person except you to whom I can write about it*. I would be very much obliged to you if you would have a leather covering made for it, and put it on board of the Constellation or Consitution, in charge of the Captain; directed to me, care of Drake & Andrews, Tontine, New Haven. The Captain will send it over to either of the New Haven boats, and so I will get it. I want it very much, and I don't think I shall be home in the winter or I would not trouble you; it is in my bed room. Whatever the expense is you can get it of Mr. Butler, or if you pay it I will pay you when I get home. The bullet-mould is in one of the draws of the side board: if not there, I wish you would look for it.

JOHN VAN BUREN.

*The Metaphysics of the Committee of Congress on Manufactures, in 1828.*

[No. 153.] Governor Wright, Washington, to Jesse Hoyt, Albany.

[Free, S. Wright, Jr. Rep. in Congress.] WASHINGTON CITY, 15 January, 1828.

My Dear Sir: A note from the Hon. G. C. Verplanck was received by me yesterday, enclosing a letter from yourself, together with a particular reference to the Committee on Manufactures, of which I am a member, of a subject very nearly and deeply interesting to the Committee, as well as to the farmers and manufacturers of our beloved country; to wit, the subject of *domestic consumption*.

You propose to him to refer it to me "as one of *persons* and papers, properly belonging to the Manufacturing Committee." It may do very well as one of the "*papers*" properly belonging to the Committee." But it would seem very clearly to me, that it is only the *evidence* of "one of the *persons*" properly belonging, &c., as you cannot have forgotten that the "paper" had received "an envious rent," which you say was "from an *Adams Woman*." Now this *Adams Woman* would appear to be *more nearly one of the persons*, as possessing evidently the ability of proving to the committee the facts in relation to this branch of *consumption*. But whether or not this conclusion be strictly correct, another follows directly from a view of the "paper" itself, and which it is passing strange you should have overlooked. The repair of this "envious rent," you say, was immediately made "by the most delicate fingers that could be possibly enlisted in the cause of the General!" This repair is manifest and presents of itself a delicate specimen of domestic manufacture, important to the *comfort, economy, and independence* of this republican government. Now if it had occurred to you, that the object of the Committee is not only to procure *useful specimens* of domestic manufactures, but also the *personal attendance before the Committee* of the individual practical manufacturers themselves, that they may *see and learn* at the same time, you certainly would not have omitted to forward the names or name so directly rendered material, to enable the Committee faithfully to discharge their important trust.

We have no news here. I shall at all times be extremely pleased to hear from you by letter. In much haste, I am very sincerely your friend, and humble servant, SILAS WRIGHT, Jr.

*Electioneering—Mr. Clay a Mason of rank—Poinsett's Mexican Masonry—Is J. Q. Adams a Mason?—Martindale on Slavery—Gulian C. Verplanck.*

[No. 154.] Gulian C. Verplanck, M. C., to Jesse Hoyt, Albany.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 22, 1828.—Dear Sir: I have just been told by a distinguished Western member that Mr. Clay is a Mason of rank. He has been in Lodges, Chapters, &c., with him. Cannot this be so used with Clay's friends in our Western District, or with the people, as to divert that question from mingling with the Presidential one?<sup>28</sup>

\* Gulian C. Verplanck shows no lack of tact in what is called electioneering. He was the whig candidate for Mayor of New York in 1814, and came within 181 votes of defeating C. W. Lawrence, though the previous democratic majority had been 5000. He must be well advanced in years, for he was married by Bishop Hobart in 1806. Many years since he was involved in a dispute about Trinity Church which did not increase his friendship for Governor Clinton. As "Alumelock Comdy," in 1814, he wrote powerful essays in defence of the war, and attacked Clinton with great severity—and afterwards joined the buckknights against him. In 1823, at the Herkimer Convention, he nominated Van Buren for Governor—supported Jackson for President—and only joined the opposition when the bank veto and deposit questions came up, and the great republican party filed off to right and left as whigs and democrats. He has been in Congress and a State Senator—is distinguished in the walks of literature—and, with Levi Beardsley and Samuel Young, has proved himself a friend to his country by his efforts to extend the blessings of education and increase useful knowledge throughout the land.



Mr. Poinsett's masonic interference in Mexican affairs, a minister appointed and supported by Adams, might also be used.\*

I have written to Baylies to ascertain if J. Q. A. [John Quincy Adams] is not also of the proscribed secret association.

I have not time to add more by this mail. Suggest these matters to those who will use them to advantage.

Martindale has made a singular display, reading a long sermon against slavery, with great emphasis and gesticulation. I am yours, G. C. V.

*Regrets Clinton's death—What could we have done with him?—He might have opposed Jackson—My friend Lawrence—Help Judge Hoffman.*

[No. 155.] James Campbell, Surrogate, N. Y., to Jesse Hoyt, Albany.

NEW YORK, February 22, 1828.—Dear Sir: I was very much shocked when I heard of Mr. Clinton's death, and I confess to you, that I sincerely regret it.

Important consequences are likely to follow from this event; but whether favorable or prejudicial is difficult to determine. It was certainly a very embarrassing question to decide in what way Mr. Clinton was to be disposed of at the ensuing election. He undoubtedly would have been a candidate for Governor, and in this case could the Republican party have been prevailed on to support him? I am of opinion that they could not. Mr. Clinton then, finding himself opposed by our party, would he or his friends cordially co-operate in the support of General Jackson? In such a state of things, the probability is they would have opposed Jackson, and the intolerance manifested towards them would have been urged as an excuse for their conduct. By the death of Mr. Clinton this danger is avoided; but then it may give rise to others not less serious and formidable. In the selection of a candidate for Governor, every kind of artifice will be resorted to by the Adams party, to distract and to throw us into confusion: and it is only by effecting this that they have any chance of succeeding.†

\* Joel Poinsett of South Carolina was Consul General of the U. S. at Buenos Ayres in 1813, and had held official station there for years "in the same line of business (says the Baltimore Federal Republican) as John Henry followed in the U. S., viz: sounding the disposition of the people, and holding out encouragement to disunion." He was afterwards sent to Mexico where he busied himself in the establishment of Masonic Lodges, the charters for which he obtained from the U. S. The Mexicans charged him with being an artful disturber of their political system; and in due time he assumed his proper position as Martin Van Buren's war secretary. Poinsett began his education in Connecticut, and finished it in London and Edinburgh.

† Mr. Clinton, whether in life or death, was evidently a cause of uneasiness to Van Buren and his followers. The following letter from Silas Wright to Martin Van Buren was published in the *Workingman's Advocate*, Albany, Oct. 1830—and shows what Wright's views were at the time he wrote it. Governor Clinton could not have nominated Heman J. Redfield as circuit judge of the western district, for he was one of the 17 senators who had set public sentiment at defiance in 1824, to please Van Buren and elect the intolerant candidate Crawford. It is one of Van Buren's rules, that, as, by adherence to him, his political friends may sometimes have to act dishonestly and unjustly towards the people, he (V. B.) will stand by such party instruments, if useful and uphold them against the people. It was on this monarchial principle of Charles I and II, that Wright spoke of Redfield. So, too, when the people's representatives removed Flagg, Van Buren made him a P. M., and there are hundreds of similar cases.

*Letter, Silas Wright to Martin Van Buren. Washington.*

ALBANY, April 4th, 1826.

MY DEAR SIR:—The time for our adjournment is now fixed upon, and we shall soon have done what shall at all be done to prepare for our fall contest. Much alarm and excitement is prevailing, not only here, but in New York and elsewhere, from the course taken by Noah, and by the allegations that some of us with yourself, are inclining to join with Mr. Clinton against the National Administration. These allegations have been more or less made for some time, but did not become loud or effective until the Advocate came out as you will have seen. Many of our strong friends are fearful, and nearly all of them cannot under any terms be brought to join Mr. Clinton, or to consent to endeavor to sustain ourselves without running a candidate for Governor against Clinton. If he had nominated Redfield as Judge of the 8th Circuit, and taken any ground, the result might have been different, but now I think it perfectly fixed. My object, therefore is to inform you truly what I think will be done; what course I have myself consented to; and what course will, in my opinion, alone save us from an entire division and failure at our next election. A caucus will be held by our friends in the Legislature before our adjournment; the time and place of holding a State Caucus will be fixed upon, to consist of delegates from the counties equal to their representation in the Assembly, an address recommending the holding of such a caucus issued, and the declared objects of the caucus stated to be the nomination of a Governor and Lieut. Governor. Thus, I expect we shall leave this subject and this city. You will readily ask what man can we offer to such a convention? If you should ask what men want to be offered, I could answer you more easily. Tallmadge, Young, &c. But it is much more difficult to say what man we ought to offer to such caucuses, and through them to the electors. Your colleague, [Nathan Sanford] however, is more talked of now by our friends than any other man. Tallmadge is the candidate of a very few of the Adams men but they would probably be pleased to exchange him for Sanford. What may be the state of things next fall it is now impossible to predict, but if the feeling which we leave here should remain, I think there is little doubt he will be nominated by our friends. We are not unaware of the appearance which running him will give abroad, nor of the unpleasant situation in which you may suppose yourself placed by this course. But my reflection and the appearances in the State have induced me to believe that no other measures will be so likely to give us the power of the State when most we shall want it. I admit if we could hold our election without any reference to the question of Governor, it would probably be better for us. But it is perfectly settled that if we do not get up a candidate against Clinton, the Adams and Clay part of our friends will, and such a candidate the great body of our political friends throughout the State would enlist themselves to support against Clinton. If then we should favor Clinton, there would be an effectual split in our ranks which could not be healed. If we should not favor Clinton, our services would be required for the opposite candidate, whether he might be, or we should be equally suspected and opposed. Again, if we should not favor Clinton, his friends

My Friend Lawrence called on me to-day for the first time since the receipt of the news of Mr. Clinton's death: altho' previously scarcely a day elapsed without his paying me a visit. I suspect he deferred his call until he had time to communicate with Washington. I was not long before I inquired of him whom we should have for Governor, when, as I expected, he promptly answered, Nathan Sanford.

Whilst you are staying at Albany, may it not be in your power to make some interest with the Lieut. Governor and Senate in favor of our friend Hoffman? Had Mr. Clinton survived, there is good reason to believe, that he would have nominated him for the office of Recorder; but under the present order of things, I suppose there is but little prospect of this. If, however, the new Court should be established, might not Mr. Hoffman have a fair chance of being appointed its Chief Justice, if proper exertions were made? Write me a letter on the subject of his prospects for this or any other situation, so that I may show it to him. If he could obtain SOME COMFORTABLE PLACE, it would afford me a great deal of satisfaction.

Let me know when it is probable the Lieutenant-Governor will make his nominations. I enclose your last to Van Buren. Yours, respectfully, JAMES CAMPBELL.

*Anti-Masonry—Saratoga doctored to death—Vote of the State—large Majorities only useful on the score of Bets—Broome, a crazy County—Southwick set up as a Decoy Duck—Sore regrets for the loss of Noah's Election, as the Native candidate.*

[No. 156.] Martin Van Buren, Governor-elect of N. Y., to Jesse Hoyt, N. Y.  
ALBANY, Nov. 8, 1828.—My Dear Sir: I thank you sincerely for your several communications. They have been a source of both pain and pleasure to me—the latter on account of their contents, and the former on account of the extreme difficulty I have had to make out what their contents were. You would certainly correct this, if you knew how extremely painful it is to your friends. I would have written to you before, but have had no time to eat my meals. My hour has been run down by my friends, at one moment flushed with victory, and the next frightened out of their senses, and frequently without cause for either.

Laying the efforts of Anti-masonry out of view, and of which we have as yet not much beyond rumour, the election has been a real old fashioned ninety-eight fight. Everywhere, as far as ascertained, we have succeeded in democratic counties by overwhelming votes, and lost in counties that were formerly federal by small majorities. Saratoga was doctored to death if it is lost, which is not certain. *The name of Adams*, and the character of the discussions, have brought old feelings into entire and efficient operation. The result, according to my present knowledge and belief, has been (under the circumstances) signally triumphant. The following vote upon the electoral Ticket I regard as absolutely certain. If there are any mistakes in it, in your part of the State, you can, of course, correct it. Queens and Suffolk, I ascertained.—Kings 1 do.—New York 3 do.—Westchester and Putnam 1 do.—Dutchess 1 do.—Orange 1 do.—Ulster and Sullivan 1 do.—Greene and Delaware 1 do.—Schenectady and Schoharie 1 do.—Herkimer 1 do.—Otsego 1 do.—Onondaga 1. We have only partial returns, and they are favorable. I cannot think there is the slightest doubt of this County. Ascertained. Cayuga 1 ascertained.—Chenango and Broome 1 do.—Tompkins and Courtlandt 1, not ascertained, but without the slightest doubt—17.

Now, I have not time to speak of the chances in the other districts; you must make them out from the papers. For myself, I should think good luck alone would give us a few more, and I shall be egregiously disappointed if we do not get 20 at the very least. You need not believe their stories, for they have not the slightest respect for truth in most cases. We shall therefore

would not favor us in Congress, Senate and Assembly tickets, the success in which would be the only object in our declining to have a candidate for Governor. Should we decline to support the candidate run against Clinton because he was friendly to Adams, this would inevitably induce the friends of that candidate, two-thirds of whom, so far as the State is concerned, would be friends, not only to run Congress, Senate and Assembly tickets, but to run them pledged to Adams. In any event then, from this state of things, it does appear to me, that we should be between two fires without the least prospect of escaping the flames, *instead of bringing off the spoil*. We should put ourselves precisely in the situation the federalists of this State have been in for years past, acting under colors not our own, and doing journey work. But suppose we take up your colleague and make him our own candidate. He is here considered republican; by the Adams men he is considered an Adams man, and by us, in truth, not much different. But would not the very fact of taking him up, without reference to his feelings in regard to national politics, and purely on the ground of democracy, draw after it, as a necessary consequence, the acquisition of the administration strength of this State, while the question of national politics would not be drawn into a formation of our Congress, Senate and Assembly tickets? \* \* \*

Again—I have thought, and still think, taking the future prospects for four years, of what will be the state of national politics, that I had rather have your colleague [Sanford] here as Governor, than where he now is, and should we have the power next winter, I think we could better fill that place for the future contest. So much in the most perfect haste, as my reason for consenting and advising to the course I have pointed out to you, as to our state election. If I am wrong, write me and tell me so, as frankly as I have given you this tedious, ill-digested detail. If you can [at all] concur in these views, please endeavor to influence your colleague to hold himself willing to serve his friends in the way here suggested. Do not by this letter suspect that any changes in my feelings, or those with whom I have acted, has taken place favorable to Messrs. Clay, Adams, & Co. It is not so. \* \* \* You will consider this letter as entirely confidential. \* \* \* With sentiments of the warmest friendship, I am, &c. S. WRIGHT, Jr.

have votes enough to put Jackson's election out of all question, and WHAT IS OVER IS ONLY IMPORTANT ON THE SCORE OF BETS.\*

Our Governor and Lieut. Governor's majority *will be immense*. The only 4 towns in Broome† (A CRAZY COUNTY) have given me a unanimous vote, viz. 1000, and the others, it is supposed will not reduce that. Everywhere I get the true party vote, and in many places *Southwick's vote will be large*. We shall have nearly 3000 in Ulster and Sullivan, and between 1500 and 2000 in Cayuga; we have carried our Senators in 4 districts, and have a good chance to carry them in most of the others. Our majority in the Assembly will be as large as is desirable. Contending, as we have done, against Federalism, revived Anti-masonry, and Money, I am satisfied with the result. I SORELY REGRET THE LOSS OF NOAH'S ELECTION, AS WELL AS ON HIS OWN ACCOUNT, AS ON ACCOUNT OF THE COST HIS ELECTION HAS BEEN TO THE PARTY; but one point is gained, viz: he must be satisfied that *his friends have, with their eyes open, sustained a great struggle, and run much hazard on his account*. I hope there will yet be some way found out of doing something for him. I shall be down on Tuesday. In the mean time, show this to my friends Bowne, Verplanck, Hamilton, and Cambreleng. Tell Verplanck I have no doubt you was as much frightened as he says, and am quite certain that you have as much pluck as you claim. Remember me to Mrs. Hoyt, and believe me to be,

Yours, cordially, M. V. BUREN.

[No. 157.] John Van Buren to L. Hoyt, at Albany.

NEW YORK, Nov. 13, 1828.—Dear Sir: You will confer a favor upon me, by having *that small trunk in which Pa keeps his valuable papers, &c.*, sent up to Mr. Butler's as soon as possible. I neglected doing so when I left. As far as returns are received, we have three votes certain in Maryland, with a chance of another double district. Our friends here all claim Ohio, with perfect confidence. The returns from there are very favorable. JNO. VAN BUREN.

[No. 158.] Judge Edmonds to Jesse Hoyt.

HUDSON, November 26, 1828.—Dear Sir: I am anxious to see Mr. Van Buren as soon as he returns from New York. Will you be so good as to inform me whether he has yet returned; and if not, drop me a line as soon as he does return. By so doing, you will oblige.

Your friend, J. W. EDMONDS.

[No. 159.] † J. A. Hamilton to Jesse Hoyt, Wall street, N. Y.

Nov. 28. *Private*.—Dear Hoyt: Campbell informs me that you hold a part of the money collected from the Auctioneers, unappropriated—if so, I wish you not to part with it, inasmuch as I advanced \$200 to Targee to send to Albany, which he promised me should be repaid out of the first money he should collect. He now informs me that he has not funds to pay me, &c.

\* President Van Buren does not think a large majority of the people, as indicative of union on men and measures, of the least consequence. If Jackson is safe, and the chance of the party to clutch the plunder, through him, "what is over is only important on the score of bets." Gov. Wright, in his message to the Legislature of New York, Jan. 1845, furnishes a very suitable commentary upon this gambling, betting propensity of the Van Buren family, in these words:

"Another point of much more serious complaint, is the extensive and rapidly increasing practice of betting upon elections, and the interested and selfish, and corrupting tendencies which it exerts upon the election itself. These improper and corrupting influences have made themselves manifest to the whole body of our freemen, and constitute a theme of almost universal complaint. Upon the party to the wager, they are all controlling. His ear and his mind, from the moment his money is staked, are closed against argument, or reason, or examination, either as to the questions involved, or the candidates presented for his suffrage. He must so vote and so act as to win his bet, and the welfare of the country becomes an entirely secondary consideration. His appeals to all over whom he may hope to exert an influence, are to save himself from loss, and help him to win the money of his opponent, not to examine and inquire how they may best serve their country by their votes."

"The suggestion," continues Governor Wright, "most likely to arrest the practice of betting, is to make it punishable criminally: to subject the parties to every bet made upon the result of an election, to indictment, and upon conviction, to punishment by a fine, to be graduated by the amount of the wager, and to all the costs of the prosecution. The deleterious influence of this species of gambling upon the public morals alone, would, it appears to me, justify the passage of a law which should make it criminal. And when its corrupt and corrupting tendencies upon our elections, upon the free and proper exercise of the elective franchise; when its influence to bring the improper expenditure of money into a political canvass, and to apply it under the desperate impulse of a gambling spirit, are considered, I cannot doubt that the moral and political aspect of the evil will fully justify its classification as a crime and its punishment as such."

† If Broome was crazy, Peter Robinson, her representative, was quite discreet. He sat as Speaker of the Assembly in 1829, and never missed a bank division during the session, but uniformly voted against every safety-fund charter, in the teeth of Van Buren's advice.

‡ I have placed this note as of 1828, but it may be 1832, or any other year, after the November campaign in New York. Was the Auctioneers' money, an electioneering tax levied by the party in power, from that class of persons, because privileged? Hamilton was very sharp and close about cash, fees, &c. Were the \$200 sent to Albany by Targee, on account of a contract find to manufacture public opinion for the State, as the official printing is to Ritchie, and as it was formerly to Blair and Rives, to enable them to employ and direct men of talent at Washington how to manufacture public sentiment, to be forwarded through the United States, and echoed by hired, servile, and unprincipled presses, for the benefit of a party bound together by the plunder of the people and the neglect of useful reforms? If not—what was it?

&c., the end of all which is, that I am not to be repaid in the manner I supposed. Of the 200 I have but 65, so that there is due to me \$135, and if you have the whole, or any part of that amount, I wish you to take care of me, as far as you can. Talk with Campbell.

Yours, &c., J. A. HAMILTON.

*An Active Voter—the unfortunate pitted.*

[No. 160.] Gulian C. Verplanck, M. C., to Jesse Hoyt, at New York.

[Postmark, Washington Dec. 27.] 1828.—I enclose a contribution for the Major [Noah,] whose notice of Mr. Herbert I received this morning, and recognize therein a hand which is not unknown. The Major's are naive wood-notes, but there is a learned melody in 5-8 time, which will explain to you. It is not only true that Mr. H. voted for the whole Jackson ticket in the 5th ward, but he did it *twice* running, and then observed that he was now going over to Hoboken, but to-morrow he would vote in the first ward, for all the Jackson candidates except Alderman Cebra, whom he could not swallow. *This I will swear to.* Please communicate it to the National Advocate.

Who is to be Mayor? Poor Adams [meaning the then President of the U. S.] looks so woe-begone and sick that every body pities him. He is wholly altered in person and appearance.

Yours, G. C. V.

[No. 161.] Governor Van Buren to Jesse Hoyt, at New York. ALBANY, Jan. 4, 1829.

My Dear Sir: You need not, I think, have any apprehension about the message. The earliest allowable moment will be embraced to send you a copy; but that cannot be as soon as you desire. I thank you kindly for your letter, and beg you to write me always with equal freedom. I cannot consent to contribute by any act of mine to the prevalence of that great political vice, a desire to shun responsibility. I shall do the best I can in whatever relates to my office, and leave the result to PROVIDENCE and the People. Remember me kindly to Mrs. H. and believe me to be very sincerely your friend,

M. V. BUREN.

Does our friend L. Smith know that Judge Swanton has been recommended by the elite of the party in New York? I presume it is understood by him and all our friends. *I do not see how I can avoid the appointment.*

[No. 162.] Governor Van Buren to Jesse Hoyt, at New York.

ALBANY, Jan. 15, 1829. Do me the favor to find out the residence of Mr. Forman, and give the enclosed to him. You may ascertain it from Mr. Newbold, or Catlin, or Chancellor Kent.

M. V. BUREN.

*Butler and the Attorney Generalship—the Clinton Bill—Coddington's advice—Westervelt, Havens, Manley—Politics found even in Physics.*

[No. 163.] Governor Van Buren to Jesse Hoyt, N. York.

ALBANY, Feb. 1, 1829. My Dear Sir: I am distressed by Lorenzo's accounts of your affairs in New York. When will the Republican Party be made sensible of the indispensable necessity of nominating none but true and tried men, so that when they succeed they gain something? The same game that is playing with you was in a degree played here on the nomination of Attorney General. *The only personal objection that was made to Mr. Butler, was his conduct last winter in regard to the Clinton Bill,* and I believe that every Chutonian in both houses voted against him, except Charles Livingston, of whose vote I am advised. Mr. B. depended upon your city vote, and would have succeeded if he had got it. Cargill, Arnold, Albutus, and Mr. Allen, voted for him—beyond that nothing is known. I must insist upon you not mentioning my name in connection with this subject in any form. *Make it a point, if you please, to see my good friend CODDINGTON, and say to him that I have not been able to follow his advice in relation to the Health appointments,* and hope to satisfy him when I see him that I have done right. The claims of Dr. Westervelt were, taking all things into the account, decidedly the strongest, and much was due to the relation in which he stood to Governor Tompkins, especially from one who knew so well what the latter has done and suffered for this State. I should forever have reproached myself if I could have refused so small a tribute to his memory. Westervelt is a gentleman and a man of talent, of a Whig Family, and a Democrat from his cradle. He was three years in the Hospital and five years Deputy Health Officer, until he was cruelly removed through the instrumentality of Dr. Harrison, who to my knowledge, owed his appointment to the unwearied and incessant perseverance of Governor Tompkins. Havens has been at the station but a year and has never seen a case of yellow fever in his life. All that I could do for him (and he has not a better friend in the world,) was to satisfy myself that Dr. Westervelt and the Board of Health would retain him in his present station. I cannot dismiss Dr. Manley. His extraordinary capacity is universally admitted; and his poverty, and misfortune in regard to the new Medical College which he brought into existence but failed to get a place in it, has excited a sympathy for him with medical men in all parts of the State of unre-

cedented extent. Mr. Clinton was so sensible of it that he once actually nominated him for health officer, and was upon the point of doing it again the very week when he died. *His removal if made could only be placed on political grounds, and as he was a zealous Jackson man at the last election that could not have been done without danger.*

Butler feels less than any of his friends.

Yours truly, M. V. BUREN.

I had promised not to interfere and did not.

*The Time to strike for Coddington.*

[No. 164.] C. C. Cambreleng to J. Hoyt.—WASHINGTON, 7 Feb., 1829. Dear H.—I have your letter for the Major [Noah,] who has not yet arrived—when he does he shall have it. *When the time comes to strike* there is no man for whom I would do more than for our friend Mr. C. [Coddington,] none deserves more than he does.† You are mistaken—Ohio is for itself. I expect soon to hear the result of your ballotings. Very truly yours,

C. C. CAMBRELENG.

*Van Buren's Neutrality—Marcy placed on the bench to save him from ruin—A physician saves Van Buren's party, and is paid with an office!—Pitcher, how dangerous!—Dr. McNeven—Jacob Barker.*

[No. 165.] Governor Van Buren to Jesse Hoyt, N. Y. ALEANY, Feb. 8, 1829

Dear Sir—It is impossible to judge correctly without a view of the whole ground. Some two or three weeks before the meeting of the Legislature, Sudam by letter requested my neutrality. I shewed it to Mr. Butler, and, with his approbation, replied, that I would consider it my duty, under all circumstances, not to interfere. Bronson's friends had the address to push Dudley into the Senate, and MARCY WAS SO SITUATED THAT I MUST MAKE HIM A JUDGE OR RUIN HIM‡ These circumstances gave color to the clamour about Albany dictation, which it became necessary to respect. No one was better satisfied than Mr. Butler of the impolicy and positive impropriety of my interference, as matters stood. My friend Campbell is certainly wrong if he blames me. He was as anxious to have Manley retained as to have Hitchcock appointed, and the amount of his advice, therefore, was, that I should give the two most valuable offices to two old Federalists who never acted with us till last fall, and that to the exclusion of a young man who, with all his connexions, have been Republicans in the worst of times—who has already been sorely persecuted, and whose firmness SAVED US AT THE HERKIMER CONVENTION—for, had it not been for the fearless and prompt stand taken by Dr. Westertelt after the first informal ballot, PITCHER WOULD UNDOUBTEDLY HAVE BEEN NOMINATED.§ After all, it is very doubtful whether he gets through the Senate.

† A friend in New York, who was well informed on many points, at these times, tells me that Coddington, who had been a grocer, besides being concerned in speculations with and for the party leaders, had advanced a heavy sum in cash, with certain promises, when, &c.

‡ If Van Buren saved Marcy from ruin by making him a Supreme Court Judge, Marcy's subservience to his benefactor appears to have been boundless. On the 15th of Oct. 1839, Mr. N. P. Tallmadge addressed a letter to Gov. Marcy from Poughkeepsie, as follows—"Sir: I have stated on different occasions, that *previous* to the extra session of Congress in 1837, you advised me, at my house, to oppose the Sub-Treasury Scheme, if Mr. Van Buren should recommend it; that after the extra session, on board of the steamboat, you advised of my course in opposing it, and condemned Mr. Van Buren's in recommending it, and said that you would not endorse it in your message to the Legislature. Such opinions I also understand you freely expressed to others. I wish you to say, whether you deny the truth of the above statement, or whether, in the article in the Albany Argus of the 14th inst., you have authorised or intended a denial of it N. P. TALLMADGE."

Mr. Tallmadge also wrote to Levi Hubbell, who had been adjutant-general, by Marcy's appointment, to state what he knew. He replied from Ithaca, Oct. 19, "Dear Sir \* \* \* I was in New York at the close of the extra session in 1837, and know that Gov. Marcy was there, and returned soon after. A few days after his return to Albany, he told me, at his house, that he had returned in the boat with you; and he then expressed much gratification at the course pursued by yourself and the Conservatives in Congress. He at the same time, strongly and openly condemned the Sub-Treasury Scheme recommended by Mr. Van Buren, and expressed his dissatisfaction at the course of the Washington Globe and the leading Loco Focos in this State. During the extra session and after it, I had several conversations with Gov. Marcy, in all of which he expressed the same views. His opinions were freely made known to any of his political friends who were near him. I was not then a state officer, but I know that a difference of opinion existed between the state officers in reference to the Sub-Treasury Scheme, and Gov. Marcy declared to me, that on the reception of the special message he had, in presence of several of the state officers, openly expressed his disapprobation of the President's recommendation. \* \* \* LEVI HUBBELL."

Gov. Marcy made no reply; of course he admitted that Mr. Tallmadge had truly described his language and conduct. Yet Marcy came out strong in his next annual message the other way, and the Argus abused Tallmadge for conduct which had privately received Marcy's high approval. What is it that such a character as this will hesitate to do, to secure power and influence under Polk!

§ Mark well Van Buren's language. He tells his creature, Hoyt, that Westertelt's "firmness SAVED US" by preventing the nomination of Pitcher as lieutenant-governor. Pitcher was a bucktail, had been a member of Congress, and, as Butler elsewhere writes, was a rigidly honest man. It was his high character, great kindness of disposition, and personal popularity that had achieved success in 1826, and given to the party the executive patronage of 1828, no man accused him of political sin; his measures while acting as governor, had pleased all classes; "and his appointments (says Hammond) had been such as would have done honor to any executive." Even the Convention in 1827, which obeyed Van Buren's nod to set this able, well-tried, and patriotic statesman and farmer aside, and to name Lawyer Throop, because he was an anti-mason, and ready, (like John Van Buren since,) "to do any body's dirty work," unanimously voted him (Pitcher,) the thanks of the democracy of the state, for the integrity

Mr. Schenck is co-operating with the opposition in the Senate, and all the old enemies of Tompkins, to get him rejected. About one-third of the Senate are absent, and the probability is that he will fail. If so, I shall not nominate Havens. I have been very friendly to him, and have done all that was necessary to secure him (with good conduct on his part) in his present place, and I can never lend myself to promote the views of those who coalesce with our enemies to sacrifice Republicans, who stay at home, and trust to their friends that they may get their places. *I should not have given Manley the office originally if I could have found a competent Republican to take it.* But being competent and poor I could not think in proper to remove one Clintonian Jackson man to put in another. *Dr. McNeven was his only competitor.* Targee has had as little to do with the matter as you have, and less than Mr. Bloodgood, or about as much. I regret the state of affairs with you. It will work itself clear in the end. The general remedy is an alteration of the time of your charter elections.

Believe me to be, very sincerely your friend, M. V. BUREN.

Barker yesterday presented his formal complaint against the Recorder. He behaved with great propriety; you must say nothing of my views in regard to Havens.

*Postmaster Coddington electioneering for the office Noah got.*

[No. 166.] Jonathan I. Coddington to J. Hoyt.

NEW YORK, Feb. 13th, 1829.—Dear Hoyt: I have seen Al. Coe, he has signed in your favor, making five; and he informs me there is no doubt of your getting the eight that voted for you in caucus—and in addition I have no doubt you will get Lee, which is all that is required. You no doubt remember what I told you three weeks before the election of Mayor, *That Bowne must and should be the Mayor—that I seldom failed in what I undertook in earnest* (particularly for other people—how it will be with myself I know not) *in the way of politics.* The result will be this in the end. You'll be District Attorney and Sherman clerk. Noah's having gone to Washington, several of those who voted for him in caucus have left him, under the impression he will get something there. His claims are certainly far greater than Sherman's and I have not the least doubt he would have succeeded but for this impression. You may rest assured I shall leave nothing undone that can be done fairly and honorably to promote your interest. General Duff Green was elected Printer to the House on *Tuesday* by a majority of two votes, and General Jackson was in the neighborhood and expected in Washington on Wednesday. I observe that *our friend Silas Wright, Jr. Esq.,* has reached Albany. I want you to go with Cargill and Arnold to the Chancellor, to Judge Marcy, the Comptroller, and Secretary of State. If they do not like to sign my naked application, you'll please draw up a joint letter *for them to sign in my favor, addressed to our two Senators in Congress, stating they are personally acquainted with me, and recommending me as a suitable person to fill the office of Surveyor and Inspector of the Port of New York.* This I want you to attend to without delay, as they may get committed. Recollect that T. L. Smith (the Calhoun man,) is a candidate—don't let him or his friends know that I am an applicant until after we get all the signers we can. If any thing of interest occurs I will write you again. Yours truly, J. I. CODDINGTON

*Sunday Morning at St. Tammany—New York Politics.*

[No. 167.] Postmaster Coddington, to Jesse Hoyt, at Albany.

SUNDAY morning, New York, Feb. 16, 1829.—Dear Hoyt: We had a full meeting THIS morning at Head Quarters—Alderman C. of the first was there—also Judge O. (I mean his brother Jesse,) Capt. Coffin, &c. &c. We had under consideration the Major's letter from Washington, which you'll see in this morning's Enquirer—also your nomination for District Attorney. Alderman Cebra declines signing any paper, but says they know where to find him, and is willing to go into a ballot immediately, and would vote for you. Colonel Robert Arnold of New Jersey dined with me to-day. He is just arrived from Washington, and informs me that there is no doubt of our friend Governor Van Buren's being Secretary of State. I have availed myself to write thus much in time to send you through my neighbour Gideon Tucker, who leaves here this morning, for Albany, Very respectfully, &c. J. I. CODDINGTON.

and ability he had displayed as lieutenant-governor; and when they had negated General Root's resolution to continue in office the man who had thus given universal satisfaction, they voted for Enos T. Throop as his successor!! Is it not evident that Throop was secretly selected by Van Buren and the regency as a convenient instrument for regulating future state elections through a chain of banks, controlled by county jundos of greedy politicians his creatures, so that no one would be appointed to office but the *real* nominees of the Van Buren, Butler, Hoyt, Wright and Stephen Allen cabal? Col. Pitcher never forgot the treachery and ingratitude thus manifested by Van Buren, whose steady and conscientious supporter he had hitherto been. The Morgan excitement was fanned by Van Buren, who was at the bottom of Southwick's nomination. Served as his decoy, to draw off from Throop those western anti-masonic voters who would not support him (V. B.) He (V. B.) had Throop placed on his ticket to catch for himself and his regency as many anti-masonic votes as possible.

*An Old Hunker of Tammany, electioneering for a fat Office.*

[No. 168.] Jonathan I. Coddington, to Jesse Hoyt, at Albany.

NEW YORK, Feb. 20th, 1829.—Dear Sir: I am in receipt of your favors of the 16th and 18th, and am pleased to learn that Mr. T. L. Smith is not an applicant—but really I don't understand the impropriety of getting the support of our Republican Friends in the Legislature, whether from Town or Country. It is not a new thing. I have known it to be done both in this State, and also in other States, by persons applying for offices under the General Government. I remember signing for the friends of several of the Country Members the winter I was at Albany, but if I recollect right I told you my object in getting the Country Members was *not so much with the view of strengthening me as it was to prevent others from getting them*. I shall be perfectly satisfied with any course you and my other friends may think proper to adopt. Before the receipt of your last letter I saw Al. C. of the 1st on Change yesterday. He asserted boldly that he would support you for District Attorney. He cannot nor dare not back out. I called to-day at Coe's to know if any more had signed, but he had not the paper, and informed me that the Recorder had it—and I intend to see it to-morrow, (would to-day, but for the violent snow storm—at least 12 inches has fallen since morning,) and endeavor to get the 9 to sign, and I think there is no doubt of getting that number. I observe you wish it kept a secret, that our friend the Governor is going to Washington. Why even our opponents know it here.

As I have got Allen and Bogardus, would it not be well enough to get our other two Senators from this district?—This I leave entirely to you to do or not to do. Muir (General) tells me that Arnold told him that he had got the Chancellor on, but as you say nothing about, tho't perhaps he was mistaken. If he has not signed should like you to get him. I have one more favor to ask you—let me know the day that Mr. Van Buren will probably leave Albany for Washington.

Your friend, J. I. CODDINGTON.

[No. 169.] In a long letter of Feb. 23d, 1829, J. I. Coddington says he has had a confidential letter from Washington, announcing who the members of the Jackson Cabinet were, bids Hoyt take the list to Gov. V. B.—then winds up—"I have to renew my request in mine of Saturday, which is, that you'll ascertain as near as you can what time Mr. Van Buren will leave Albany."

"P. S. I open this to say that my Washington letter says that the general opinion was that General Jackson meant to take [care] of his friends. J. I. C."

*James A. Hamilton declares himself a good and true Spoilsman.*

[No. 170.] James A. Hamilton, Acting Sec. of State, to Jesse Hoyt, at New York.

Department of State, [Washington,] March 10, 1829. Dear Sir: I have with pleasure received your letter. As to Mr. Duer, I will say to you, as I said to his brother-in-law Mr. Bunker—"While I am not called upon to make an effort to displace Duer, his conduct on an occasion of great feeling and delicacy, (the controversy with Mr. King about the 'Hamilton Papers,') was not such as to occasion regret to me if he should loose his office, or to induce me to turn a finger to retain him." I agree with you entirely in the propriety of making changes FOR THE REASON YOU SUGGEST.

With very great regard, your friend and servant, JAMES A. HAMILTON.

*An Application for Office—very briefly answered.*

[No. 171.] Mr. Sec. Ingham to Jesse Hoyt.—Washington, 11 March, '29.—Dear Sir: I have received yours. The District Attorneys have usually been recommended by the Secretary of the Treasury—but often the applications have been made directly to the President. As to the several particulars noticed in your favor, I can only say that it becomes us to speak rather in action than by words, lest the latter may be misunderstood—the former cannot be. Excuse short letters—necessity compels me to be very brief. Yours sincerely, S. D. INGHAM.

*Shall I "get anything in the general scramble for plunder?"—"Push like a Devil"—out with the Adams men!*

[No. 172.] Samuel Swartwout's advice to his successor, J. Hoyt.

Washington, 14 March, 1829. My Dear Jessika: Your very beautiful and intire interesting letter of the 8th was received in due course of law. I hold to your doctrine fully, that NO D—D RASCAL WHO MADE USE OF HIS OFFICE OR ITS PROFITS for the purpose of keeping Mr. Adams in, and Gen. Jackson out of power, is entitled to the least lenity or mercy, save that of hanging. So we think both alike on that head.

WHETHER OR NOT, I SHALL GET ANY THING IN THE GENERAL SCRAMBLE FOR PLUNDER, remains to be proven; but I rather guess I shall. What it will be is not yet so certain; perhaps Keeper of the Bergen light house. I rather think Massa Pomp stands a smart chance of going somewhere, perhaps to the place you have named, or to the Devil.

Your man, if you want a place, is Col. Hamilton. He being now the second officer in the Government of the Union, and in all probability, our next President. Make your suit to him, then, and you will get what you want. I know Mr. Ingham slightly, and would recommend you to PUSH LIKE A DEVIL, if you expect any thing from that quarter. I can do you no good in any quarter of the world, having mighty little influence beyond Hoboken. The great goers are the new men; the old troopers being all spavined and ring-boned from previous hard travel. I've got the bots, the fet-lock, hip-joint, gravel, halt and founders; and I assure you if I can only keep my own leggs, I shall do well; but I'm darned if I can carry any weight with me. When I left home, I thought my nag sound and strong, but the beast is rather broken down here. I'll tell you more about it when I see you in New York.

In seriousness, my dear sir, your support must come from Mr. Van Buren and Mr. Col. Hamilton; I could not help you any more than your clerk; if I had the ability, rest assured I would do it without prompting. Tell Robert Sands that I am offended with him; he promised to write to me and Mr. H. on business, and he has not done it. My best respects to him. I shall be home in two or three days. Till when, all you can to improve your fortunes, and believe sincerely Yours,

SAM. SWARTWOUT.

[No. 173.]

Senator Dudley to J. Hoyt.

WASHINGTON CITY, March 14, 1829. My Dear Sir: I have been favored with your esteemed letter, dated the 9th inst. In reply to your question, I will state, that from no other person excepting yourself have I received any communication touching the office of District Attorney. Mr. Sanford tells me he has also received a letter from you, and that the office in question, the bestowment of it, is with the Department of State; Mr. Van Buren will, of course, have much to say in it, and to whom you observe that you have written. *There will not be any removals from office before the Senate adjourns*, at least from offices in your city, as I am informed. It was expected that we should adjourn this day *sine die*; but we meet again on Monday, when there will, I have no doubt, be an absolute adjournment. The appointments are all announced in the papers—the few nominations left to act on are of a military nature—Brevets, &c. With great respect, I am, dear Sir, your faithful and obed't serv't,

CHAS. E. DUDLEY.

*Butler thinks Hoyt may turn Van Buren against office-seekers he cannot depend on. We bawl for Jackson when we meant the Spoils!*

[No. 174.] Lorenzo Hoyt to his brother Jesse. ALBANY, March 17, 1829. My Dear Brother: I have received your letters of late—those on the subject of *District Attorney* among the rest, and I have seen and read the one to *Mrs. Butler*. It seems to me to have been labor lost, for at the last conversation I had with her about the Washington expedition, she seemed as firm in her opposition as ever. What they will ultimately conclude about it, I don't know; they will probably come to no determination at present. I also saw your letter to Mr. Butler. His opinions and feelings had undergone a great change *about the District Attorney matter* since he saw you. I met him in at Mr. V. Buren's Saturday afternoon, and the conversation between us three, who were alone, accidentally turned upon that subject; and Mr. Butler then observed, that he began to think quite differently about it; and he now says, what I could not but think he would say, that *he can do nothing for Duer*. He thinks your last letter places the subject on a strong ground; and that such arguments, *addressed to Mr. Van Buren, would be very apt to kindle a proper feeling of resentment AGAINST A SET OF MEN WHO HAVE NOT IT IN THEM TO BE HONEST AND TRUE TO HIM*. Mr. Van Buren observed, on the occasion that I have mentioned, that he had a letter from you that morning, and that you had set about the matter with a very determined spirit. I further understood him to say, that he should not interfere, *especially to save Duer*. Before much had been said on the subject we were interrupted by persons coming in. I am a good deal surprised that Mr. Van Buren can be neutral in this, *and that he will not lend the utmost weight of his influence to displace from office such men as John Duer*. He ought to be satisfied by this time, that that class of men can never be his real or pretended friends, any further than is necessary to promote their own interest; *but strange as it may seem, I do believe that his fear of the effect of such a measure, is the only motive that would prevent his conferring on W. A. Duer, any office within his disposal*.<sup>\*</sup> You will probably see him when in New York, and you ought then to present your views to him in the plainest manner. If we have been struggling for the success of Jackson *and the ac-*

<sup>\*</sup> William A. Duer, recently President of Columbia College, N. Y., is a grandson of Lord Stirling, one of the most eminent of the American generals during the war of the revolution. His father, Colonel William Duer, married Lady Catherine, Lord St.'s daughter, and was a member of the Congress of 1778, and a signer of the first federal constitution. William married the Hon. W. Denning's youngest daughter, at Beverley in Dutchess county, in Sept. 1806; was a federalist, and one of the leaders in the great anti-war meeting in that county, Oct. 7, 1812, at which Philo Ruggles, William Ward, William A. Duer, and Thomas J. Oakley were elected as delegates from the friends of Peace to a general anti-war convention, and Madison's administration censured for rashness and precipitancy. Towards the close of the contest, however, he roused the people to take part in the struggle;—and in 1823, we find him nominated by the Albany Regency, through Van Buren's influence and exertions, as a backsliding judge for the 3rd circuit and accepted by an ultra democratic legislature, in opposition to Ambrase L. Jordan of Hudson, who had always been an active member of the republican party, and was a firm supporter of the war. Mr. Van Buren, as Hoyt justly states, wanted to elevate men who would be true to him. John Duer, to whom the Hoyts had so



*quisition of political power, for the benefit of our opponents, I wish to know it, so that I may know how to act hereafter.* From the manner in which the President has exercised his power thus far, I am inclined to think that he will go "the whole Hog."

Mr. Van Buren left this morning about 11 o'clock. Mr. Butler went with him as far as Kinderhook or Hudson. Write me. Yours affectionately,

L. H.

[No. 175.] M. Van Buren to J. Hoyt. [Post mark, Albany.]—March 17, 1829.—My Dear Sir: I will be in New York on Friday, and wish you to take lodgings for me at the City Hotel. Yours,

M. V. B.

It would seem that no Regency Governor could visit New York, until Jesse had prepared the way. On May 9th he had another epistle from another Governor—"Dear Sir, I shall take the steam boat next Tuesday morning, and reach New York in the evening. You will confer another favor upon me, if you will mention it to Mr. Jennings, that he may provide rooms for me. E. T. THROOP."

*Jesse pushes 'like a devil'—Hires, for Van Buren, a cross grained valet—To the Victors 'belong the Spoils'—We the people—the blood of the martyrs—the P. M.'s Bet—put out John Duer—bold measures—Rudolph Bunner is faithless to us!*

[No. 176.] Jesse Hoyt to Martin Van Buren, Sec. of State, WASHINGTON.

Saturday, 11 o'clock, A. M., March 21, 1829. Dear Sir: I am under the necessity of leaving this evening so as to be in Albany Monday morning at the opening of the Court of Chancery, and I presume I shall not be able to see you. The man whom I had spoken to as your valet, has called every day this week to see when you was to be in town, but I have not seen him to-day, but I have left word at my office if he calls to send him to the City Hotel. His name is Bryan Farrell. He has good recommendations from Mr. W. B. Astor. He has lived with Mr. Prime, from whom I have learned more particularly his character. He is very capable, sober, honest—his only fault is his bad temper, for which Mr. Prime discharged him—but a man who would not suit Mr. Prime in this particular, would never have occasion to exhibit that failing to you, but of this you are to judge. As a general rule it is an objection to a servant. He is married, but would leave his family here. This is all I have to say on domestic concerns, and what else I have to say is not upon subjects of less importance, but which you may (and as the world goes, perhaps justly,) consider as partaking a little of selfishness—but as Mr. Richie said the other day in a letter to Mr. Noah, "Mr. Van Beuren must tell the truth to General Jackson." So I ought to tell the truth to you, and I will do so, at the hazard of forfeiting your confidence and good opinion; for, if I have it now I am under serious apprehensions that I cannot retain it long without abandoning all political honesty, consistency, and "straight forwardness." I take it for granted that all who do not support the present administration you will not consider your friends; and of course will lose your confidence. I have said from the commencement of the contest that I would not support any administration who would support men in power that had contributed to overthrow the democratic party in this State. I have preached this doctrine too long, and it has taken too a footing here, to be easily got rid of. This is not only the doctrine in theory, but we require it to be reduced to practice by the servants of the people to whom we have temporarily delegated the trust. I speak now the universal sentiments of the democracy of this city, and you may rely upon it no man can be sustained who aids and abets in the disappointment of the just expectations of the people on this subject—and all personal considerations and private friendships must yield to political justice. The leading politicians of this city (Mr. Targee and Mr. Bowne excepted) require the removal of Mr. Jonathan Thompson; and Mr. Bowne will put in jeopardy his own situation by attempting to sustain Mr. Thompson. Mr. Peter Stagg and the appraiser every body seems to take it for granted will be removed. We have in this State fought off the infamous charges against General Jackson and yourself and gave the lie to the authors and publishers of them. To continue those in power who contributed to sustaining those charges would but admit the truth of them, and throw back a rebuke upon us for contradicting them. *This rebuke is unjust and we will not receive it with impunity from an administration which WE THE PEOPLE have created.* Nor can we sanction the doctrine of the administration, or any of its members, buying up its enemies at the expense of its friends. "The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church," and that blood which we nobly shed in 1824 in defending our principles and our party, is still curdled by the recollection of OUR SUFFERINGS in that memorable fight, and we will not now permit it to be handed over to the mercy or magnanimity of those who were the cause of its being shed, but we

strong an aversion, is W. A's brother—came round to the bucktails after the war—helped Van Buren to injure Clinton—and set up early in 1821 as a bucktail candidate for Congress from Orange county, received the nomination, but was defeated by a Capt. Selah Tuttle of a North river sloop, in whom Van Buren had more confidence. Tuttle died that fall and Duer was again defeated, by C. Borland. Duer was in the state convention 1821, and generally voted with Van Buren. He is a financier; wrote upon credit and currency in London, and has lectured about them in New York; he is also a lawyer, and was one of the revisers of the state laws. John Duer was appointed, by Adams and Clay, U. S. Attorney, N. Y., in Feb. 1828. When the Baltimore Life and Trust Company failed, he was its president, and owed it \$200,000, or more, secured on a pledge of its stock held by him. Its stock was actually run up to 20 per cent premium!

ask that *retributive justice shall be dealt out to those who from that time to this have not sheathed their swords or ceased in their efforts to prostrate us*. In calling upon our friends to act in this matter, we shall as we always have done, repudiate the doctrine of neutrality. We shall expect every man to take sides one way or the other, *either for or against remanals*. The old maxim of "those not for us are against us," you have so often recognized that its authority cannot be denied. I have one word to say upon a particular case about which I am particularly excited for various reasons—it is the case of Mr. Duer. He was appointed by Mr. Charles King, and his removal or retention is probably left with you, at least so says Mr. Sanford and Mr. Dudley, if I read the letter of the latter correctly. Mr. Bunner, I presume, *has made his bargain with some Southern Interest for his retention*. I judge so from various circumstances, one of which is that Mr. Samuel L. Gouverneur offered a bet of \$100 day before yesterday that he would not be removed. He has his advices daily from Mr. Calhoun or some of his friends, I have not the slightest doubt. *The conversation I had with you at Albany satisfied me that you would retain Mr. Duer, if you could find a satisfactory apology*. Since which I have heard from Mr. Duer's friends that you would support him, and from yours that you would remain neutral. When I left Albany I was not a candidate, and I became so, as I wrote Mr. Ingham, by the advice of my political friends, who could insist upon Mr. D.'s removal. I told Mr. Bowne that I would not take the office of District Attorney for this city if I could get it, till Mr. Duer was removed, and now repeat that I will hold no office from any political party that will keep Mr. Duer in his present station. The very idea that you would by thought or deed contribute to such a result has given me more awful feelings than I experienced when I held a conversation with you in your room over Crittenden's dining room, in the evening of the day of the choice of the Electors in 1824, when our very senses were stunned by the shouts of Mr. Duer and his friends over their champagne in the room below. What you told me in that conversation I well recollect, and I thought you were serious and would not under any circumstances, forget them for at least six years, the ordinary statute limitation for *paral promises*: but if the statute had attached the promises and the consideration have been received by Mr. Duer's connection with Judge Thompson, Anti-Masonry, and God knows what, last fall; and, if I recollect right, Mr. D. was to be one of the body guard to give you an escort to Kinderhook the Friday after the last November election. I do not remind you of these things to excite your prejudices, but as evidence of overt acts against the democracy of the State. To retain Mr. Duer would be to disappoint friends and enemies, for it is considered by all upon general principles that he is to be removed, and if he is retained you get no credit for it even from them. They will attribute it to your fears, and your party friends will charge you with bargaining to buy up your enemies at the expense of the party who have labored to sustain you. There is a charm attending bold measures extremely fascinating—it has given to General Jackson all his glory, and it will give to Mr. Clay hereafter power and strength, and the speech he made at the Washington dinner is admired for its impudence, [*independence?*] and the manly spirit it breathes. In regard to the applicants for Mr. Duer's place, I have nothing to say further than that it is not just to import a man from the country—by this I mean Mr. Bunner, *who is not at heart with us*, as you plainly discovered on your visit two years ago to Oswego—besides many other objections that could be raised, it would amount to a re-appointment of Mr. Duer. I have done nothing since I wrote to you, in regard to myself. Many people have offered to interfere in my behalf but I have delayed taking any measures till I had seen you. My first and principal object is the removal of Mr. D., and when that is done I am willing to leave my claims to the justice and not to the policy of the appointing power. If Mr. D. is not removed by the time I return from Albany, I shall visit Washington, to hand, in person, to every member of the Cabinet "*The Life and adventures of John Duer*"—for as long as God spares my life I shall not spare my exertions to get him out of office as well as all those who have betrayed their friends, their party, and their principles. In doing this, however, I will not *as he and his friends have done*, violate the sanctity of private friendship and private confidence, but the means I shall resort to will be free from concealment, but shall be open and manly, and upon the same principles that has actuated me in opposing him during the late contest. I shall therefore, if driven to go to Washington to prefer my complaints shall go, not as a candidate myself, for I should not then be listened to with as much consideration as I otherwise should, because men in power are not prone to look upon office seekers in so favorable a light. I have written this in the hurry of departure, and subject to the interruptions of office business. I have not time to read it over and prune it of any doubtful expressions, if any such there be. I therefore send it, subject to any explanations that may be proper to convey my true meaning. So far as I have taken a general or special view of the subject spoken of I am borne out by a vast majority of your political friends in the city, all of whom feel this to be a critical point in your political fate. The theory of your address to the Committee of the Legislature we all admire—the practice under it, if conformable to the theory, is all that we require.

In great haste, very truly, your friend, J. HOYT.

*Mr. Stilwell would like Office—is injured by the N. Y. Law Monopoly—has an itching for politics—he gets to be U. S. Marshal.*

[No. 177.] Silas M. Stilwell to Samuel Swartwout, Hoboken, N. J.

NEW YORK, March 24, 1829.—[Private.]—Dear Sir: After leaving you, on yesterday, an idea popped into my head *that I would like a situation in the post office of this city*, for one or two years, or until I can completely concentrate my property here. I am now using every means to turn my western and southern property into money, for the purpose of purchasing real estate in New York—and making this (my native) city my permanent residence. While my business is going on, I can as well be employed in some business, that will make me some return. *My legal profession is of no use to me here, inasmuch as my licence was granted by the courts of Virginia.*† I feel still an itching desire to write on political subjects, and take an active part in political affairs, but I shall restrain my inclination until a more convenient period shall arrive. You are no doubt, surprised at the request I make, but I believe you will eventually see that I have taken a proper course. You will be appointed (beyond all doubt) to the office, and I should be gratified if you are pleased with my application. Please drop a line in the post-office, saying where and when I shall have the pleasure of seeing you. Be pleased to except of the assurance of my high consideration and respect.

S. M. STILWELL.

*General Prosper M. Wetmore's President refers to his friend Van Buren.*

[No. 178.] General P. W. Spicer, ex-President, U. S. Lombard, to Samuel Swartwout.

NEW YORK, March 24th, 1829.—Sir: I have been informed that the office of Collector of this Port has been tendered for your acceptance. Should this information be authentic, and should you conclude to accept the appointment, I take the liberty of offering my services for your acceptance in the situation of deputy. *I feel a conviction that my MERCANTILE experience* would enable me to discharge the duties of the office to your satisfaction, and with advantage to the public interests. If you are not already committed on the subject of your appointment, I can, with confidence, refer to the members of *the REPUBLICAN party at large* in our city and State for the claims I may be considered to possess to your favorable consideration. *I am AUTHORIZED to refer to the Hon. M. Van Buren and the Hon. C. C. Cambreleng for MY POLITICAL STANDING.* I likewise feel justified in adding the names of Benjamin Bailey and the Hon. C. P. White, who have assured me of their disposition to advance my views. May I ask to be favored with an interview when your convenience will permit, in relation to this business.

I have the honor to be, &c.

P. W. SPICER.

*A Tammany Office-Hunter in the dumps—the Postmaster of New York ready to rebel against Andrew Jackson, and why—Hector Craig—Noah on Clay and Van Buren.*

[No. 179.] Jonathan I. Coddington to Jesse Hoyt.—Confidential.

NEW YORK, March 29th, 1829.—My Dear Sir: I have received your favor of the 25th. My interview with Mr. Van Buren was not quite as satisfactory as I could wish, or indeed had a right to expect, after hearing what Silas Wright, Jr., said to Arnold. I will explain further when I see you. *It may all end very well, but I am prepared to hear of Noah, or Hector Craig! receiving the appointment.* You no doubt have heard ere this that Major Swartwout, of Hoboken, is to be Collector of New York.‡ He told me so himself. The General had promised it to him, provided he could make certain arrangements, which he says he very soon accomplished, and sent on—and expects his Commission on Tuesday morning. But notwithstanding all he says, Alley, Fish, and others don't believe it, or rather, won't believe it. Frank Ogden, it is said, will go to Liverpool. *You well recollect that Cambreleng expects this appointment.* Thus (if true) are TWO OF THE VERY BEST OFFICES in the gift of the Government

† Silas M. Stilwell's letters to Hoyt and Swartwout, copied into this correspondence, are really curious productions. He is from New York, went early in life to Virginia, studied law there, became a Van Buren member of the N. Y. Legislature, but voted in favor of the U. S. Bank. In 1834, he was on the whig side, and nominated by that party (with Seward) as lieutenant-governor. He has been an Alderman of New York, and a bankrupt. In 1841 he professed a strong attachment to President Tyler, who gave him the lucrative post of United States Marshal in New York, now held by Eli Moore. Beers's Bank, or the North American Trust Co., was planned by him, and a few others of his way of thinking; he is charged with borrowing beautiful passages from Brougham, &c., and passing them off for native manufactures; and is probably a self-educated man. He started a hoot and shoe store in New York; and in 1834, was, I believe, legislator, alderman, lawyer, shoemaker, and speculator.

‡ Hector Craig succeeded Noah as surveyor of the port of New York in 1813. He was secretary to Tammany (Martling's) in 1808. When a member of Congress, and friendly to De Witt Clinton, in 1825, he voted for Jackson and against Adams as President. His father was from Scotland, and a paper maker at Newburgh, N. Y., Mr. C. had been a merchant in New York, and in 1837 was an anti sub-treasury conservative. Eli Moore succeeded Craig as Surveyor. W. F. Havemeyer, mayor of N. Y. married Craig's daughter. He (Craig) is dead.

§ Tho' enraged at Swartwout's success, Coddington was his personal and political friend, and wrote him, May 6, 1829. Dear Sir—Mr. Isaac Warren is the *Old Democratic Republican* in whose favor I spoke to you sometime since. He has been trying to get an appointment from Mr. Thompson, the last seven years—and hope he may now succeed. Mr. White and Mr. McDermutt have also requested me to speak to you in their favor for a situation. *I have also to request that so able and efficient an officer as Mr. Nathaniel Hoyt may not be removed.*

Yours most respectfully,

J. I. CODDINGTON.

GIVEN TO PERSONAL FRIENDS, and *without even consulting his Cabinet*. There is considerable dissatisfaction here that Mr. Van Buren was not at Washington sooner. Messrs. Bailey, Alley, Bloodgood and Fish, and others, called on Governor Van Buren on Monday, and expressed to him *what they deemed the wishes of the party*—that *Thompson, Duer, &c. ought to be removed*. The Governor told them that he had received a long letter from you respecting removals—but particularly about the District Attorney. It is said C. D. Colden is a candidate for Duer's place. If so, there is another *personal* friend of the General's in *your way*.

IF THE PRESIDENT PERSUES THIS COURSE THE PARTY IS RUINED,  
IF AND THE SOONER WE BEGIN TO BUILD UP A NEW THE BETTER.

Let me hear from you again soon, and believe me to be yours, truly,

J. I. CODDINGTON.

REMARKS, BY W. L. M.—The impression on my mind, from the mercenary character of Noah, and the intriguing, politician-buying ways of Van Buren, and what I see in this correspondence, is, that Van Buren had bargained for Noah's support, payable by some fat office in Jackson's gift, if the attempt to get the Sheriffship for him failed. In Van Buren's letter to Hoyt, No. 156, he "sorely regrets" Noah's failure; and when Coddington saw him, [as above,] he found that Noah was ahead of him, and was so chagrined that he was ready to revolt. Noah, in his *Star* of Aug. 5, 1834, says that he pleaded in 1829, to Jackson, at Washington, "the condition of the [Noah's] *Enquirer*, almost broken down, and \$25,000 in debt, from a fierce political conflict"—that Ritchie opposed him—that he wrote Ritchie, who replied, [see his letters, Nos. 179a, and 179b,]—and that when he [Noah] took sides with Webb, against Van Buren, Ritchie called him "the Swiss Mercenary," &c. Noah, again says, in his *Star* of June 23, that Van Buren got up a candidate against him (Coddington?) and pushed him with all his force; but, he adds, "I was still Van Buren's friend." He praised Clay to the skies; but had previously, when ordered by "that tyrannical and mercenary oligarchy known by the name of the Albany Regency," described him as "the man who had bargained away the presidency," "the apostate politician," "the despicable demagogue," "who, by a base bargain, brought into the presidential chair the head of the old aristocracy, the reviler of Jefferson"—adding [*Enquirer*, May 17, 1828,] "We shall not find fault with Mr. Clay in turning religious, and renouncing cards, dice, and women—it is time for him to do so," &c.†

[No. 179, a.] Thomas Ritchie, now Editor of the *Union*, to Mordecai M. Noah, Editor of the *Enquirer*, N. Y.—RICHMOND, March 25, 1829.—Dear Sir: I take blame to myself for not meeting, more directly, a suggestion which you made in the letter you were so kind as to address me a few days ago. But since replying to it, I see so much to draw my attention to the subject; so much in what has been done in the case of others, and so much in what has been rumored in your own case, that I cannot reconcile it to the regard I have for you, or the respect I wish to preserve for myself, to pass it over in the general and delicate way I have done.

I will not content myself by saying, as I then did, that I wish for nothing from the Administration, but I will take the liberty of going farther, and, in the most respectful manner, of asking whether *you*, (at the head of such a press as the N. Y. *Enquirer*.) should accept of an office at their hands? THE DIGNITY OF THE PRESS IS ALREADY INJURED. I GREATLY FEAR, BY THE NUMBER OF EDITORS WHO HAVE OBTAINED OFFICES—THE TWO GREENS, DANFORTH, KENDALL, HILL, AND IF YOU ARE ADDED TO THE LIST, IT MAY BE TRULY SAID THAT THE MOST ACTIVE AND ABLEST EDITORS IN THE ELECTION OF GEN. J. HAVE OBTAINED OFFICES. A mind like yours will see at

† In Noah's *Star*, June 23, 1834, he thus explains his connection with Van Buren:

"I was so unfortunate as to commit Mr. Van Buren in favor of Wm. H. Crawford for the presidency, and to had him fast in his pledge of fidelity, so far at least as to vote for him on the first ballot, after which it was his intention to have voted for John Quincy Adams; to secure his election, and to accept in return such contingent reward as services and influence of that nature have rendered unavoidable—for he it known that at that time, and at no time, was Mr. Van Buren friendly to Gen. Jackson, or had any confidence in his fitness or claims to the office of president. The columns of the *Argus* will bear me out in this assertion. Mr. Clay, however, was too quick and too sagacious for the Little Magician, and Mr. Adams was elected by Congress on the first ballot. Mr. Van Buren's re-election for Senator was most desirable to him, and he saw at once that he could only succeed by obtaining the votes of the friends of Mr. Adams in our legislature; so he professed to be satisfied with his administration and took no hostile attitude until, by the votes of the Adams men, he succeeded in securing his seat in the Senate. He then attempted to obtain office under Mr. Adams, and several efforts were made to secure his confidence. Finding that Mr. Van Buren was attempting to sell the democratic party to Mr. Adams, I forthwith ran up the Jackson flag under the head of the *New York Enquirer*, and by this act incurred the severe displeasure of Mr. Van Buren and the Regency, for promising to declare in favor of Mister Jackson, as they called him, before they had exhausted their efforts to win over President Adams, or had time to open negotiations with Gen. Jackson's friends. Mr. Adams, however, was determined to try his fortune without Van Buren, and he declined purchasing him; and when Mr. Rufus King was appointed minister to England, and Gen. Jackson's prospects strengthened, Mr. Van Buren threw himself into the current, and came out for the General after the battle had been fought, and in sight of victory, giving as his reasons, to a New York politician, who I can name, if necessary, that General Jackson, of all the candidates, *gives the easiest to manage*."

once the handle which will be made of these accumulated appointments, and with what force they will be made to bear against those who confer, and those who accept, offices. IT IS CALCULATED TO BRING DOWN THE LOFTY INDEPENDENCE OF THE PRESS, WHICH, LIKE THE SENSITIVE PLANT, SHRINKS FROM THE TOUCH OF EXECUTIVE POWER.

I entreat you to excuse these hasty lines. If I respected you less—if I cared less for you, and less for the great cause in which we have fought together, and in which we may have to contend again, I would not venture to write them. *The appointment of personal friends and editorial partizans has already produced a feeling in some of our friends that I never expected to witness.*

In great haste, yours, THOS. RITCHIE.

[No. 179, b.] The same to the same.—RICHMOND, April 11, 1829.—My Dear Sir \* \* \* I could sincerely wish you not to accept of any appointment under the Administration. WHAT THE PEOPLE OR THE LEGISLATURE MIGHT GIVE YOU, WE WOULD NOT QUARREL ABOUT. Had the good people of N. York thought proper to re-elect you their Sheriff, or the legislature to invest you with one of their appointments, I should be happy to greet your success. But, I confess, that after the favors which have almost been showered upon our brethren, I should wish you neither to ask nor accept an office.

There is great force in your remark, that if the editor be kept *poor*, the *press* is in great danger of being *dependent*. Yet I AM AFRAID WE SHALL SCARCELY MEND THE MATTER BY MAKING THE EDITOR OWE HIS FORTUNES TO THE EXECUTIVE POWER. SHALL WE NOT MERELY SHIFT THE DANGER, FROM A DEPENDENCE ON A PARTY, OR THE PEOPLE, TO A DEPENDENCE ON THE ADMINISTRATION?

I think, in this respect, we are, and should be a *proscribed class*—that is to say, we should be shut out from the ordinary executive offices; but I would equally proscribe a *member of Congress*—leaving both of them, however, at liberty to accept the *highest grades* of offices, for which the field of selection ought to be as wide as the nation itself: such as Secretaries of Departments, Judges of the Supreme Court, and Foreign Ministers to the highest Courts. But I won't at the same time, throw open every other honor in the Republic to gentlemen of our cloth. *What I would ask is, that, for ordinary offices, there should be as little connexion as possible between the press and the Executive. I would put editors and members of Congress under the same rule and exceptions; because the liberty of the press, and the freedom of election, are the great safeguards of our liberties; and if the President can injure both, by calling editors and representatives into office, we shall place both of them at his feet.*†

I will not however, trouble you further upon this subject: nor do I wish to trouble the public. It has excited great clamor among the enemies of the Administration *here*, and great censure among its best friends: and I really wish that not more than one (if one) case had occurred. Take office, however, or not, be assured of my kind wishes for your health and happiness.

Respectfully yours, THOMAS RITCHIE.

† Our readers will be pleased to turn to Daniel Jackson's letter, [No. 222 of this correspondence,] in which it is shown that Van Buren's friends set up Blair as a printer, (which was the same as if a bank had lent him cash to buy his presses and types.)—they may then be much edified by a perusal of Blair's dying speech, when Polk had killed his *Globe*, and chosen Ritchie, who had such a horror at office, as his successor.

[From the *Globe*.] WASHINGTON, April 14, 1845.—The *Globe* office and its appurtenances, (in virtue of the agreement which we annex for the information of its subscribers,) passed, on Saturday last, into the hands of Messrs Ritchie & Heiss. THE *GLOBE* HAD ITS ORIGIN IN THE WILL OF GEN. JACKSON, and owes to him and Mr. Van Buren, and their political friends, the success which has attended it through fifteen years of conflict, closed by the late triumph of the democracy, which effaced the disaster of 1840. It has been the misfortune of the *Globe*, in sustaining the strong administration of Gen. Jackson—the uncompromising administration of Mr. Van Buren and in opposing the abuses of Mr. Tyler's administration, to make enemies of some who united with the democracy in its last struggle. The interest of the cause requires that all who contributed to the election of the present Chief Magistrate should continue to give their support. It is the good fortune of the conductor of the new official organ, [Thomas Ritchie] not to have offended any portion of those whose adhesion to the party is necessary to its safety and success. We have unbounded confidence in the ability, integrity, and patriotism of the man who is now to preside over the establishment, and shall consider ourselves amply compensated for the sacrifice we are now called on to make, if our anticipations of the continued union and success of the democracy shall be realized by the official journal, under its new name and new auspices. We cannot express our gratitude to the democracy, to which we owe every thing.

F. P. BLAIR, JOHN C. RIVES.

Next day, the *Globe* remarks, that "Fortunately there is nothing of moment at this time to call into requisition the energy of the organ of democracy at Washington." When, or in what instance, during 15 years, did Blair and his organ display much energy, except when battling for the spoils, or fighting in the cause of faction, regardless of manly freedom, or free institutions? Ritchie, Blair's successor, was quite antiaimed when abusing me for showing the people, on the best of evidence, the hollow-hearted rottenness of Van Buren, Cambreleng, Butler, and their plundering associates.

President Tyler's theory was like Ritchie's; he instructed Mr. Noble, Sept. 23, 1841, that "the appointment to, and continuance in the office of postmaster of any one editing a political newspaper, is, in the highest degree, objectionable. It involves most of the consequences *above* stated—introduces politics into the post office—diminishes the revenues and confers privileges on one editor which all cannot enjoy. In a word, it is my fixed purpose, as far as in me lies, to separate the Post Office Department from politics, and bring about that reform which the country has so loudly demanded." Mr. Tyler, like Mr. Ritchie, did not act up to these principles, but in contradiction of them.

*Noah introduces to Swartwout for an Assistant Cashier, his Hebrew Cousin, Phillips, who was afterwards prosecuted for taking \$600,000, or so, from Uncle Sam's Till.*

[No. 180.] M. M. Noah to Major Swartwout, Hoboken.—NEW YORK, March 31, 1829.—My Dear Sir: I mentioned to you that Mr. Joshua and Aaron N. Phillips have been many years in the Customs. **THEY ARE AT IMPORTANT DESKS, and THEIR CAPACITY and thorough knowledge of the business is excelled by none in the department.** In introducing them to your friendly notice I can only assure you that their experience and attention to their duties, will be useful to you and serviceable to the revenue, and that **THEY MERIT BY THEIR INTEGRITY YOUR ENTIRE CONFIDENCE.**

Truly yours, M. M. NOAH.

*Van Buren complains of his friend Hoyt's harshness and rudeness—'be civil or I'll cut the connexion'—take office and ask no questions—Mr. Hills—Van Buren and Jackson understood each other.*

[No. 181.] Secretary Van Buren to Jesse Hoyt, New York. (Private.)

WASHINGTON, April 13, 1829.—Dear Sir: I never expected to see the day when I should be constrained, as I now am, to address you in the language of complaint. Nothing but my strong conviction of the extent and sincerity of your friendship could sustain me in resisting the belief that you have a settled purpose to quarrel with me. Here I am engaged in the most intricate and important affairs, which are new to me, and upon the successful conduct of which my reputation as well as the interests of the country depend, and which keep me occupied from early in the morning, until late at night, and can you think it kind or just to harrass me under such circumstances with letters, which no man of common sensibility can read without pain? Your letter to me at New York contained many truths, for which I was thankful, and reflections which I thought just, *but the whole were expressed in terms so harsh, not to say rude, as to distress me exceedingly.* I have scarcely recovered from the effect of so great an error in judgement, to say nothing else, when I am favored with another epistle from you, still *transcending its predecessor in its most objectionable features.* I must be plain with you. I have all my life (at least since I have known you), cherished the kindest solicitude for your welfare, and have manifested at least my good will towards you, and should be extremely sorry to have occasion to change those feelings, but it is due to us both that I should say, that *the terms upon which you have seen fit to place our intercourse are as inadmissible.* It grieves me exceedingly, more than you imagine, to be obliged to say so. When I was favored with your epistle in New York, I had just returned from an interview with Mr. Bowne, in which I had made your immediate appointment as District Attorney, a point that could be no longer delayed. I have since had an increased desire to see it done, have taken steps to effect it, and with the mail that brings your accusatory letter, I have information that it shall be done; but that you are hesitating whether you will accept it or not. *Let me advise you without giving my reason why, to do so.*

The story you tell [*the word illegible,*] as coming from Mr. Hills (a man who, if I know him, is without the slightest consideration in society) about the President's great confidence in Mr. Berrien, and little in me, is the veriest stuff that could be conceived. The repetition of such idle gossip constrains me to say, what I am almost ashamed to do, that I have found the President affectionate, confidential, and kind to the last degree; and that I am entirely satisfied that there is no degree of good feeling or confidence which he does not entertain for me. He has, however, his own wishes and favorite views upon points which it is not my province to attempt controul. Upon every matter he wishes to have the truth and respects it; and will in the end satisfy all of the purity of his views and intentions. I have not time to add another word.

Your friend and humble servant in extreme haste, M. V. BUREN.

*Office Beggars rebuked—Hints to Hoyt about embezzling other people's cash.*

[No. 182.] Secretary Ingham to Jesse Hoyt, at New York.

WASHINGTON, 14th April, 1829.—Dear Sir: Your favor is duly received, but you must permit me to say in great soberness, that an excitement without reason cannot be founded in sober judgment, and ought never to be made the cause of action on the part of an administration, who are bound to consult, in great soberness, the great interests of the country, and not the feverish feeling even of the best of friends, for which no reason can be given. If there were an enemy menacing your good city with desolation, that would be a good reason for excitement, or if it was known that your Collector was embezzling the public money, or corrupting the Community by official abuses, there would be good excuse; but really for so many wise men as we claim among our friends in New York to suffer themselves to be put into hysteric spasms because of the continuance of Mr. Thompson to collect the duties a few days or weeks longer, or shorter, is really matter of surprise—and if it indicates anything for consideration here, it is, that it would be better to let the Fever evaporate before we throw in any more stimulants. I am sure that sedatives are better adapted to such a condition than any other prescription—but to be more serious, my dear sir, let me tell you that there is a vast mass of selfish interest at work abroad,

to excite jealousies among us here, and produce distraction, by which some may ride into office on one hobby, some on another, while we are endeavoring to stand unmoved by those ruffling passions, and by harmonious action, to keep the ship steady on her course—and I should hope there was soberness enough among you to resist the impotence of expectants, until their vain hopes shall yield to reason and common sense. There is, moreover, you must know an immense mass of severe and constant labor to be performed by the officers of the government, and much more severe to those who come newly into office. These duties *cannot* be postponed, and I do assure you that *I am compelled daily to file away long lists of recommendations, &c., without reading them, although I work 18 hours of the 24, with all my diligence.* The appointments *can* be postponed—other matters *cannot*—and it was one of the prominent errors of the late administration, that they suffered many important public interests to be neglected, while they were cruising about to secure or buy up partizans. This *we* must not do, and hence it is only at intervals, “few and far between,” that we can find a moment's time to consider appointments. Then let us come to New York. Our friends there have settled down on about two of the appointments, but you are wholly unsettled as to the Collectorship; and I believe as to D. A., and yet such impatience! Why, sir, let me tell you, that one of our best, and I had almost said, ablest friends in Baltimore, left here on the 6th March, leaving his imprecation behind him, because he was not appointed to an office, not then vacant, and because we had not removed all the Administration Inspectors, not one of whom could have been known here, and of whom they have not yet accurately informed me. He has since come to his senses—the *inspectors are chiefly removed*, and matters are getting right there. Boston, too, has been in a fever, where our friends were *so strong*, that they have divided into two parties. Providence, too, has had a ferment, where we had 72 votes, all told. There has also been the same at Little Egg Harbour, where we had *five* votes! These matters proceed from the morbid parts of our system—but nothing can sink deep which is not founded in something rational and substantial. Are you not wearied with my long letter? I am. It is the most lengthy epistle I have written, since I was dubbed secretary—and despair of getting time to write such another, for this year at least.

Yours, truly, S. D. INGHAM.

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*Hoyt tells Van Buren how he had served him—Is annoyed at having his ‘literary property’ sneered at as rudeness—is Van Buren’s pupil—very disinterested—no sycophant or intriguer—the Vice Chancellor’s office part of the spoils—Why Butler and Hoyt were obnoxious—Hoyt puffs himself—down with Duer.*

[No. 183.]. Jesse Hoyt to Secretary Van Buren, at Washington. New York, April 24, 1829. Dear Sir: I received your letter of the 13, on Monday morning last at Albany, and sufficient time has elapsed I think to enable me to answer it without indulging in those feelings its perusal naturally gave rise to. I have not now and at no time have I had any “settled purpose to quarrel with you,” for I have too often quarreled *for you*, to be at this time willing to quarrel *with you*. It would be *extremely humiliating* to be obliged to admit, that in all my intercourse with you I had not sufficient sagacity to understand your character; and it would be no less mortifying to have cause to unsay all I have said for the last 12 years, calculated to *advance your* reputation as a man, and your INTEGRITY as a politician. When I first came to this city to live, your democratic adherents were not numerous—and without any vanity I may say that my exertions tended to increase the number—and until I have been found guilty of some overt act in derogation of my former conduct, I question with great respect your right to make the insinuation your letter seems to convey.

As I am not favored with a bill of particulars of my “indiscretions,” “error of judgment,” &c. &c., I am deprived of the power of explanation, but if the plain truth, spoken in a plain way, renders “an intercourse inadmissible,” then am I content to be cut off from the world and the friends I have hitherto been ardently attached to.

*Every idea I conveyed in the letter you received from me while here were conveyed more in reference to your interest than my own*, and the language in which they were clothed I supposed would have been sufficiently softened by the reservation I made at the close of the letter—at least to such an extent as would have protected me from the charge “of rudeness,” which always detracts from the gentlemanly deportment I am most anxious to preserve. The political sentiment of that letter I still adhere to. My political sentiments I inherited from a “long line of ancestors” (such as they were.) MY POLITICAL EDUCATION I AM MAINLY INDEBTED TO YOU FOR, and the principles I imbibed from birth as well as education *cannot be eradicated at this time of life.* I HAVE NOT MADE POLITICS A MATTER OF DOLLARS AND CENTS, NOR HAVE I ADHERED TO PARTY WITH THE HOPE OF GAIN, but I have labored in them under your immediate auspices for 12 years *with the leading motive to serve you*, but against the advice of many powerful business friends. During this time you have met with occasional reverses, and I believe my fidelity and faithfulness, and even *some degree* of efficiency to you, were never questioned by any one—nor am I aware of having evinced any disposition to shrink from the consequences of adversity which attended you. If

perchance I should now fail to pour out heartless adulation less copiously than sycophants and *integers* who have the good fortune to surround your person at this time, *it may be a just ground "for letting me down the wind a prey to fortune."* I have no ambition to be in the train of great men, if I am to sacrifice my independence or to be prohibited in expressing an honest opinion. I frankly admit I wrote the letter referred to under some excitement. I was assured by Mr. Duer's friends that you had promised to sustain *him*. My conversation with you at Albany led me to the same conclusion. I had that morning received information from Albany that you had spoken to Governor Throop, at the request and in behalf of Judge Duer, for Vice-Chancellor. If this was not enough to justify plain dealing from one who had given some proofs of devotion to you, and who felt the great interest you had at stake, I am at a loss to know what would have been. *I know the sense of your partizans in relation to these men, and I know a more indiscreet measure you could not have adopted, if you desired to retain your power and influence with the party to which you have acknowledged obligations.*

As I wrote that letter my confidential clerk copied the sheets (I kept a copy without reading over the original or even the copy before I got to Albany) for the purpose of enabling me to shew it to Mr. Butler. I did so, and he remarked that it was all right, and he was glad I wrote it. He said the ideas were very strongly expressed but the reservation I refer to rendered that harmless in point of language, and I must therefore confess I was surprised to find that the character of the language I used had found its way to your "*Sensibility*," or that you could for one moment consider me guilty of "*rudeness*." As to the other letter, I am equally surprised at the exception. If these were considered exceptionable, then I fear the one I wrote covering one to Mr. Hamilton would be deemed still more so. I had reason to be dissatisfied with Mr. Hamilton for having misled me in his letter early in March. I may have written the last letter under the influence of that feeling. When I tell you, however, that I meant nothing inconsistent with my former relation to you, and that *I shall not hereafter obtrude either my opinions or advice upon you in relation to any subject*, I should hope I had made satisfactory atonement. I am perfectly aware of the responsibility of your situation, and God knows there is no man living that would be more gratified than I should to have you acquit yourself with reputation. I am very much *obliged* to you for your interference with Mr. Bowne. I shall not get that place, and I can tell you how I was kept out of it. Mr. Maxwell, when he got alarmed, goes to Judge Hoffman and tells him he was to be removed, and that his son, Ogden, had better be a candidate for the office. Mr. Bowne tells Riker, confidentially, and he tells an Alderman that you would be pleased to see me put there. This comes to the ear of Hoffman, and he goes to all the Clintonian Aldermen, . . . of the 4th and 8th wards, — &c. &c., and insinuates this idea to them, and with all the adroitness peculiar to that family, rakes up old prejudices, enlists Duer, who is attached to young Hoffman, with all the coodies, high minded, and Clintonians, and I was defeated. Duer was in the thickest of this. No Clintonian in the Legislature voted for Butler, save one or two; not one of the corporation voted for me. *We had become obnoxious for our services in the cause of another leader.* There is not old staunch democracy enough in the Common Council to elect me. It is not then surprising that my inveteracy to that concern, coodies, high minded and all, should be as strong as it is. Mr. Duer is now playing the same game that Maxwell played on Wednesday (James Campbell authorised me to say so)—he went to Judge Hoffman and told him that he had such information as satisfied him that he would be removed, and that he did not know why his son Ogden should not be appointed. Mr. Duer had then been informed that Mr. Hamilton had the option to take the office. He told me on Tuesday that Mr. Hamilton could not take it, for on that subject he was "*Committed on paper*." Mr. Bunner told me the same thing on Monday, at Albany. After this Mr. Duer goes to Judge Hoffman, and, with what motive it is not difficult to divine.

I did state to Mr. Bowne that, as things now stood, I could not *Except* the office of Attorney for this County, nor can I if it could be given me, after what I write you, with any degree of honor. I informed the gentlemen who were instrumental in getting up a caucus here on Saturday and Wednesday last, (which, by the bye, were perfect abortions,) that I had no expectations of Mr. Duer's office, for I knew from the beginning *if you were not for me it was idle to say any thing on the subject*; and I need not say that I have not been promised any aid from you, though I thought then and now think I had strong claims on you as a party man and a personal friend—and such I undertake to say is the universal sentiment of everybody here, of all parties who have witnessed my exertions to sustain you against the infamous attacks of your enemies. More than 20 leading men here tendered their names and among the rest Mr. J. C. Hamilton; your silence induced me to decline the proffer. I HAVE NO INHERENT LOVE OF OFFICE, and I have not therefore studied discretion or weighed pronouns and adverbs in my letters to "*Constitutional advisers*" and advisers not constitutional at Washington. *I know THE EXACT EXTENT of my pretensions, mis-services, claims, CAPACITY, and POWER*—they are small and inconsiderable—But when all or any of them—hall not be properly respected by those whom I think ought to respect them, I should be unwilling to submit in silence without being alarmed at any fate that might await me. *Political fidelity, untiring industry and perseverance will*



one day or other find their value in the political market. *These qualities I claim to possess, and which I deem important ingredients in forming and which nearly make up a capital, on which one can commence business on his own account.* It would grieve me as much and infinitely more than it possibly could you to be under the necessity of differing so far as to lead to a severance of that friendship which I know has existed. You have the power to make me District Attorney, but I could not sufficiently abhor myself if I was "to quarrel with you" for omitting to do it. Yet if Mr. Duer is not removed or any but a democrat is appointed I should do violence to the principles you have taught me not to be dissatisfied; and I do not think your nature is so much changed as that you would require me to withhold the expression of that dissatisfaction. Lorenzo tells me I had better abandon all ideas of political preferment till the coodics and high minded have become exterminated. Perhaps he is right. I have said all I have to say, and perhaps more than I should have said, but the ground upon which your letter places us seemed to require equal candor on my part. I will not attempt to disguise the fact that my feelings were such toward you that I fancied I was entitled to know the principles upon which you were to dispense your political power, *and to be informed frankly whether it was expedient to ask for the place of an obnoxious incumbent.* The confidence I should have reposed in your friendly advice, which I thought myself entitled to, but which was withheld, would have satisfied me, whatever it might have been. Your total silence on this subject, with the apprehension attending it, led to the anxiety to be informed whether your friends and enemies were to be put in, hotch-potch, without any more adhesive qualities than oil and water, and which could never be reduced to a reasonable consistence. It was not inconsistent with my regard for you to point to the danger of such a course: whether I have by so doing forfeited your confidence is a matter somewhat lessened in importance to me, from a conviction of the purity of my motives.

Yet, as I ever have been, Your friend, J. HOYT.

[No. 184.] *Revenue Offices dispensed in payment of Political services—for electioneering—to uphold needy families, &c.—a Primitive Jackson-man!*

New York, 28 April, 1829.—To the Collector of the Port of New York.—Sir: The bearer, Mr. Benj. C. Burdett, WAS ZEALOUSLY ENGAGED IN OUR LATE CONTEST and deserves the appointment he solicits, which I understand to be that of an Inspector.

I am, &c. C. C. CAMBRELENG.

"New York, 30 April, 1829.—The collector of the Port of New York.—Sir: Mr. James Maurice, AN OLD AND ACTIVE POLITICIAN, desires a station in our Custom House, and is worthy of THE PATRONAGE of the government. C. C. CAMBRELENG.

Mr. Maurice is a Republican of the old school, and a warm and devoted friend to Gen. Jackson. JEROMUS JOHNSON—JOHN HILLYER—M. M. NOAH."

Here is another wonderful document—

New York, April 29th 1829. To S. Swartwout, Esq. WE the undersigned doo recommend Abraham Meserole, as a very suitable person for one of the Custom House Inspectors, and would gladly see him appointed, knowing him too allways having been a warm supporter of Gen'l. Jackson. M. M. NOAH, H. ECKFORD, WM. S. COE, JEREMIAH DODGE, JEROMUS JOHNSON."

Immediately below this, is the following rare and curious request, on the same sheet and page of paper.

"Dear Sir—When you have leasure, and take up the numerous applications for offices in the Custom-house department, I make this memorandum FOR FEAR IT MAY ESCAPE YOUR MEMORY, THAT MR. ABRAHAM MESEROLE IS A NEPHEW OF MINE. His brother Bernard the Alderman of the 10th Ward, was a candidate for the office I fill, supported by a strong petition of Jackson's friends—would take it as a particular favor, IF THERE IS A VACANCY AFTER REMEMBERING YOUR RELATIVES, IF you would give him a commission. Yours truly, JEROMUS JOHNSON.

[No. 185.] C. C. Cambreleng to Collector Swartwout, NEW YORK, 28 April, 1829.—Sir: Mr. Jacob L. Dickenson is, I understand, an applicant for the office of Inspector. *Mr D. has been one of our most uniform republicans, AND WAS DISTINGUISHED FOR HIS ZEAL AND A TIVITY IN OUR LATE CONTEST. No man deserves more than he does THE PATRONAGE OF HIS PARTY.* C. C. CAMBRELENG.

To Samuel Gouverneur, Postmaster, N. Y.—DEAR SIR: The bearer, Mr. Whaley is the gentleman I sp ke to you about yeste dav—HE IS A VERY ACTIVE POLITICIAN, and wants an appointment in the Custom House. You will confer a particular favor on me by giving him a few lines of recommendation to Mr. Swartwout. M. M. QUACKENBOSS.

Mem. (Handwriting of S. Swartwout.)—"Alexander Whaley is strongly recommended by Mangle M. Quackenboss. *He is also opposed to Purdy.*" [Whaley got \$1100 a year.]

John Morris, "an ardent and capable politician," applied for his share of the spoils to Collector Swartwout, in 1831, immediately after the close of his (Morris's) political exertions at the fall election of that year. He was recommended by the signatures of John Yates Cebra, Daniel Jackson, C. P. White, Chas. Henry Hall, Walter Bowne, and Jeromus Johnson. Alderman Cebra wrote his friend Swartwout as follows: "New York, Nov. 21, 1831.—Mr. Morris has for several years been one of our most active and efficient Jackson republicans in the first ward—and is now ACTIVELY AND ZEALOUSLY engaged with us."

[No. 186.] William M. Price, to Samuel Swartwout, Collector, N. Y. March 30, 1829.—My Dear Sir: Alderman Dickenson of the 15th Ward is one of the PRIMITIVE Jackson men.† He is an upright, worthy fellow, and is withal very poor. He is an applicant for an Inspector's place, and I believe his appointment would be generally well received.

Yours truly, WILLIAM M. PRICE.

[No. 187.] Silas M. Stilwell, to Collector Swartwout, N. Y.

New York, 29 April, 1829.—Sir: I apply on behalf of STEPHEN STILWELL for one of the under offices in your gift—designate the one you see proper. I stand responsible for his capability. He is one of the old residents of this city, and as deserving as any in it—a thorough democrat of '98, and A JACKSON REFORMER from the beginning of the contest—a prisoner in the Revolution—wealthy in 1800 and 1814—now without property, but always honorable—and equal to any business attached to the duties of a Custom House officer. Until your perplexing season is over I expect not to see you—but rest assured, *under all circumstances*, of my unabated devotion and esteem.

S. M. STILWELL.

[REMARK.—Stephen went into office, at \$1095 a year, in due course.]

J. Oakley, Swartwout's security, endorses the too notorious George A. Wasson.

[No. 188.] J. Oakley to S. Swartwout, Collector of Customs, 2 Cedar St.

"April 28, 1829.—Dear Sir: There is a very deserving man by the name of George A. Wasson a measurer attached to the public store. I do not know that he would, under any circumstances, be removed, as I understand he has been a Jackson-man, and was appointed through the influence of Mr. Baldwin of Pittsburg, who is his friend. As it is a matter of great importance to him, however, he has requested me to speak to you on the subject. I wish you would have the goodness, if his removal is contemplated, to let me see you. Yours truly,

J. OAKLEY.

P. S. Permit me to suggest, by way of manifesting my regard for your comfort, that you had better make the removals and appointments which you contemplate, *at once*. If you do not, there will not be as much of you left in a few days as there was of the Kilkenny Cats."

[No. 189.] Commodore Isaac Chauncey to Collector Swartwout—A very good sailor endorses a very bad note.

Navy Yard, Brooklyn, May 1, 1829.—Dear Sir: Allow me to introduce to your notice, Mr. George A. Wasson, who was appointed by Mr. [Jonathan] Thompson as inspector of the Customs, last Summer, partly by my solicitation. Mr. Wasson is a worthy man, in whose welfare I feel much interest; and is the individual that I spoke to you about some time since. He will relate to you his situation and wishes. If you can continue him in office *you will not only serve a worthy man BUT RETAIN A GOOD OFFICER*, and confer a personal favor upon,

Dear Sir, your faithful friend, I. CHAUNCEY.

[No. 190.] Jacob Barker, New York, to Lorenzo Hoyt, Albany.

NEW YORK, 1st May, 1830.—DEAR SIR: You have herewith recommendation of sundry persons interested in the Bank of Washington and Warren. If Mr. Sherman should be selected, he will give Alderman Gideon Lee and John R. Hedley, Esqs., as security—they are highly respectable and responsible men. Alderman Lee is very rich. The names of some stockholders

† Dickenson's case is another illustration of the dishonest system of selecting revenue officers because of their political opinions, and paying them for their profession of the principles, or their adherence to the men, that prove successful. Dickenson writes Swartwout, March 30, 1829 (before it was even known publicly that he would be collector) "In principle and soul I am, thank God, Jackson, and take some little credit for being a primitive one." Matthew L. Davis writes Swartwout three days after, "He is a democrat, and supported the electoral ticket that voted for General Jackson." Alderman Cowan writes and tells Swartwout, that "on the score of Jacksonism he has strong claims, as he was one of the first Jackson Committee ever formed in this city." Mr. Samuel Townsend assures him that Dickenson "has for a long time been a strenuous supporter of the man who now sways the destinies of the American people." Mr. Jesse Oakley certifies that D. "is one of the original Jackson men—not of the eleventh hour."

have been mentioned, but as a question of liability will arise from the peculiar phraseology of the act of incorporation, I think it would be very unwise to appoint any party interested, therefore I hope that Mr. Lathrop or Mr. Sherman will be appointed, or both of them.

Yours sincerely, JACOB BARKER.

*Col. Decatur, a worthless official, justifies Clinton's condemnation of his conduct.*

[No. 191.] Col. John Decatur to Collector Swartwout.

PORTSMOUTH, May 4, 1829.—Dear Sir: This will be handed to you by my particular friend, Mr. John Blunt, lately a resident of this town. In making you acquainted with Mr. Blunt, I take much pleasure. He is a gentleman who has been extensively engaged in business in this place, and in my official duties, as late Naval Store Keeper, have been daily engaged with him in mercantile transactions. For a number of years Mr. Blunt has supplied our Navy Yard, and I have at all times found him prompt, energetic, and faithful in the performance of his contracts; and where it possible for Mr. B. to reside with us, I know of no man whom I would sooner select to the first office in my gift. *For the last four years he has actively and openly advocated the claims of our present worthy chief magistrate, and the reputation maintained by Mr. Blunt has been such in this section of the country, that we trust his talents have not been engaged unsuccessfully.* Should it be necessary to have an assistant editor, to aid Mr. Noah in warding off the malignant shafts of the coalition party, which will be made on you, in consequence of the general sweep which I presume you intend to make in your office, I know of no more suitable man than this said Cod of mine, and I therefore request that you will add one more obligation I am already under, by giving him an appointment in the Custom House.

Yours with esteem and affection, DECATUR.

[REMARKS.—Col. John P. Decatur, whom Gov. Clinton had exhibited to the world, as very disgracefully interfering in State elections some years before at Brooklyn, and who figured disreputably in the Chemical Bank trial, was appointed by General Jackson, Collector of Portsmouth, N. H., in April, 1829. In May, he wrote to his friend Swartwout as above. Jackson and Van Buren's advent to power, was fortunate for jockies, jugglers, gamblers and blacklegs.]

*Webb and the Courier—Flagg, Wright and Croswell—an Editor in leading strings to the Wire Pullers of Tammany—What am I to do?—Butler and Tibbets—Making terms with the Press.*

[Three letters—James Gordon Bennett to Jesse Hoyt, N. Y.]

[No. 192.] PHILADELPHIA, 7th June, 1829.—Dear Sir: When I first contemplated leaving New York a few days, I promised to write you occasionally. Of course I consider the promise still good. I have been part of three days here, and have mixed a good deal with the leading Jackson men. They received the account of the Union of the Enquirer and the Courier with 'utter astonishment.' So they told me in express terms. They cannot conceive how the party in New York can repose confidence in Mr. Webb. Such is the sentiment here. I shall write you again from Washington. In the meantime, will you do all you can about the paper? Spur up Butler for he wants it. I am, Dear Sir, yours truly, JAMES G. BENNETT.

[No. 193.] WASHINGTON, 11 June, 1829.—Dear sir: I arrived here the day before yesterday. I called on Mr. Van Buren and Mr. Ingham. They are both in favor of the new Democratic paper or the old one renovated. The feeling against the coalition runs about as strong here as in New York. They knew it would be corrected by the public men in New York. Major Moore of Kentucky is here. He brings accounts from the west that some movements are making of a curious nature between Judge McLean (late postmaster) and Mr. Clay. \* \*

J. G. BENNETT.

[No. 194.] ALBANY, 20th July, 1829.—Dear Sir: Since I arrived here I have seen our friends in the Argus office and State department—I mean Major Flagg, Mr. Wright, and Mr. Croswell. They are very friendly, but they say they have heard little of our local matters in New York, consequent on the sale of the Enquirer, with the exception of a passing remark from Mr. Cambreleng, as he passed through here a few weeks ago. They speak in the highest terms of Mr. Barnum, and assure me that he is every way capable for the position in New York. I am sorely puzzled to know what to do. Although our friends here think it a very favorable opportunity to start a new paper, yet they think it a very hazardous experiment. They told me to-day that if the party had the control of the political course of the Courier and Enquirer, it would be more eligible than a new paper. This they think could be done by placing an editor there under the auspices of the General Committee—an Editor who would take care of the interests of the party and its friends. They are afraid that the political patronage is not sufficient for the support of a new paper, and they are of opinion that a journal which now enjoys all such patronage as the Courier and Enquirer ought to give up its columns to a political Editor appointed by the General Committee. I wish you could get me out of these contradictory views and opinions. If you and Mr. OAKLEY, and Mr. CODDINGTON, and a few other of our

friends could settle *what course I shall take previous to my return, I DO NOT CARE WHAT IT IS—I shall adopt it—I know it will be a proper course.* Which is the best and cheapest mode of expressing the views of the party? A new or an old paper. *I shall be imputient for action when I return.* Now is the time to sow the seed. This is the spring of politics. The birds are beginning to sing. I cannot resist those influences, and if you set yourself to work, I know you can accomplish the matter to a T. Do not call me a heretic, and a trifling fellow, because I have spoken thus much of C. and E. *If it be heresy, then undoubtedly must head-quarters be in a bad way.*

On the evening before I left New York, I received a letter informing me that the Herald intended to publish on Saturday morning last this—"The last rallying point of the Republican Party has been surrendered, by the purchase by the Courier of the services and prospects of the gentleman who was to have published the N. Y. State Enquirer, &c. &c. &c." I went to the office of the Herald and told them it was untrue, and forbid its publication. Snowden will tell you the whole story. It appears that Mumford went to the Herald and told them the story. You can see in this the finger of our friend BUTLER and Elisha Tibbets probably, who want to make as much mischief as possible. I hope *old King Caucus* will remember them. I shall write nothing for the C. and E. during my tour—that you requested to do. Tell Mr. Oakley that my next letter I shall write to him probably from the Springs.

I am, Dear Sir, yours truly, JAMES G. BENNETT.

P. S.—If you have any thing to say particularly in the course of this week write to Buffalo to me. Mr. Croswell thinks that under present circumstances the Republican General Committee can make their own terms with Webb and Tylee. Would not a private meeting of our friends on the subject be a good first step?

*Van Buren disclaims all knowledge of the revolutionary intentions ascribed to Mackenzie.*

[No. 194a] Daniel Brent, to W. L. Mackenzie, York, U. C.

Department of State, WASHINGTON, 28th July, 1830. Sir: Your letter of the first of this month to the Secretary on the subject of an article which appeared some time ago in the columns of the New York Courier and Enquirer, and has since been re-published in other public journals, both of Canada and the United States, with additional innuendos and particulars, was received on the 18th instant at this office, during his absence; but I lost no time in communicating its contents to him. The object of the article or articles referred to is, to indicate a visit to the United States and to this capital during the last summer, as connected with some revolutionary movement in the Canadas, in relation to which your agency was employed with the Federal Government; and you call upon the Secretary in his official capacity positively and decidedly to contradict it.

I have, accordingly, just received a letter from Mr. Van Buren, the Secretary, dated at Albany, the 23d of this month, expressly authorising me to deny all knowledge of, or belief, on his part, in the designs imputed to you, as I now have the honor of doing, and to state moreover, that he has not the smallest ground for believing, that your visit had anything political for its object. He directs me also to add, that if the President were not likewise absent from the seat of Government he is well persuaded he would readily concur in the declaration which I have thus had the honor of making in his behalf.

I am, &c, DANIEL BRENT, *Chief Clerk.*

*Silas E. Burrows and his schemes—Swartwout puffs him to General Jackson, of whom he was long an adviser by the back stairs—Silas wants his Consul at Panama, &c.*

[No. 194, b.] Collector Swartwout to General Andrew Jackson.

NEW YORK, 15th August, 1829. Dear Sir: The accompanying letter has just been handed to me by the enterprising and intelligent writer of it, with a request that I would forward it to you. Mr. Burrows has not his equal, in our City, for commercial enterprise. You will readily perceive on perusing his communication, the extent and utility of the proposed line of communication between different and very distant parts of South America. It is really surprising that a gentleman, single handed and without the aid of the Government, should have projected and actually carried into execution, such an extensive and very important operation. But his zeal is not surpassed by *his perfect independence of character.* It was intimated to him a year or two ago, that Government felt so deep an interest in this affair, that they would be willing to contribute largely towards its completion, but Mr. Burrows, *being a gentleman of fortune and great pride of feeling*, said NO. He preferred the whole expence and the whole credit of it, and he will not swerve from that determination. All the aid he requires from Government, is the appointment of Mr. Everet as Consul at Panama, where there never was one before, and where there are no Americans residing at present. This appointment is important to him, for the single reason, that he knows that his commercial agent, if clothed with consular dignity and authority, will be more respected, in that country particularly, than if he went there as a mere merchant. The person selected, Mr. Everet, is active and intelligent, and a warm and zealous friend of the present administration.

Independently of the merit of this Enterprise, *Mr. Burrows is considered, universally in our City as one of the most upright, honorable and gentlemanly men in the community.* I am personally known to him, and I can assure your Excellency that *no man possesses more of my confidence and esteem than Mr. Burrows.* As this gentleman has already done a great deal for that country which cannot fail to benefit his own, and which has, in fact already benefited it exceedingly, he certainly merits the countenance of Government. The steam vessel which he has sent thither, and which I visited in company with Mr. Moore, our minister, before his departure, cannot fail to increase the facilities of communication to an extent certainly never before contemplated by its inhabitants or by strangers and whilst we have a minister there or an agent of Government of inferior rank, this little boat alone will be worth thousands of dollars annually to our Government and its citizens. The request, therefore, of Mr. B., that Mr. Everett may be appointed a consul where there never was one before, and where it is important that Mr. B. should have an agent, and where the Government of the United States will also soon require one is a very small request—and I feel persuaded, your Excellency will consider it so reasonable and proper as to give it your immediate sanction.†

*The 'Reform' Appraisers, Coe & Co. described by Swartwout—Justice to the Merchants, as doled out by Bernard J. Messerole, Jeromus Johnson, Ichabod Prall, and the Custom House Politicians of 1830—Espionage boldly defended.*

[REMARKS.—I do not know whether the following letter, marked 'PRIVATE,' is, or is not an official document. If it is, it is perhaps the only one I have copied from Custom House manuscripts, into this book. While I was copying it, Mr. Webber went down to Mr. Hunter, the assistant-auditor, and told him what I was doing. Hunter went to the auditor, Mr. Ogden, who said that the Records were in charge of Mr. Bogardus—who, with Hunter, came up, stooped about twenty minutes, but made no remarks. The original is among the old letters, &c.]

In May and June, 1830, Jeromus Johnson, William S. Coe, app'd April 1829, and A. B. Mead, went into office as appraisers at New York, and Bernard J. Messerole, D. L. Dodge, Ichabod Prall, and Ben. Brewster, as assistant-appraisers. They were, *nearly all*, convenient, plausible, serviceable party instruments; pretenders to republican principles, of which they had but little; but grossly ignorant of the prices and qualities of goods which it was their duty to examine and value. Mr. Swartwout's letter, written three months after, shows how they conducted business. The Mr. Gardner he speaks of was, I suppose, the Samuel S. Gardner, who had been a deputy-collector under Thompson, Stephen Allen, &c., and clerk to Receivers of the Tradesmen's Bank in 1826. It could not have been D. Gardner, the Inspector. By rewarding worthless, artful, electioneering hacks to selfish party leaders, with very influential offices, the duties of which are unconnected with politics, business suffers, honesty is punished, undermined, or crushed, and the public morals are deeply injured.—W. L. M.]

[No. 195.] Collector Swartwout to Secretary Ingham, Washington.

NEW YORK, 1st Sept. 1830.—*Private.*—Dear Sir: I am very sorry that the removal of Mr. Gardner from the appraiser's office, should be considered by you as *an act of personal hostility on my part*, or that of any other disinterested person. I have often informed you that MR. GARDNER ASSUMED AT TIMES—or *had it granted to him*—OF APPRAISING THE MERCHANDISE, *which was sent to the appraiser's office for examination, and WHICH WAS CERTIFIED TO BY THE APPRAISERS* [sworn officers!!] WITHOUT THEIR HAVING SEEN THE GOODS. I had even spoken to the appraisers about it. *I saw it myself, and so reported it to you.* I did consider it, and do now consider it, a piece of gross assurance on the part of Mr. Gardner, and of most culpable neglect on the part of the appraisers. I could not remedy it, and wrote you that it was so. Was I to blame for that? But further.—Many merchants did complain to me of Mr. Gardner's interference, while the appraisers were examining goods—and of his saying to them such and such goods are too high—and they adopted his judgment. This was complained of.

He was not a clerk, but styled himself an assistant to the appraisers. His constant occupation, to my knowledge, for I saw it daily, was to hand them goods, stating their value, and get.

† Silas E. Burrows, (son of Enoch) and his history are well known in New York. He appears to have been deeply concerned with Collector Swartwout, and other deep speculators part of that band who joined "in the general scramble for plunder," which they so artfully covered up, in 1828–9, with the cloak of patriotism. Burrows got in debt, and failed, but \$10,000 of his creditors means expended on a tomb to the mother of Washington, a show of patriotism, with a world of puffs, from Swartwout and others, had helped him along. He went strong for Jackson—negotiated a loan for his very dear friend Noah—went with Swartwout as a conservative—and at the Tallmadge dinner, New York May 26, 1841, when Van Buren's successor had gone to his last rest, toasted "John Tyler, the disciple of Jefferson, the bosom friend of W. H. Harrison." In Sept. 1829 or 30, Swartwout enclosed to Van Buren, then Sec'y of State, Burrows's correspondence with the bron Krudener, and asked some high mark of executive approbation for him. "Mr. B. (said Swartwout) is one of our boldest and most deserving merchants and a gentleman of the noblest and most chivalric feelings—hence this prompt and generous conduct towards his unfortunate fellow beings. But the private virtues are so happily blended," &c.

ing them to mark them accordingly. If such conduct was right, I was wrong in giving you information of it—not otherwise.

Again.—Mr. ———, a very respectable merchant, called upon me at my lodgings, to inform me *confidentially*, (and merchants will not give information in any other way,) *that goods had passed the appraisers the day before, AT A LESS DUTY BY 50 PER CENT than he had paid for similar goods in the same vessel*: and to convince me of it, he had bought a bale of the very goods thus passed, and had them in his store, where he would shew me, and satisfy me of the truth of what he said, by marks and numbers. I did visit his store, and found the facts, as stated by him, to be true. On enquiring at the appraisers, I found that *it was Mr. Gardner who had INFLUENCED the appraisers in their decision*—and, so paramount was his authority or ———, that his opinion prevailed—and this is not all.

The Book in which a Clerk in the appraiser's office had recorded *another* decision, was taken from his desk, in his absence, and altered so as to correspond with his [Mr. Gardner's] own decision. This was done, too, with the *entry*, which was *altered by the same person, to correspond with the alterations in the Books*. The Clerk in whose Books this was done, gave me the information—*secretly I admit, but not feloniously nor improperly*. They were no spies, but honest clerks.

To show you that I was disposed to do my duty, I SENT FOR MR. COE, *one of the appraisers*, and informed him of it. He *APPEARED to be very much shocked at the thing, and promised me he would probe it to the bottom, let who would suffer*. I told him I was convinced it was Mr. Gardner from all the circumstances, the hand-writing, the erasures, &c.—*but I never heard any thing more about it from the appraisers*. This is what I meant by “infidelity to his trust.”

It was not necessary that you should do this act upon the faith of what I stated. Mr. Gardner is nothing to me, but *I was obliged to notice his conduct*, and what they said of it, but you were not compelled to believe me or them. I am willing to make oath to what I have stated, but I may not be able to get merchants to do the same. What took place in the appraiser's office can be testified to by the clerks and others; but they would do it with reluctance, I apprehend, if the Treasury should attribute it to “improper passions.”

I cannot give you the names of those who communicate to me *confidentially*. I obtain information, daily something of great importance—*secretly*, to be sure, but I cannot divulge the sources of it. I would rather not act than compromise my honor in a matter of such importance.

You appear to be surprised that Mr. Gardner is removed. I acted upon the authority of your letter to remove him from the appraisers' office, and give him employment somewhere else. I wrote to Mr. Gardner a very polite note, stating that I had the honor to enclose him a letter I had that day received from the Treasury Department, and I also sent the original to the appraisers. Mr. G. never came near me from that day to this. He left the appraisers, but did not accept the offer to be employed elsewhere, because he is rich, being worth, it is supposed, sixty thousand dollars—and does not want and would not accept a subordinate situation elsewhere at half his former salary.

I am, &c., S. S.

[No. 196.] Churchill C. Cambreleng, M. C., to Jesse Hoyt, Albany.

WASHINGTON, 30th Dec., 1830.—Dear Sir: See our Engineer, Mr. Jervis, and see *every man* who can aid our Branch Railway petition, or who will help us to give the Turnpike Company its quietus. *There is a secret about Judge Peck's trial—the federal minority in the Senate mean to sustain him*—the case is an outrageous violation of the rights of a citizen. The Planet, a new locomotive of Stevenson's, has gone from Liverpool to Manchester and back again in 60 minutes, including two minutes stoppage! See the members of the Committee in the two Houses—and let me know to whom I can send of our charters.

Sincerely yours,

C. C. CAMBRELENG.

*The Quartermaster Generalship—Prosper M. Wetmore and the Flash Fire Co's.—Wetmore and Webb candidates—the militia mixed up with party services—Webb's great military experience—Noah a candidate unknown to Webb—Wetmore denounced by Webb and Noah—Sandford goes for Wetmore.*

[No. 197.] Col. James Watson Webb, N. Y., to Jesse Hoyt, Esq., Albany.

Private.

NEW YORK, Jan'y. 8, 1831.

Dear Hoyt: A gentleman called upon me to-day and asked whether I would prefer being Q'r. Master General to Lieut. Colonel of the Governor's Guard; and proceeded to state that Bayard being absent in Florida, *Prosper M. Wetmore*, was pushing very hard to be appointed in his stead. He informed me that *Lawson* had pledged himself to get it for him, and made a visit to Albany last week, solely and exclusively on that account. He also told me what I did not before know, that in consequence of WETMORE'S connexion with the “*Life and Fire*” or some other such company, the 27th Regiment of Artillery compelled him to resign. He is consequently obnoxious to the Military, many of whom turned their eyes to me—not for

love, affection or respect, *but simply because they thought I could defeat Wetmore.* I know Wetmore only as the author of Lexington and other poetic productions, and as *the great gun of Spartaout and Lawson.* I owe him no ill will, nor do I feel it incumbent upon me to ask whether in seeking my own advancement I tread upon his toes or not. *To cut the matter short, I want to be Qr. Master General.* It gives me the rank of Brigadier, and the duty will be less than that of my present appointment. There are no emoluments attached to the office, and consequently even an *Editor* may be appointed without the censure of the opposition. Ten years of my life spent in the army, qualify me for it, and I may, without vanity, say, make me more competent to the discharge of its duties than any other applicant. As an evidence of how the Military estimate my army services, I need only mention that in January last I was elected Lieut. Colonel of the Guards, when in Albany, without knowing personally but one officer of the Regiment, and this, too, without my having been consulted on the subject. You know what would have been the consequence of my having come out for Root instead of Throop last Summer, *and it will be somewhat strange if he refuses to grant so small a favor as to consider me as worthy of the office as P. M. Wetmore.* I do not wish to be known as an applicant so long as there is a possibility of defeat, and have therefore determined to write only to the following persons on this subject. From you I expect all you can do, nor would I write to any persons on such a subject unless I felt that I would be pleased to render them a similar service. I wrote to Selden, C. L. Livingston, the Governor, Lt. Governor, Messrs. Dix, Tallmadge and Hubbard of the Senate, and Edmonds of the house. With any of these speak freely, and to any other you choose, but not to let it be known that I do apply unless I succeed. Cargyl of our delegation, and also Ostrander, are very friendly. In short. Do as I would do by you—nothing more. All well here, and I beg you to accept our thanks for your letters, although you did make me publish your hit at Monroe. Your friend, in haste, JAS. WATSON WEBB.

N. B. You entirely misapprehended our remarks about Selden. Say it shall be attended to.—W.

N. B. I have written to Edmonds telling him to call and ask to see this.—W.—also to Selden.—W.

P. S. If I am not appointed W. must not get it—it will injure the Governor if he gives it to him.—W. I enclose you the letter to the Governor, which read and hand to him. Noah you will perceive has been named but he cares nothing about it. I do. Send all the letters I enclose to the persons to whom directed.

[No. 198.]

Lieut. Col. Webb to Lieut. Governor Throop.

Office of the COURIER AND ENQUIRER, New York, Jany. 8, 1831.

To His Excellency, &c.—Dear Sir: I have learnt to day, for the first time, that in consequence of Mr. Bayard's absence, applications have been made for the appointment of Qr. Master General. I am not in possession of any facts which authorize me to say that Mr. Bayard does not intend to return to the City; on the contrary, he suggested about eighteen months since that the situation would suit me—said he had some idea of leaving the state; and that, in the event of his doing so, he would let me forward his resignation, and at the same time become an applicant to succeed him. If, however, it is in contemplation to appoint a successor, I beg that I may be considered an applicant. Of my fitness for the situation, perhaps the best evidence is to be found in nearly ten years service in the U. S. Army; with what reputation your Adjutant General, Major Dix, can inform you. Of the value placed upon those services here, I have no other evidence than my being elected, in January last, Lieutenant Colonel of the Governor's Guard, by the officers of that Regiment, without being known to but one of them; and elected, too, without any previous consultation or information on the subject. It is not my wish to be known as an applicant unless I succeed, and therefore I have not applied to the officers of the Military in this City; but if their recommendation is only necessary to ensure my success, an intimation to that effect to Mr. Hoyt, who is now in Albany, or to Mr. Selden, or Livingston, will be promptly acted upon. I beg, Sir, that my claims may be considered, and that you will do me the favor to inform some one of my friends of your determination.

I am, Sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant, JAS. WATSON WEBB.

SUNDAY MORNING.—On showing this to Noah, a few minutes since, he informed me that his name has been used for this appointment, but that he is indifferent about it. I consider Mr. Noah as well qualified for the situation, and would be pleased to see him appointed if I do not succeed myself. At all events, his appointment would be more popular than that of any person I have heard named.

Yours, &c. J. W. WEBB.

[No. 199.] Dear Sir: You know well the delicacy of these military appointments among military men. I am indifferent, as Mr. W. says, about it, but *there are many circumstances which would render THE APPOINTMENT OF COL. WETMORE, both of a civil and military nature, HIGHLY EXCEPTIONABLE.* Several have spoken to me on this subject already

Yours truly, M. M. NOAH.

[No. 200.]

C. W. Sandford, to Lieut. Col. J. W. Webb.

Thompson Street, Saturday Ev'g., Jan. 8.

Dear Colonel: I have just received yours of this afternoon, and regret sincerely that I cannot comply with your request to address the Governor in favor of your application for the appointment of Qr. Master General—simply because, before hearing of your being a candidate, at the request of some friends of Col. Wetmore, I wrote to His Excellency in *his* behalf. Had I known you were an applicant I would unquestionably have advocated your appointment—your practical military education and experience having given you great advantages (which you have well used) in acquiring information in military affairs. But having already addressed the Governor, I cannot with any delicacy or propriety, intrude myself again on this subject.

Yours very truly, C. W. SANDFORD.

[No. 201.] R. H. Nevins, Broker, Wall Street, to Jesse Hoyt, at Albany, dated New York, 14th Jan'y. 1831.

"Dear Hoyt—I must trouble you to let me know, whether our Banks, now being willing to take renewals of their Charters on the terms offered to them last winter, will all be able to get them? It was predicted by some persons that some of them might not have another chance. And as to a new Trust Co.—do you think that an application from a very respectable list of petitioners will succeed in getting a Charter similar to the one granted at the last session? I shall be much obliged for your opinion on the above, or on any other subjects that may have to do with Wall street. I am willing to run the risk of your opinions, and I hereby bind myself not, either by word, deed, or look, to manifest any mortification or disappointment should any bad result come of your advices. I hold considerable Life and Trust Co. Stock, which will rise or fall probably when the question is settled about other charters.

Yours very sincerely, R. H. NEVINS."

[No. 202.]

Frederick A. Tracy to Jesse Hoyt, Albany.

NEW YORK, Jan. 26, 1831.—Yours of the 22d inst. did not reach me yesterday till late in the day, so that nothing could be done. To-day, at the Board, it was not my luck to get hold of any of this stock, altho' some sales were made at from 96 $\frac{3}{4}$  to 97 $\frac{1}{2}$ —but I have some prospect of concluding a bargain for 300 shares. If I make any purchases it will be for your account solely, as I think the stock high.

FRED'K. A. TRACY.

[No. 203.]

Churchill C. Cambreleng, M. C., to Jesse Hoyt, N. Y.

WASHINGTON, 10 Feb. 1831.—Dear H—: The Senate only wait for our slow Committee on Foreign Relations to get up and pass the bill organizing the [Danish?] Commission—there is no other difficulty that I have heard of. Simpson's nomination may encounter opposition, but I have heard of none. I differ in opinion with our Directors, about the *great importance* of a branch line, *as it regards OUR OWN INTEREST*—that lies at the eastern termination—we wish, however, to accommodate Albany, but if the two sections of the town quarrel among themselves and defeat our bill we can't help it. The northern part of the town will suffer, and the southern part will be benefited by our having no branch. We shall carry the business wherever our road goes. Combinations of fragments can't hurt us in general politics—in corporation matters we shall eternally have local divisions. In general divisions we have none to fight but Clay's friends—and we have Old Hickory against him. Between ourselves, I don't care two and sixpence about having a branch line passed—we can get along well enough without it. Next year the people of Albany will be glad enough to present the petition themselves—it's infinitely more important to them than to us.

Very sincerely your friend, C. C. CAMBRELENG.

[No. 204.]

Silas M. Stilwell, Albany, to Jesse Hoyt, New York.

ALBANY, 15 Feb. 1831.—Dear Hoyt: Your favors have reached me, and I hasten to answer them. The name of STEPHEN CAMBRELENG has been sent into the Senate. I give you this information because I know from your letter that it will please you, and because I like to please you—but I am bound to say that although I have no objection to Cambreleng, yet I gave Van Wyck the preference—and if I could have had my way—if personal weight and anxiety of feeling could have given the office to Van Wyck, so far as relates to me he would have had it. Van Wyck is my friend—I owe him much friendship. This you know—and of course he was my man. I have been defeated, and I have the consolation that you will be pleased, and that Cambreleng is a clever fellow.

I am your friend, S. M. STILWELL.

*Thinks Calhoun some 'poor devil's dupe'—Van-Buren likened to the high-spirited horse—Speculators to be put down—Throop's nomination of Vice Chancellor McCoun hangs heavy in the Senate.*

[No. 205.] Dudley Selden, M. C. &amp;c. to Jesse Hoyt, N. York.

ALBANY, March 4, 1831.—My Dear Hoyt: My friend's letters have not perhaps been answered as soon as he thinks they ought—but I have not been able to read them yet—and a man



is certainly entitled to be praised for his punctuality who makes his return to a letter as soon as he has perused it.

You need not endorse 'confidential' on any of your communications to Livingston or Stilwell \* \* \* \* \* On reading CALHOUN'S correspondence, I made up my mind very soon that he had been the dupe of some poor devil behind the curtain, and had exhibited most egregious folly in being caught. Your successful competitor for a high place [J. A. Hamilton?] seems to have been the most conspicuous man in bringing up this by-gone transaction—and I am glad that MR. VAN BUREN, like the high-spirited horse, has shaken the dew from his mane, and exposed the rogue to be taken.

No news here. Your kind efforts of the D. and H. are duly appreciated. I felt satisfied that in sending me the little pamphlet, your whole object was the public good. So is mine—and I will, if I can, give the rascally speculators upon time a thrust under the short ribs.

McCoun [Vice Chancellor] hangs heavy in the Senate. I know not why. As soon as Slessper withdrew (and so I read his letter to the Chancellor) I have aided him all I could.

Yours truly, DUDLEY SELDEN.

*Selden a man of talent—First rate Democratic timber a scarce commodity—'a judicious puff'—thanks the Courier and Enquirer.—Lobbying from within.*

[No. 206.] Silas M. Stilwell to Jesse Hoyt, New York.

ALBANY, 7 March 1831. Dear Hoyt: I should have written you before, but that business begins to press upon us of the city, more and more—and again you know we are in the midst of my Bill on Imprisonment. I have great hopes. You have doubtless seen Selden's report on the Finances, &c. You may depend there is an exhibition of talent and business habits about that report which is worthy of all commendation—Selden is a man of talent—and I am determined the world shall know it. Nothing gives me greater pleasure than to back a clever worthy fellow. I can look the world in the face and say he is honest, he is capable. You know THERE IS BUT LITTLE FIRST RATE TIMBER IN THE DEMOCRATIC RANKS, THAT HAS BEEN DISCOVERED. We should therefore prize what we have the more. But I am inclined to think that your bar cannot present to us one who (if backed by his friends) will be a greater ornament to the party than Selden. I will not speak more on the subject, altho' there is no topic which yields me more pleasure. Now permit me to say that nothing will help a political friend so much as a JUDICIOUS PUFF through a party paper. Never was there a finer opportunity, and I commit our friend's reputation in that respect to you. Hoyt, remember, we never can do too much (and I know you think so) for a warm hearted, talented friend. Be judicious, and let us see what we can do for him. I was much gratified on seeing in the Courier and Enquirer, a notice of my report. I must think better of that establishment than I have done, and will take the first opportunity of assuring those concerned that I cannot be outdone in generous conduct. It is my intention to back Selden to the utmost of my ability in the tax proposed—and you know I seldom fail in my undertakings, for what cannot be done by argument and conduct in the House can be carried by activity and cleverness out doors. I feel very anxious to get through and return home; this business is a great sacrifice to me: and did I not employ my mind and body constantly, I should not be able to remain here. Let me hear from you. I write in great haste—and be assured I remain, with great respect and esteem; your friend, S. M. STILWELL.

*McAllister of Georgia, and the Gold Mine of New Potosi.*

[No. 207.] R. J. Arnold and M. H. McAllister to Jesse Hoyt, Wall street.

SAVANNAH, May 15, 1831.—Dear Sir: Your favor of the 5th inst. is received. In reply, we would observe that our Mr. Arnold sails for New York on the 23d inst., and will be authorised to close this business upon the terms he may think best. Tho' what part is sold, must be at a handsome profit, for every day we are receiving more favorable accounts from the Mine.

To-day McAllister received a letter from the Gold Region; an extract from it will be given below. The report alluded to in your letter from the Doctor, will no doubt come to hand by to-day's mail. We shall wait with anxiety until it is received. In the meantime we note that part of your letter which requests us not to interest any person here. This has not been done. On the contrary, every person here is ignorant of our being interested in the Potosi mine. You will perceive by the extract from the letter above alluded to, that the claim has not, as yet, been extinguished, although we so considered it the last time we wrote Mr. Ward. It is therefore very necessary that this business be kept an entire secret for the present. McAllister will, in a few days, as soon as the Court rises, start for the Gold Region.

R. J. ARNOLD, M. H. McALLISTER.

EXTRACT.—“With regard to the claim on Potosi, they wish to hold on, on account that they have examined the mine more thoroughly, and find it much better than they expected. THAT “PLACE IS THE MOST ASTONISHING IN ALL THE GOLD REGION; and I hope “you will believe me when I say its prospects are very much more flattering than when you “were here—in the language of the writer, 50 per cent better.”

*Pushing in the Naval Service—Swartwout wants his Nephew sent ahead of his Seniors. The way a thing might be done.*

[No. 208.] Collector Swartwout to Levi Woodbury, Secretary of the Navy, Washington. NEW YORK, 28th May, 1831.—Sir: This letter will be handed to you by *Samuel Smith Swartwout*, my nephew, at present a passed midshipman in the U. S. Navy. This young gentleman entered as midshipman the 10th May, 1820. He was entitled by law, to an examination in 1828, but being absent on duty, he did not offer till January, 1829. Ill health and extreme diffidence lost him the opinion of the Board, and he was rejected. This unfortunate mishap produced so much distress, that, on a second trial, from mere embarrassment alone, he failed again; but the Board, as well as the Secretary of the Navy, from his known talents as an officer, determined to encourage him to make a manly effort to overcome a constitutional defect; and he has recently passed an excellent and most creditable examination, and now presents himself to the Secretary in the expectation that he will be placed *as several officers similarly situated heretofore have been*, upon active duty as a Lieutenant. It is also greatly to be desired, *if consistent with the regulations of the Navy*, that his commission as Lieutenant, when issued, should take date with those of the midshipmen whose warrants bear date with his own, *but who passed in 1828*. The private character of Midshipman Swartwout is irreproachable, and his honor unimpeached. He will explain more fully to you, in person, the causes of *his failure* to pass in 1828, and give you such other information as may be of consequence for you to know. S. S.

#### *Railroads—Turnpikes—Hoyt and Cambreleng.*

[No. 209.] C. C. Cambreleng, M. C., to Jesse Hoyt, New York.

ALBANY, 22d August, 1831.—Dear Sir: I am informed about the turnpike movement. The stock was appraised at 20 per cent. and the charter was valued at \$10,000, making in all about \$33,500—about a fair valuation. The distribution of the new stock not yet made. That distribution will give offence. Some of the Directors are anxious to push on with the road—others are for compromising with our company. The latter have most money, but the result is uncertain. When they see our locomotive in operation they will abandon their plan of a turnpike and rail-road. We should have no trouble with it at all; *but there are some who want merely to make a BUBBLE of it and take in honest men*. I have a perfect understanding with Mr. Corning, and if he can in the distribution get a majority, or a controul of it, we shall compromise the matter. In the meantime we have advertised for a branch line, and Mr. French is privately at work, getting the consent of owners of property through which the line will pass. If no compromise should be made, we will make them a proposition which will give satisfaction to nine-tenths of the people of Albany, and send the *speculators* in the new stock with a bad grace to the legislature. But after all, they must keep up the turnpike, and that kills their rail-road project at once. The two never can be combined without sinking the capital laid out in both. We shall have our locomotive at work by the end of the week. The boiler went back to the road to-day. Ours will be an immense stock. I am certain we shall next year average about 800 a day.

Sincerely yours,

C. C. CAMBRELENG.

*Mr. McAllister condemns the Democratic Legislature of Georgia, as stupid, envious and ignorant—J. M. Berrien's efforts to enlighten them—effort to obtain special privileges for Hoyt's gold mine, New Potosi—Why should corporations pay their debts? Checks on party legislation—McAllister swears at 'em!—Purgatory—The asses who brag for the public.*

[No. 210.] M. H. McAllister, of Georgia, to Ward and Hoyt, New York.

MILLEDGEVILLE, [Georgia,] Nov. 27 1831.—Gentlemen: *All is over*. I have just come from the State House. After a struggle of three days in the Senate, wherein an unremitted and hot debate has been maintained from morning until night, for two days, we have failed in our object of obtaining an Act of Incorporation. The intelligence of the Senate has been beaten by the ignorant-wise, grass-fed members who compose a large majority of the Legislature. No effort has been pretermitted, no exertion spared. Berrien in behalf of the Elrod, Murray in behalf of Beers, Booth, and St. John, and ourselves, have all made united and untiring exertions, but all in vain. Against US the prejudice is unsparing. They say that the Elrod people have but the lease of one mine, whereas we have monopolized a great and valuable mining interest; and to incorporate us would be to hold out an inducement to northern men to embark in it; and the effect of their embarking to work the interest would be to create an immense monied interest in the State, which would revolutionize its politics. The *Clark men*, with a few exceptions, opposed it with deadly hostility. The body of the opposite party went for the charter. Fourteen arguments were submitted to the Senate, by as many of the most distinguished men in the House, *and altho' but two spoke against the Bill*, such was the danger apprehended from our immense wealth (that is to be) that the Bill was voted down. I cannot have patience to write or speak deliberately on the subject. *For three weeks, day and night, our exertions, together with the*

<sup>1</sup> Can this be the Matthew Hall McAllister who was Dis. Atty. for Georgia, and more recently a Democratic candidate for the office of Governor?

efforts of many of the leading men in the Senate, backed by Berrien, have been unceasingly employed—all in vain. THE BESOTTED IGNORANCE AND THE BLIND AND FOOLISH ENVY OF THE MAJORITY have carried the day. I have never laboured so severely for the obtaining of any object as of this, and am proportionably, disappointed. On Saturday (the 25th) our bill was taken up by sections. On coming to the 2nd section an amendment was proposed "to make the individual property of each Stockholder liable for the debt of the corporation." On this motion the struggle took place, as the advocates of the Bill knew that if it were sustained there was an end to the Bill, as THE ONLY OBJECT CONTEMPLATED BY BEING INCORPORATED WOULD BE DEFEATED. The discussion continued all Saturday—the excitement was greater than on any question which has arisen this session. The advocates of the Bill urged every consideration that men could express; but all to no purpose. The arguments of the opponents to the Bill were, that we had an interest too valuable for any set of men in this state, and to induce capitalists to work it by giving an act of incorporation would be to make us dangerous to the State, &c. Such stuff never before issued from the mouth of man. The yeas and nays on the motion were called, and it was sustained by a majority of three votes. This small majority (there being 76 Senators) inspired the friends of the Bill with the hope of ultimate success—they moved for an immediate adjournment, which was carried by a majority of one. Saturday night and Sunday were consumed by the mutual efforts of the friends and opponents of the Bill in canvassing for and against it. Monday morning we felt secure, as many as SEVEN MEMBERS HAVING BEEN GAINED OVER; when behold! letters were received by a number of the members of both Houses from their constituents, protesting against their extending legislative protection to us. By the rules of the House, every Bill has to be published for a certain time previously to a third reading; and thus our effort was made known to the people, who instead of regarding the matter in its true light determined that we were going to swallow them alive. These letters determined the fate of our Bill. The whole of Monday (this day) has been consumed by the intelligent members (about twenty out of the whole number) in contending against prejudice, ignorance, and the d——t folly ever exhibited in a Senate Chamber; but all in vain; and I have just strength enough after the fatigue of the day to write you this much. Berrien is writing the fate of the Bill to Mr. Bolton. \* \* \* \* Dr. Baber, one of the most intelligent members of the Senate and one of the most active advocates of our Act, will write you from time to time as to any thing that may arise hereafter upon the subject of our Bill. I leave this infernal place to-morrow morning. Arnold left here for Porosot some few days since. I wrote you about the title to the Keith Mine—that it was. There is no difficulty about title to any of our lots, and thank God for this! for I believe otherwise that this rascally apology for a Legislature would take them away if they could. \* \* \* \* I can tell you that if any one of you had been in the situation I have been in this worse than Purgatory, you would express no such surprise. I have not written to my wife nor my partner. \* \* \* \* A Mr. Dickson has submitted to me the plan the English have adopted to work mines in Mexico, where they have no incorporations; I will submit the same when I next write you. TO INDUCE THE ASSES HERE WHO BRAY FOR THE PUBLIC at the expense of \$4 per diem, to pass our Bill, everything was given up, "and a tax of two per centum on the nett profits, nay five per centum was offered." We asked simply to be a corporate body, and this they denied! I should suppose that sympathy alone would have induced the majority to vote for corporations, inasmuch as there is a marvellous resemblance between them—they are 'bodies without souls.' \* \* \* \* They can't touch us as individuals—as such, thank God! we have the federal constitution to protect us. Write to the Hon. Ambrose Baber, thanking him, &c., and state whether you will have an act if the private property is made liable. We think it would be worse than useless, &c.

(2 o'clock, A. M., 28 Nov., 1831.)

M. H. McALLISTER.

*Van Buren in London—Evaporation of Anti-Masonry—the Reform Bill—the Cholera.*

[No. 211.] M. Van Buren, American Minister, to Jesse Hoyt, at N. York.

LONDON, Dec. 14, 1831.—My Dear Sir: I thank you kindly for your attention in sending me the newspapers. The result in New York is truly gratifying, and cannot fail to have a decided and auspicious effect upon the character of the next session of Congress. It is to be hoped that the utter hopelessness of their cause will induce the opposition to withhold a portion at least of their wonted opposition to the measures of the general administration, and to give the Old Chief a fair chance in his zealous labours to advance the interest of the country.

I was not at all disappointed at the result in New York, AS THE TIME HAD OBVIOUSLY ARRIVED FOR THE EVAPORATION OF ANTI-MASONRY.

There is nothing new here that you will not find in the papers. The Reform Bill will, without doubt, pass by or without a creation of Peers, as circumstances may require. We have been in constant dread of the Cholera, but notwithstanding that the danger has increased, habit has lessened our fears. This city is, I have no doubt, as yet entirely exempt from the malignant and

fatal disorder. My health, and consequently my spirits, have not been better for many years. Our situation is very comfortable (always saving its enormous expenses) and the Town is full of objects of intense interest—animate and inanimate. Remember me kindly to Mrs. Hoyt, and believe me to be,  
Very truly, yours, M. VAN BUREN.

*McLane's Treasury Report condemned—the Lords and Bishops.*

[No. 212.] C. C. Cambreleng, M. C., to Jesse Hoyt, New York.

WASHINGTON, 29th Dec., 1831.—Dear Hoyt: I have yours with the papers. We have strange notions about such cases—I mean *we Lawyers*. What the committee may think about it, I don't know—I will get along as well as I can with it, and hope for the best. It's lucky you sent a petition in a decent hand-writing, or I should never have known what you wanted. Ten years ago the case would have been rejected. I have hopes now, as we have reversed some of the old principles.

The Treasury Report† is as bad as it possibly can be—a new version of Alexander Hamilton's two reports on a National Bank and manufactures, and totally unsuited to *this age of democracy and reform*. The battle on these grounds has not yet begun—IT WILL GO LIKE WILDFIRE WHEN WE COMMENCE OUR WAR AGAINST THE LORDS AND BISHOPS.

Sincerely yours, C. C. CAMBRELENG.

*The Friar's jump over the Ass—the Courier and Enquirer.*

[No. 213.] C. C. Cambreleng to J. Hoyt.

WASHINGTON, 29th Dec., 1831.—Dear H.: I am quite amused with the new Bank convert,† the Courier and Enquirer—it reminds me of the Friar who was trying to mount an Ass. After jumping up two or three times without success, he put up a fervent prayer to the Virgin Mary—jumped again, and went entirely over to the other side—the Virgin was too kind. Sincerely yours, C. C. CAMBRELENG.

*The Debenture case—Lawyers' Justice.*

[No. 214.] C. C. Cambreleng, M. C., to Jesse Hoyt, N. Y.

WASHINGTON, 3d January, 1832.—Dear H.—: I dare say you are surprised that there should be any doubt about I and McJ's case—but you will cease to doubt when I tell you that for twenty years the debentures were forfeited *because the oath was not taken within the ten days!* This was *Lawyers' justice*—but men of common sense took up the subject about five years ago, and reversed all the old decisions, and granted relief in all such cases for thirty years back. Yours is a new case, and I don't know what queer notions the Lawyers may have about. I hope I shall get along with it. I may report a bill to-morrow morning, if I get the consent of our committee. If I get it from Smith when I go home, I will send you the \$750.

Sincerely yours, C. C. CAMBRELENG.

[No. 215.] C. C. Cambreleng, to Jesse Hoyt.

WASHINGTON 7, Jan., 1832.

Dear H—I have your letter—all *right*—and will go *right*. Why does not Glover hand over the \$2000 to Bucknor? I thought it was paid a month ago. I wish you would say to Mr. Codding that Bucknor has not yet received one cent from Mr. Jackson—he talks of paying \$175—but nothing was paid on the 5th unless on that day.

Sincerely yours, C. C. CAMBRELENG.

*Colonel Webb spurns Poor Devils who sell themselves for Office—is independent of Jackson and the Regency—but the warmest friend of Jackson and Van Buren—A hint to Blair—likes Jesse—but away with Parasites!*

[No. 216.] Colonel James Watson Webb, to Jesse Hoyt, at Washington.

Office of the Courier and Enquirer, NEW YORK, January 19th, 1832.

Dear Sir—Yours of the 16th has just been received, and has been taken as it was meant; yet, permit me to add, it has not had any influence upon the course I intend to pursue.

If my course has disgusted every honest friend of the President, THAT IS, EVERY POOR DEVIL who is WILLING TO SELL HIS INDEPENDENCE FOR AN OFFICE, why so be it.

You know, as you ought to know, that I am not to be driven from any course I consider correct, even if the friends of General Jackson should attempt it, or professed friends of my own, write, or procure to be written, articles in the GLOBE interfering between us and the ARGUS.

If, as you say, my "friends are fast falling off" in Washington, and you have been made their confidant, please tell them that I do not value such friendship a rush, and no matter what their stations are, whether high or low, they are most welcome to pursue such a course as to them seems proper.

Thank God I am independent of General Jackson, and those who would fain have the world

\* By Louis McLane, who succeeded Mr. Ingham as Secretary, in June, 1831.

† In a letter to Hoyt, Feb. 13th, 1832, it is stated that a credit for \$50,000, or upwards, had been given to Messrs. Webb & Nonh, by the U. S. Bank, on a note or notes drawn by the former and endorsed by the latter. Hoyt had very early notice of this U. S. Bank loan, and urged Cambreleng to probe it in Congress, which he did.

believe they have the keeping of his conscience—and if I am not—if my daily bread for myself and family depended upon truckelling to his friends—to the Argus and its coterie of would be great men, you should know enough of me to believe that I would do what I thought correct.

*I would like to see an individual in the United States designated, WHO IS MORE HONESTLY AND DISINTERESTEDLY ATTACHED TO VAN BUREN AND GENERAL JACKSON THAN MYSELF.*

SUCH AN ONE CANNOT BE FOUND—and yet I am to be told, that because I presume to think for myself, and argue from *appearances* when *facts* are withheld, I 'disgust every honest friend of the President'—that my friends 'are fast falling off,' &c. &c. This is sheer nonsense, and I must say you are the last man from whom I expected such idle and ridiculous *threats*.

In plain terms, those who are offended with OUR [Webb & Noah's] course, have only to get pleased in the way that is most convenient to them—and so I will tell them PERSONALLY *within ten days*—and so you may tell them now if you please. Indeed, as you have been made the organ of communicating the 'disgust' I have inspired, and the 'falling off' of their friendship, it may be as well to show them this letter, *which I would not have the slightest objection to publish in our columns*. It contains my true sentiments, and you are at liberty to use it as you please.

*Yours has been BURNT.*

By way of news I can inform you, that we have not yet done with the ARGUS, and it may be as well for Mr. Blair to let us row our own boat.

When we want *his* interference we will ask it—but until then, he had better not yield to the requests of those who would sacrifice all personal independence to party subserviency.

Do not imagine me offended at *what you have written*. Not so. I appreciate your motive, and thank you for your *kind* intention, but I feel *mortified* to think you should know so little of my true character as to suppose that such a letter as yours could have any other effect than to make me despise more than I now do, THOSE WHOSE GOD IS OFFICE, and whose *Independence is the nod or beck of those in power*.

Sincerely your Friend, JAS. WATSON WEBB.

*The Workies, Cambreleng, and the friends of the Bank.*

[No. 217.] [Private.] C. C. Cambreleng to Jesse Hoyt, at New York.

WASHINGTON, 5th Feb., 1832.—Dear H.: I received to-day the memorial in favor of the Bank of the United States—it is signed by a host—said to be principally the friends of the Administration, but *I have looked over the list*. Our friends should be up and doing. This is forwarded to our delegation in a letter signed by Gideon Lee, Meigs D. Benjamin, Dudley Selden and William Neilson. It says the memorial originated with the supporters of the present administration.

Sincerely yours,

C. C. CAMBRELENG.

P. S. I presume it is signed by every merchant who keeps an account at the Bank.

[No. 218.] [Private.] WASHINGTON, Feb. 6, 1832.—Dear H.: Get the Workies to be up and doing on the U. S. B. question. They are democrats in principle.

Very truly yours,

C. C. CAMBRELENG.

*Colonel Webb, the Champion of Van Buren and the United States Bank—his Card—Hoffman, Angel, Bergen, Smale, Clement, Poindexter—Moore, a dirty fellow—Would Crosswell fight for Van Buren?—Webb would—Webb gets a new light, like the Compiler of this book.*

[No. 219.] Col. James Watson Webb, to Jesse Hoyt, New York.

CITY OF WASHINGTON, Feb. 12, [1832.] SUNDAY NIGHT.—Dear Hoyt: I HAVE AN ITCHING TO GET HOLD OF THE D—D RASCALS THAT VOTED AGAINST VAN BUREN,† and you will perceive by MY 'CARD' that I have a prospect ahead. Hoffman, An-

† In 1832, Col. Webb, the friend of Marcy and the United States Bank, is ready to spill his life's blood for Van Buren. More than eleven years elapse, friends become enemies, and WEBB thus describes his old idol, in the *Cour. & Eng.*, of Sept. 16, 1843. "United to the most implicit confidence in the *gullibility* of the people and the success of political management, MR. VAN BUREN unfortunately possesses great *personal* vanity. He is vain of his person, vain of his dress and address, vain of his influence with the ladies, vain of his aristocratic associations and his elevation above what he considers the vulgar herd from which he sprung—and above all, vain of his political management and his ability to obtain by intrigue and finesse what others can only accomplish through great public services and an honest devotion to the welfare of the public. And this vanity, has been the cause of his political destruction.

We know MR. VAN BUREN quite as well as any other person in the United States. We understand precisely the extent of his gratitude for services rendered, and his appreciation of those who have literally made him what he is. We know precisely how far he will go to court the friendship of those who have it in their power to serve him, and the cold blooded deliberation with which he will give up those who have done more for him than he ever could do for himself, if by the sacrifice he supposes it possible to increase his political capital. We know, because we have witnessed his utter heartlessness, his disgusting selfishness, and his habitual sneering at gratitude for personal or political favors. We well understand his theory that all mankind are selfish—that honor and magnanimity in men, but particularly in politicians, is the dream of youth—and that he who would prosper either in private or public life, must early arrive at the conclusion that *friends* are only to be *used* not cared for. We know that from the day he took AARON BURR as his model for his manners, and made every movement of his hands and body—every expression of his face and every intonation of his voice—conform as far as possible to those of his *beau ideal*, he at the same time determined to make his practice in all the affairs of life conform in like manner to his great idol."

gel, Bergen and Soule are the members whose names I'll give these fighting Senators; but at the same time, I'll inform them that they are only responsible for the fact that Clement *did* make the communication to them which I mentioned. Consequently, IF THEY WISH A FIGHT; or rather, if they do not wish to be the laughing stock of the nation, ONE OF THEM MUST CHALLENGE ME. Moore is a dirty fellow, and if I can, I'll get hold of Poindexter; but as the saying is, 'half a loaf is better than no bread,' and I'll be content with either. Your friend Crosswell says that I'm an enemy to Van Buren. Quere.—WOULD HE FIGHT FOR HIM?

By the bye, have you written to Lynn on the subject I mentioned?

Your friend, JA'S WATSON WEBB.

P. S. Marcy, the President, and all his friends, think the people in Albany mad in talking of making V. B. [Van Buren] Governor, as if New York can make amends for an insult offered by fourteen States of the Union! Marcy has written to them, and you should do so too.

WEBB.

Colonel Webb's Card, referred to above.

#### A CARD.

WASHINGTON CITY, Gadsby's Hotel, February 11, 1832.

In "A Card" published in the National Intelligencer and United States Telegraph this day, Gov. Poindexter of Mississippi, and Gov. Moore of Alabama—both members of the Senate of the United States—charge the Surveyor of the Port of New York, [M. M. Noah,] with writing the article which appeared in the editorial columns of the New York Courier and Enquirer on the 7th inst., and of which the following is an extract: [Here follows the extract.]

The undersigned does not deem it necessary to comment upon the undignified character of the "Card" of the Honorable Senators, but begs leave respectfully to assure them, that the entire article referred to, was written by him, and forwarded for publication from this city. The two material facts alleged in that article, are—*first*, that the disclosures said to have been made by Mr. Van Buren to Clement, were, according to Clement's own admission, made at his first interview with Mr. Van Buren, which was purely accidental and never but once repeated. *Second*, that Clement had asserted that Gov. Poindexter and Gov. Moore offered to furnish him with funds for the establishment of a newspaper in the State of Mississippi. These two charges are now repeated—they are susceptible of proof at any moment, and for their truth, as well as for whatever opinions or sentiments are contained in the article alluded to, the undersigned holds himself *personally responsible*. He would further inform these honorable Senators, that the members of Congress from New York referred to in the foregoing extract, do not seek concealment "behind" a "dark curtain," and that an application to the undersigned for their names, or for any other purpose, "will meet with the most prompt and respectful attention from" their

Obedient servant, JAMES WATSON WEBB.

*Isaac Hill's Speech—how to make capital out of Clay's quarrel—Tibbets' very good plan of a Bank—Who shall we make Governor?—Tariffs—taking care of the Mammoth—Following the Bostonians for a new U. S. Bank.*

[Three letters, C. C. Cambreleng, to Jesse Hoyt at New York.]

[No. 219.]

WASHINGTON, 12th Feb., 1832.

Dear H.—Mr. Hill's speech will go all over the Union—that notices Clay's attack upon Mr. Gallatin in the best possible manner—it drives it home upon him. His quarrel, too, with General Smith you will have seen—that ought to be noticed conspicuously. He is one of our revolutionary Heroes, upwards of 80—one who gallantly defended what was then called Mud Fort on the Delaware, when attacked by a British squadron.

With regard to *the Bank* it is not worth while to have any public meeting about—a remonstrance against it is enough—I don't think the debate will come up for a month—*Mr. Tibbets sent me A VERY GOOD PLAN OF A BANK*—which I have returned. Ask him to send me a copy of it. \*

Very sincerely yours, C. C. CAMBRELENG.

\* While this unprincipled confederate of Van Buren, thus secretly acknowledged to Hoyt his desire for a United States Bank, (see also his letter of the 16th, with its artful hints) he thus publicly reprobated it, to pay court to the party who had grasped the public treasure as political and personal plunder:

[Extracts from his speech, in Congress, of Jan. 14, 1834.]

"Of all the currencies that were ever contrived by man, the most vicious in principle, the most calamitous in its effects upon trade, the most detrimental to the public interest, and the most unsafe, as it respects the preservation of a metallic currency, is that which is founded on the credit of a national bank, not only connected with the finances of a government, but like ours, involved in all the fluctuations of every species of commercial credit and dealing in them upon a national scale."

"It is a common opinion, too, that a national bank prevents the multiplication of State banks. It may be so, sir; but if it is, it is contrary to principle, and in this country and in England contradicted by experience. It is true that immediately upon a dissolution of a national bank, there will be, as the gentleman from Pennsylvania has shown, an unusual number of applications for State institutions; but in a long series of years, the tendency of a national bank note currency is more powerful than all our local circulations, in constantly impelling trade, banking, and every species of credit and speculation beyond those prudent limits, which, without the agency of such an institution, would usually be prescribed by the annual and steady accumulation of the capital of the country."

[No. 220.] WASHINGTON, 14th Feb., 1832. Dear H.—The knowing ones at Albany merely wish to manœuvre a little about the Governor to get a change. That is as I suspect. I have written Wright, Edwards, and Flagg—Croswell, I wrote him also. We shall not get at THE Bank for 4 weeks—at least I should think not. The more we discuss it the stronger we shall become. McDuffie's, *alias* Calhoun's, Tariff, is on one extreme—Clay's on t'other. The Gentleman who wrote Mr. Mumford is not our friend—He is of the *Sutherland school*. \*  
Sincerely yours, C. C. CAMBRELENG.

[No. 221.] WASHINGTON, 16th Feb., 1832.  
Dear H.—I return you the letter—Judge Clayton of Georgia has a resolution prepared and will offer it as soon as he can—it will cover the object in view—I shall see the President to-night—who has a *confidential* director on the spot. You need not fear but what we shall take care of the Mammoth in some way or other—I think ON REFLECTION that it would be well enough to let the plan Mr. Tibbets had in view alone for the present. Let them follow the Bostonians and Portland people in asking for a new bank from the federal government—but on the plan they propose—this is on the whole better than to set up for ourselves, which might be made use of by the Pennsylvanians against us, here and elsewhere—We can bring forward a State bank next year—mention this to Mr. Tibbets.  
Sincerely yours, C. C. CAMBRELENG.

I did not know before why that paper was so bitter against Van Buren.

*Subsidizing the Press in earnest—Francis P. Blair of the Globe, set up as an Editor for Van Buren, by Officers of the Custom House and Post Office of New York.*

[No. 222.] NEW YORK, Saturday, 18th February, 1832.  
To Jesse Hoyt—M. M. Noah—Samuel Gouverneur—Walter Bowne—William P. Hallett—Samuel Swartwout—Cornelius W. Lawrence—James A. Hamilton, and others.

Gentlemen—When F. P. Blair, Esq. was in this city, you each subscribed a certain amount, for the purpose of furnishing him with a Printing Press.

At the meeting of his friends on that occasion, the subscription was short of the amount required—but I well recollect the *Pledge* you made—which was—that the Press should be furnished and paid for—and that he might rest assured of its being forwarded as soon as it could be procured. The press has been sent to Mr. Blair, under the direction of some of the subscribers—and \$1370 paid on account of it—the balance due the maker is \$652 50 cents, for which he has commenced suit against me. As I did not either contract with, or have any thing to do with Mr. Hoe, the maker of the Press, except my exertions in collecting the subscriptions, and paying them over, I shall of course resist the payment of it. It appears to me that this matter ought not to be subjected to an investigation in a Court of Justice. Mr. Hoe should be paid for the Press—and I think the gentlemen who pledged themselves to Mr. Blair, are in honor bound, to pay immediate attention to the subject. I therefore suggest that you meet for the purpose, at the Bank Coffee House, on Tuesday evening at 7 o'clock.

Yours very respectfully, DANIEL JACKSON.†

He concluded by saying—"do not entail upon posterity the calamities of a national bank note currency, and lay the foundation of another revolution in your government."

We find in the New York Advertiser, the following account of Tibbets's "VERY GOOD PLAN OF A BANK," which Cambreleng secretly desired and publicly denounced:

"*Splendid Bank Project*—We observe an advertisement in the papers signed by "ELISHA TIBBETS, for himself and Associates," giving notice of an application to be made to the Legislature of this State at its present session, for a bank with a capital of thirty five millions, to be located in this city, and to be known by the name of the "National Union Bank." As the plan is somewhat new, and may, perhaps, if adopted, save Congress the trouble of re-chartering the present Bank of the United States, by presenting an institution to which there are no constitutional objections, we hasten to make our readers acquainted with the project. It will be seen that it runs on all fours with the Bank of the United States.

First—The charter is to take effect on the termination of the present charter of the U. S. Bank, and to last thirty-five years. Second—Branches shall be established in each State of the Union, with the consent of its Legislature, and the citizens of such State shall be exclusively entitled to subscribe for the stock. Third—All notes for circulation shall be issued by the Mother Bank at New York, and made payable there. They are not to exceed the amount of capital. Fourth—The Bank is to collect and transmit the funds and revenue of the general government on the requisition of the Secretary of the Treasury, and allow three per cent. on all government deposits, on condition that the notes of the Bank be received in payments to the United States. Fifth—The capital of this Bank is to be liable to taxes in the States where the branches are located. Sixth—The States which shall authorize branches may put an end to the same on three years notice, and on authorizing the Mother Bank to make an arrangement with the State Banks for transacting the business of the United States.

\* See No. 93, page 182, Dr. Joel B. Sutherland.

† Daniel Jackson, chief-beggar for Blair, and one of Van Buren's greedy spoilsmen, is thus described by Leggett in his Plaindealer, Jan. 1837—"There is at this very moment, a striking specimen of this class of political opium-eaters standing at the counter of the Albany manufacturers of the drug, and begging for one more dose of the stimulating narcotick. This unfortunate political opium-eater is Mr. Daniel Jackson, who has long been in the habit of taking this species of nervous excitement. The drug which he is petitioning for, with all the humble earnestness of a beggar at a bolted door, is known by the name of Special Charter."

Again Leggett says, page 592—"These are the leading spirits—the smooth, sly, and supple, and plausible Gideon Lee, and the loud-mouthed Daniel Jackson—of the monopoly clique of which the Times is but the gentle echo." Daniel had declared peremptorily, "We must and will have a national bank."

*Cambreleg to Hoyt on Fish, Root, Angel and the Bank.*

[No. 223.] WASHINGTON, 14th March, 1832. DEAR H.—You ought not to appoint any representative in Congress. We shall be in the midst of Tariff, Bank, &c., and can't go—take good, honest, and staunch men—send such men as Mr. [Preserved] Fish. Our Friend S—, whose letter you read when here, is in a great fidget because he did not see his memorial in favor of the Bank of the U. S. announced in the paper. I had that important event regularly announced! Root will not trouble us much longer. Angel [of N. Y.] hammered him without gloves—he had nobody to defend him but an anti-mason.

Sincerely yours, C. C. CAMBRELENG.

*To Hoyt on Webb and Noah's "sincere attachment to the cause of Mr. Van Buren"—they put forward a bad candidate—Root goes for the pewter mug—Wickliffe and Daniels, enemies of Jackson—the Bank.*

[No. 224.] *Private.*

WASHINGTON, 15th March, 1832.

DEAR H.—I never doubted the sincere attachment of the Editors of the Courier and Enquirer to the cause of Mr. Van Buren, the President and our party generally—but the course they pursue in relation to General Root, is calculated to injure the cause of the administration. I care not for the quarrel with the Argus—or who may be our next Governor—that matter will be no doubt amicably adjusted—but I do care about putting forward a candidate who is as much opposed to this administration as Joel B. Sutherland † and his votes will prove it, as they have done already. He and Pitcher vote uniformly with the opposition—and Root yesterday *denounced Tammany Hall, and went openly for the Pewter Mug.* Another course is pursued which they will find in the end will be highly injurious to the President—that is, pressing the Bank bill upon him at this session with a moral certainty that if it reaches him the obligation of public duty will compel him to return it—as entirely premature—four years before the charter expires. The charter of the Bank of England expires next year and has not yet been renewed—the charter of the East India Company was not renewed till one year before it expired—three-fourths of the President's friends are opposed to the Bank—and he can never under such circumstances, do otherwise than to send the bill back—if he had no other motive, the adjustment of the tariff and the extinguishment of the public debt—both occurring before the charter expires—are alone sufficient. It is the enemies of the President, such as Branch, Wickliffe, Daniel, &c., &c., united with the friends of the Bank, who are determined to send this bill to him, expecting to do him an injury, and kill the bank too—which its friends are certainly doing by pressing it now.

Sincerely yours, C. C. CAMBRELENG.

*Lessons on the proper use of Confidential Letters on Politics.*

[No. 225.] Mr. Cambreleg's views of the sanctity of confidential correspondence, may be readily inferred from the contents of the following letter, marked "private," addressed to his friend, Mr. Jesse Hoyt, at New York, from Washington, and dated May 19th, 1832.

"DEAR H—: I have sent a copy of W—'s PRIVATE letter to Clayton. It is a deliberate BUT CONFIDENTIAL attack on me, and was designed to coax the Judge to favor him, which was of course repelled. W—asked to have the letter returned—it was so—but what W—does not know—the Judge TOOK A COPY OF IT. IT'S A ROD IN PICKLE, and will expose some small contradictions of his present statements, and show some little duplicity. The Judge can tell him that he found my statement of the Webb and Noah case too moderate, and that he wrote it over himself. Don't mention about the letter to Clayton—he will probably publish it. The Bank will come up in the Senate next week—it won't disturb us before the middle of June.

Sincerely yours, C. C. CAMBRELENG."

*Private Arrangements for Nominating a Party Governor, four months before a Convention of the People was called.*

[No. 226.] Senator Marcy to Jesse Hoyt at New York.—WASHINGTON, Senate Chamber, May 26, 1832.—MY DEAR SIR: I have received your several letters, and feel much obliged to you for the interest you have taken in the matter. Our friends from Albany are here now, and I am to have a full conversation with some of them on the matter to which our correspondence relates. I have no doubt they have cooled a great deal since they left home. I will give you shortly the result of our interview, which will take place to-morrow.‡

Yours sincerely, W. L. MARCY

† See some particulars about the redoubtable Dr. Sutherland in No. 93 of this correspondence.

‡ Colonel Young, who was for Henry Clay in 1821, presided at the Herkimer Convention, which nominated Marcy as Governor, Sept. 19, 1832. Who did the Colonel support for the Presidency in 1832? In 1832 he wrote a pamphlet to prove that state bank charters are constitutional, and a national bank charter not so; next bought the stock of state banks on speculation, and thus became once more an active confederate of Van Buren. One great difficulty in the way of a successful Democratic government is improper systems of NOMINATIONS. I am prepared to prove that even that of England is much more Democratic than ours.



*How the Party Press prepares the Party to nominate a Candidate who has settled certain questions with the Party Leaders and Trading Politicians.*

[No. 227.] Senator Marcy to Jesse Hoyt, at N. Y.—WASHINGTON, 3d June, [1832.]

MY DEAR SIR: I have been shamefully negligent of my promise to you in relation to the result of the interview with my Albany friends. I hoped to be able to convince them that it was right and proper for me to adhere to the determination which I had communicated to Cr. swell; but I failed in doing so. They convinced me that there were more difficulties attending the selection of a proper candidate than had presented themselves to me. The result was that I am not to persist in declining now, but am to be *let alone* if it can be done—as I think it may without injury to the party.† It would seem to imply (if it cannot be) that I am a mighty consequential fellow. You or any body else may think so if you will, but I do not.

Webb has not modified and published your articles. So long time has now elapsed, and the fever of those who called for me to come out has so much subsided, that probably nothing more will be said by him. How stand affairs in N. Y.?

There is a great effort making we learn by the manufacturing interest to get up an excitement on the Tariff—our friends from Albany and elsewhere thought it would not succeed. Bodies of manufacturers are flocking in here, and they appear about AS CRAZY AS THE NULLIFIERS—I think the extremes will unite and defeat all attempts at compromise.

Yours, &c. W. L. MARCY.

No. 228.] Senator Marcy to Jesse Hoyt, at New York.—WASHINGTON, Saturday, [1832.] (The date, signature, and a few words of the conclusion, torn off.)—Dear Sir: I have this morning received a note from Webb, and I learn from the tenor of it that you had written to him on the subject which engaged us in two or three conversations. I find that our opinions of him were perfectly correct. Attacked as he is on all sides he is willing to attend to others as well as himself. I find my intimation to you is well founded that Bennett had been too sanguine in the matter referred to and had understood from me more than I intended to convey. Webb has undoubtedly every disposition to put things right and he ought to be permitted to do so to a certain extent in his own way—I have had full conversation with you and from them you can make to him such suggestions as will apprise him of my views.‡ He may think I ought to write

† Colonel Webb remarks on these letters, that “being the friend of W. L. Marcy, and entertaining the most sovereign contempt of the Albany Regency, he placed Mr. Marcy’s name at the head of his columns for Governor, in defiance of the intrigues of the Regency to defeat his nomination. The Editor of the Argus (Croswell) and similar tools, urged upon Senator Marcy to authorise them to declare that he had not connived at or sanctioned our course. He refused to do so. . . . The personal relations between Governor Marcy and us (Mr. Webb) have never been interrupted, although the Argus did abuse him for dining with us immediately after his election in 1832.

Leggett joined Croswell in denouncing Marcy for dining with Webb. I copy his remarks from the *Plainedealer*, vol. I, page 450, June 17, 1837, omitting Leggett’s harsh epithets, as uncalled for here.

“About the time it became known that the United States Bank had purchased [Colonel Webb’s influence, as editor of the C. & E.] and while the newspapers were still ringing with the story, it was duly chronicled that Governor Marcy had been entertained at a private dinner by [the Colonel]. . . . He (Marcy) is a weak, cringing indecisive man . . . the mere tool of a monopoly junto, their convenient instrument; and while he gives his sanction to their unworthy measures, we survey him with contempt, and can offer no better excuse for his conduct than that ‘his poverty and not his will consents.’”

‡ On the 18th of August, 1832, Colonel Webb dissolved partnership with M. M. Noah, and became sole owner of the *Cour. and Enq.* On the 6th of Oct. that year, he addressed the public thro’ his journal, stating that in Nov. 1829, an article against rechartering the U. S. Bank had been surreptitiously published in his paper—that next month Jackson came out with a similar paragraph in his message—that, believing the U. S. B. to be a political machine, he assented to the attacks made on it in the *Courier and Enquirer*, from Nov. 1829, until March 1831—16 months—after which he advocated a modified recharter; believing that the Bank had not meddled in government affairs. The loan obtained by Silas E. Burrows from the U. S. Bank, of \$15,000, for Noah, Webb, or some one of them, was in March 1831, the month in which the *Courier and Enquirer* changed its course. I presume the banks which were struggling for the deposits and the power, would have lent Webb and Noah, with 9500 subscribers, a large sum to continue to advocate the Safety Fund, the Deposites, and no re-charter—and if so, Webb, as an advocate, chose his side. Marcy could not have been very strong on the other tack, for the above letters show that he was in close political alliance with Webb till the fall of that year. James Gordon Bennett, who was, in 1832, the Washington correspondent of Webb and Noah’s press, gives, in his *Herald*, (Sept. 26, 1845,) the following version of his intercourse with Marcy about his nomination as Governor:

“In 1832, during the session of Congress, I was at Washington as one of the editors of the *Courier and Enquirer*, enjoying the confidence of the party and all concerned, and corresponding with that journal. Mr. Marcy was then a member of the Senate. I had frequent personal intercourse with him on politics alone. \* \* \* During that session I used to see Mr. Marcy almost every day. In the course of conversation, one day, during a walk up Pennsylvania Avenue, to which he invited me, I found that the Senator had something heavy on his mind, which he wished to disclose. I discovered that the heavy business on the heart of the Senator was a desire to be brought forth in the columns of the *Courier and Enquirer* as a candidate for the gubernatorial chair of New York in anticipation of the Convention of the party, to be held in Herkimer in the fall. We discussed the matter in all its aspects for several weeks. I concluded that it would be a famous movement for the *Courier and Enquirer*, and particularly for my friend Webb to take up, as he was in rather an awkward predicament in relation to the party, growing out of the disclosures about the \$52,000 affair of the United States Bank, which had been previously brought out by Cambreleng. In this view of the case, I commenced a series of private letters, addressed to Mr. Webb, stating all the views of the case—Senator Marcy’s opinions—the position of Webb himself, and the admirable movement it would be in enabling the *Courier and Enquirer* to checkmate the *Argus* and ‘the regency’ on their own ground. These letters contained a variety of the views communicated to me for that special purpose by

to him—and so I should perhaps—but I have two reasons for not doing so—the one is that if I should go over the whole matter as I did with you in conversation it would make a prodigiously long letter, and I am too much engaged to afford the time to write it, but the second is I have declined to write to all Editors on the subject (except one [Croswell ?] which I explained to you.) This resolution was early taken to preserve my position—to *keep silent*. He will appreciate my motives and I hope approve of the course.

*Col. Webb's notions about Private Letters.*

[No. 229.] James Monroe, Esq., to Jesse Hoyt, Wall street, N. Y.

BLOOMINGDALE, August 9, 1832.—Dear Hoyt: \* \* \* I enclose you a letter received from our friend Galt. You will see that it contains the last accounts from the Army. You may, if you think proper, give the FACTS therein contained to some Editor, *but not to publish the letter, as Webb did mine the other day, much to my annoyance*. I had written a letter to Gouverneur and given certain facts, and he sent my letter to Webb to take THE FACTS—and he published most of the letter—and you have seen it, you may judge it was not written for publication. \* \* \* How is Bremner? Yours truly, J. MONROE.

*'Deadly hostility' of the Van Buren native faction to our brethren from other lands—How long Bennett would stand up for Van Buren—Col. Webb—Bennett suspected—\$200 in the Big Gun.*

[No. 230.] James Gordon Bennett to J. Hoyt, N. York.—PHILADELPHIA, 16th August, 1832.—Dear Hoyt: Your letter amuses me. The only point of consequence is that conveying the refusal. This is the best evidence of the *deadly hostility which you all have entertained towards me*. It explains, too, the course of the Standard and Post, in their aggressions upon me ever since I came to Philadelphia. The name for such a feeling in the breasts of those I have only served and aided at my own cost and my own sacrifice, puzzles me beyond example. I can account for it in no other way than the simple fact that *I happen to have been born in another country*. I must put up with it as well as I can. *As to your doubts and surmises about my future course, rest perfectly easy—I shall never abandon my party or my friends*. I'll go to the bottom sooner. The assaults of the Post and Standard, I shall put down like the grass that grows. I shall carry the war into Africa, and "curst be he who cries hold, enough." Neither Mr. Van Buren and the Argus nor any of their true friends, will or can have any fellow feeling with the men—the stockjobbers—who, for the last two years have been trying to destroy my character and reputation. I know Mr. Van Buren better—and *I will stand up in his defence, AS LONG AS HE FEELS FRIENDLY TO ME*. I will endeavour to do the best I can to get along. I will go among my personal friends who are unshackled as to politics or banks, and who will leave me free to act as a man of honor and principle. So my dear Hoyt, do not lose

Senator Marcy himself. I deny that I had understood and communicated more to Mr. Webb than Marcy intended to convey. Indeed, almost every day, or every other day at that time, Senator Marcy used to meet me in the capitol, and at his own room, and there he would disclose to me all the information which he had received from the regency camp, at Albany, in order that I might be enabled to apprise Mr. Webb of the facts, and qualify him to complete the checkmate which we intended to give them. In all this business, Senator Marcy wished to stand still between the two contending cliques, while I was to work the wires in Washington, and Mr. Webb was to fire off the big gun in New York. Senator Marcy and I in Washington, used to laugh and chuckle most amusingly over the movements by which, through the *Courier and Enquirer*, we accomplished ultimately his nomination—checkmated his personal foes at Albany—and elected him triumphantly Governor of this State for the first time. Before the summer was over, however, Mr. Webb bolted from the democratic party on the United States Bank question, and came out against the re-election of General Jackson, including also the election of the very man, William L. Marcy, whom he had so much contributed to bring before the public. I stuck to the movement, and left the *Courier and Enquirer* on account of this bolting.<sup>1</sup>

† Bennett republished this letter in the N. Y. Herald, but dated it a year later (1833.) and tried to explain that the \$200 in specie was not a bribe from the Tammany Hunkers for attacking the U. S. Bank, by referring to a letter of Hoyt's written twelve months after, about \$300,000. The explanation is lame, clumsy, and built on a false foundation. The following extract from a letter of Hoyt to Bennett, in August, 1833, will show that Van Buren and his men believed that Bennett, like Webb and Noah, was retained against their plausible plunder scheme; but I see no evidence of it.

"You have heard me talk to Webb, by the hour [says Hoyt] of the folly of his being on the face of the record a friend of Mr. Van Buren's, and at the same time attacking HIS MOST FIRM AND CONSISTENT FRIEND; viz. the editor of the *Argus*; and you stand in almost the same attitude, and there are many here who believe that your friendship will end as Mr. Webb's has. I will do you the justice to say that I believe no such thing, but at the same time I will exercise the frankness to say, that the course of your paper lays you open to the suspicion. I know enough of affairs, to know that you had high authority for the ground you have taken on the deposite question, and I thought you managed the subject well for the meridian you are in. I was told by a person a day or two since, that you would be aide from another quarter; I could not learn how. But you ought not to expect my friend at the north to do any thing, not that he has an indisposition to do what is right, or that he would not serve a friend, but he is in the attitude that requires the most fastidious reserve. The people are jealous of the public press, and the moment it is attempted to be controlled, its usefulness is not only destroyed, but he who would gain public favor through its columns is quite sure to fail. I am satisfied the press has lost some portion of its hold upon public confidence; recent developments have had a tendency to satisfy the people, that its conductors, or many of them, at least, are as negotiable as a promissory note. This impression can only be removed by a firm adherence to principle in adversity as well as prosperity. I can, my dear sir, only say, as I have before said to you, be patient, love them who persecute you."

your sleep on my account. I am certain of your friendship whatever the others may say or do. I fear nothing in the shape of man, devil, or newspaper; I can row my own boat, and if the Post and Standard don't get out of my way, they must sink me—that is all. If I adhere to the same principles and run hereafter as I have done heretofore, and which I mean to do, recollect it is not so much that "I love my persecutors" as that *I regard my own honor and reputation.* Your lighting up poor Webb like a fat tallow candle at one end, and holding him out as a beacon-light to frighten me, only makes me smile. Webb is a gentleman in private life, a good hearted fellow, honorable in all his private transactions as I have found him, but in politics and newspapers a perfect child—a boy. You will never find the Pennsylvanian going the career of the C. & E. That suspicion answers as a good excuse to those who have resolved before hand to do me all the injury they can, but it will answer for nothing else. I am, Dear Hoyt,

Yours truly, J. G. B.

P. S. *The \$200 in Specie I'll put into my big Gun and give the U. S. Bank and Stockjobbers a broadside.* I wish you would let me know any other U. S. Bank movement in your city. This is the Battle ground of Bank contest—here is the field of Waterloo. New York now is only the Pyrennies.

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*Hoyt on Congressional Lobbying, at Washington.*

[No. 231.] Lorenzo Hoyt to Jesse, his brother, in New York.

ALBANY, Sept. 10, 1832, Sunday.—I should be very much pleased to accompany you to Washington this month; but as I shall not be able to go more than once, I believe I shall wait till winter, or early in the spring. *Perhaps I shall have a case of CONGRESSIONAL LOBBYING, by which I can make it a jaunt of pleasure and profit.*

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*Marcy desponding—is terrified at the effects of bank dollars—bids Hoyt meet the Bank with Democratic Dollars if he can.*

Two letters—William S. Marcy to J. Hoyt, New York.

[No. 232.] Private. ALBANY, 1 Oct. 1832.—MY DEAR SIR: I did not receive your letter of Thursday till last evening. I hasten to reply to it—though the answer will give you no pleasure. I think our chance of success doubtful. Although others are full of courage, I am not. I have looked critically over the State, and have come to the conclusion that *probably* we shall be beat. I would not say this to you were I not perfectly confident that it will remain a *profound secret.* All reports from New York are that we shall do better than you represent: yet I have distrusted them. *The U. S. Bank is in the field,* and I cannot but fear the effect of 50 or 100 thousand dollars expended in conducting the election in such a city as New York. I have great confidence in the honesty of the people, but it will not withstand all temptations. THE CORRUPTION OF SOME LEADS TO THE DECEPTION OF MANY. You ought to look to the Upper Wards. I fear you will find defections among the active electioneers. Though I speak so discouragingly of the result, I do not doubt if money could be kept out of use, we should beat them. But it will not. Yet great efforts without money may save us. I hope these efforts will be made in New York. If I thought that N. Y. would do as others say it will, I should say the chance is in our favor, but I feared such a result as you predict. My advice is—*don't Bet YOUR MONEY, BUT SPEND IT,* as far as you legally can, to PROMOTE THE ELECTION. We are all determined to deserve success, and do not despair of getting it. Yours sincerely, W. L. MARCY.

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*Van Buren canvassing the infected district—the factions in Washington Co. split up—a Coalition or bargain in Westchester—Matthew L. Davis calculates the votes.*

[No. 233.] ALBANY, 4th Oct., 1832. MY DEAR SIR: Yours of yesterday is received. Before it came to hand I had determined to write you in order to *relieve the gloom* which my former letter was calculated to cast over your mind. Information received since writing to you has considerably raised my hopes. V. Buren writes from the *infected District* that we shall gain there as much as we can lose in the other parts of the State. That we shall gain (speaking with reference to the last Governor's election) I do not doubt—but the extent of that gain cannot be conjectured. I think it will be 3000 in the 8th District—and about 2000 in the 6th. Our recent news from Washington County is very flattering. *The FACTIONS there do not coalesce.* There is a reasonable hope that we shall be better off by 1000 votes than has been calculated. The proceedings in Westchester have dissipated the gloom that hung over that county. We understand that both the *Ward and Hunter parties* will support our Electoral Ticket and State candidate. The charter election here has nerved our friends and inspired a determination to *meet efforts by efforts.* Upon the whole our affairs look pretty well, and success is in our own hands, but we must labor to keep it. I fear more for you in N. Y. than any other place. Your vigilance and vigorous efforts can alone save you from a disappointment. Davis's calculation in yesterday's C. & En. is, in many particulars, very wild. I have run over that calculation and made a note of deductions and additions which I think may be reasonably depended on by

which I vary the results. About 20,000 a pretty material variation. I do not wish it exhibited. Indeed, believe it is rather an idle employment to be making estimates. The best rule is to do the work and see the result. I am, with great respect, yours, W. L. MARCY.

*Swartwout, Hoyt & Co. helping the Daily Sentinel and the Truth Teller, N. Y.*

[No. 231.] The following is one way in which party managers assessed themselves in obedience to Governor Marcy's letter of Oct. 1, to carry the election in New York by the use of money in 1832. There is a perfectly fair mode. They paid friendly editors for circulating papers containing opinions favorable to their views, said editors having previously been with them, and not having apostatized for a consideration!

"We the undersigned agree to pay the sums set opposite our names, towards giving a more extended circulation to the Daily Sentinel, and the 'Truth Teller,' Oct. 6, 1832.—J. Hoyt \$20—Tibbets \$20—S. Swartwout \$20—Thad's Phelps \$20—C. W. L. [Lawrence] \$20—J. C. \$20—P. Fish \$20—S. \$20—C. C. Cambreling \$20—C. L. Livingston \$20—J. A. Hamilton \$20—C. P. White \$20—H. Hone \$20—M. Van Schaick \$20—D. Jackson \$20—J. I. C. ddington \$20—Auchincloss \$20, &c."

[Editors when poor should take all the cash they can get from men of all parties, but continue to speak independently or not at all. When I published the Gazette at Rochester, and the Examiner at New York, no man was more willing to receive and thankfully acknowledge, pecuniary aid from whig, democrat, native, loyalist, and conservative—and, to the best of my recollection, I got donations from them all. If attacking a fortress and scarce of powder would it be wise in the besieging officer to refuse the gift of one or a hundred barrels?]

*Westchester politics—the Young men started—Amen to a union with Hunter—the Bank lugaboo—help us to \$300—Ward electioneers for Ward day and night.*

[No. 235.] General Aaron Ward, M. C., to Jesse Hoyt, N. Y.

SING SING, Oct. 12, 1832.—My Dear Sir: Your letter of the 11th inst. has been received, and in reply, I have to say that every honorable exertion will be made by our party to carry the election in the County. I did not expect the nomination this year, but my friends considered that there was no other way of securing our election, and the Hunter men said they would not go for Mr. Kemble because he was [my] friend. Our opponents, beyond all doubt, would have carried a large majority against us. But I have very many personal friends who will make use of their best endeavors to carry my election, of this I am assured; and you know that no man in the county can calculate with more certainty, as regards the election, than I can. Our party in this county [Westchester] has but a small majority. When Van Buren ran we got but 150 majority, and we only got 80 majority for an elector when Jackson was elected—But I think I can now promise you at least 1000 majority. We have started the young men—they are now actively engaged—and they will hold a meeting upon my recommendation on Tuesday—and they will present us with one candidate for the Assembly. *This will bring them out in their strength.* We shall give our ticket 400 majority in this town. When I was last up I received 525, the largest majority given in any other Town in the State. As regards a union with our Hunter friends, I saw with all my heart, *Amen* to it—my friends have always been in favor of it. The Young Men's meeting will do much to bring it about. If they come in they will agree to give me their support, for they know that there was not a firmer friend of the Administration in Congress than I was.

I fear THE BANK influence more than any thing else. I have no doubt that the Bank Managers will expend a large sum of money in this county. If our friends in town could help us, at this particular crisis, to about THREE HUNDRED DOLLARS, *we will make good use of it.* We have but few men who are able to help us to means. You must supply us with 10,000 tickets at least—you can have them stereotyped. Send them to me by some safe hand, and I will see them distributed in every town. I have not rested a moment since the contest commenced, and if my health and life is spared I shall devote all my time to it. I have been twice about the county, and our prospects are cheering. I have met with friends where I least expected them, and strong friends too. I wish you to look into the act, and see whether Congress and Electors go on one ticket. Look well into this. From the last act I should think not.

Truly, A. WARD.

*Jesse's help thankfully acknowledged—Ward will meet the bank in its own coin—has spent much money—a Bank agent—an office for a friend is a debt to be paid—every man has his price—secret service—Ward ready to expose rogues on t'other side. (MacKenzie fashion.)—expects to turn a 1400 majority.*

[No. 236.]

The same to the same.

SING SING, Oct. 29, 1832.—My Dear Friend: I return you many thanks for your kind letter—and for the assurance you have given me that I shall have aid from your good city, if not before,

certainly after the close of the election. As you concluded by requesting me to go on in the good work, I have to say in reply, *that I will go on*; and I doubt much whether there is a single individual in the State, that is, or that has been more active in promoting the cause than myself. *I do not allow myself to sleep half as much as heretofore.* I am either writing letters or *riding about the county half the night* as long as I can find a man stirring with whom I can converse. As THE BANK has its agents here, it has become necessary for me TO MEET IT IN THE SAME COIN\*—and I have been constrained in self-defence to expend a great deal of money—much more than I can afford—and I shall be obliged still to expend more. I am not in a situation to bear the whole expense of the election, and yet all the expenses come upon my shoulders—and as matters now stand, it will not do for me to stop to inquire the costs.

The last evening Major Sing and myself had a conversation with one of those [U. S. Bank] agents, and he informed us that he did not, as regards himself, care a single pin how the election went—but he said, *every man had his price, and he had his*—and he had received money from some gentlemen in New York, but before it was put in his hands he took an oath not to tell the name of the men from whom he received it. If I can find out the name of the man who holds the purse strings in this County, his name shall be brought before the public be it whom it may.

It seems that you turn all your attention to Long Island. Allow me to tell you that this is one of the most important counties in the state. Recollect, the majority against us last year was 1400—and we are now engaged in endeavoring to carry a majority for our entire ticket—and I sincerely believe that we shall give you a good account of this democratic county. I rely upon your giving me some aid hereafter, and will go on in the good work most cheerfully. I shall have the returns of this and Putnam Counties on the 8th—and will come to New York with them in person, if I am not worn down by my labors.

In haste, I am, truly, A. WARD.

Governor Hill of New Hampshire, like his friend Wright at Albany, may have denounced betting on elections, in his public messages, but he did not do so in his private ones. For example:—

[No. 237.] CONCORD, N. H. Oct. 15, 1832. [Franked, Concord, Oct. 18.—“Isaac Hill, S. U. S.”]

To Jesse Hoyt—My dear Sir—Yours of the 12th was last evening received. TO MEET THE BRAGGARTS OF THE OPPOSITION I ADVISE MY FRIENDS THAT ANY SUM WILL BE SAFE ON THE ELECTORAL VOTE OF Pennsylvania and New York. In this State we are so strong, that should every other desert him, we may be relied on as giving a decisive majority for Andrew Jackson. Yet the Bank is scattering its thousands here to affect us. I am, Sir, respectfully, Your friend and obedient Serv't,  
ISAAC HILL.

*The Valiant Warrior, Marcy, on his Bravery and his Breeches—The Barber's Bill—Frauds and Peculations.*

[No. 233.] Senator Marcy to Jesse Hoyt, New York. Albany, 16th Oct., 1832.

[Private.] My Dear Sir—Your letter of Monday evening I received this morning, and with it a breeze from the South, that gives some of our folks a chill. The opposition pretend to have certain information that Ritner is elected. Though we do not yet yield to this belief, still we are less confident than we were yesterday of Wolf's Election. As to the *Pantaloon's affair*, perhaps I am not the person best qualified to advise. Though the charge was right in itself, yet it must be regarded as an *unfortunate one*, because so easily turned into *ridicule*. I showed your production to Flagg—he thought it very well, but seemed to think it was a little too formal. The enemy will have their laugh, but I hope it will not do much mischief. The true explanation is simply this—When Comptroller, I had always made war on *lumping charges*, because I was satisfied many frauds against the State had been perpetrated by them. The law provided the payment of the Judge's expenses in holding the Special Circuit. I kept a particular account of them which was handed to the Comptroller. While on this business some work was done on Pantaloon's, for which the Tailor charged Fifty cents; it was entered on the account, and went into the Comptroller's hands without a particular reflection how it would appear in print. I feared no danger for I knew no sin. I can not advise how it is best to treat the subject. The article

\* Aaron Ward, M. C., to Gen. Samuel Swartwout, 110 Chambers st.—City Hotel [N. Y.] Nov. 27, 1834. —My Dear General, I called at your house this evening, with a personal friend Mr. Deveau, in order to make you, acquainted with him. He is a gentleman of sterling worth and integrity, and he is desirous of getting the situation of Inspector. I know how you are pressed, but IN THIS INSTANCE I feel a deep interest, IN FACT I AM IN EARNEST; and if you will oblige me by giving him the situation, I will in return do you a service at some future day which shall more than requite you. Do not say no, if it is now convenient. Do, I entreat you, bear his case in your remembrance.  
I am truly, A. WARD.

† Westchester County was one of the very few which gave a majority of votes, in November, 1845, against allowing the people of New York State to meet in Convention, in 1846, for the revision and improvement of the Constitution.

in the *Argus*, headed, 'A very grave affair.'† is perhaps as full an explanation as the transaction will admit of. But it will be well to connect it, if much must be said on it, with the great frauds and peculations of Holley, Van Tuyl, John V. N. Yates—(who I believe for love of me writes many of the scurrilous articles in our papers,) in appropriating about \$500 of Pedlers' License Fees, &c. &c. Now as to my *War Services*, (a more agreeable subject,) I was out two campaigns—in 1812 on the northern frontier—belonged to the party which took from the enemy at St. Regis the first stand of colors taken in the late war, on land, and the first prisoners (about 40 in number.) These prisoners were in a house built of square timber. I personally headed the party that took them—myself broke open the house, entered it, and took from the hands of the soldiers their arms, &c. I care not how much this matter is handled, but rather they would let my *pantaloons alone*. I return your remarks. Yours, &c. W. L. MARCY.

*Ritchie prodigiously sensitive—Webb attacks him—what impudence!—Webb denounced as an apostate!—Mumford's help invoked—Ritchie bets on Jackson, as Butler pays at Sandy Hill, "in a small way."*

[No. 239.] Thomas Ritchie, Editor of the Enquirer, to J. Hoyt, N. Y.

RICHMOND, Oct. 20, 1832.—My dear Sir: I have been prevented by several pressing engagements from presenting you my sincere acknowledgements for the kindness you have rendered me. In truth, I wished to send you the notice in the *Enquirer* which I intended to have taken of Webb's illiberal and unwarrantable attack.

His attack by the *Cholera* delayed my article, and then I was engaged in assisting in preparing the Address of the Jackson Central Committee—and I really had no time then to write you. I have taken the liberty of sending you the two last Enquirers. The one containing the address, and yesterday's paper, giving Duff Green's recantation on the subject of Mr. Jefferson's letter and Webb's article.

Permit me now, sir, to thank you most cordially for the service you have done me. It enables me to put that calumny against me at rest for ever. Even Webb has not had the audacity to justify his misrepresentation, or to rebut my answer, but by *trumping up* other calumnies and abuse against me.

Between ourselves, the letter which closes my article, is from the gentleman who married Mr. Jefferson's grand daughter—lived in his family—and copied his manuscripts for the press after he was dead. He deserves the high character I have given him. Indeed nothing ever did surprise me more, than that Webb *had the impudence to* about Mr. Jefferson's opinions.

There are hundreds in Virginia who would to the favorable sentiments of that distinguished man towards myself.

Will you add to the favor you have done me by asking of Mr. Mumford the kindness to republic in the *Standard*, my reply to J. W. Webb. *The apostate* will never do me the justice, which I have lately done him in a case into which I was thrown into some mistake about him. Will Mr. M. do me the favor to spread my defence before the People of New York as soon as he can find spare space for it?

I think every thing is working right for A. Jackson. I AM BETTING THREE TO ONE ON HIS RE-ELECTION, IN A SMALL WAY. As to Virginia, she will be found right on the day of election next Monday fortnight. The legislative Ticket will prevail.

Present me most kindly, with my thanks to Mr. Bowne, and my respects, though personally unknown, to Mr. Livingston. Gratefully yours, THOMAS RITCHIE.

S. D. Ingham, Sec. Treas., to Jesse Hoyt, N. York.

[No. 240.] WASHINGTON, 10th Nov. 1832.—Dear Sir: I thank you for the information in your letter of the 8th. This Election, together with that of Pa., must kill Anti-masonry. They will not again raise that flag in the nation, and scarcely in a State. It will be driven back into a few counties—but Mr. Clay is also done; however desperately he may fight in a forlorn hope, that is not the character of his friends. They cannot again be brought up to the charge. Yours with great respect. S. D. INGHAM.

† Judge Marcy was poor, and placed in office to save him from ruin. In 1830, the legislature of New York passed a law requiring one of the Supreme Court Judges to hold a Circuit in Niagara County, to try the indictments for killing Morgan for writing about masonry, and directed that his expenses should be paid. Marcy was selected, and he kept an account of every cent expended, among which he enumerated 25 cents to a Buffalo barber, and 50 cents to a tailor for sewing up a very unsightly rent in his breeches. About this extra judging, extra-pay, and his tailors and barbers' bills, a laugh was raised, which he was weak enough or wise enough to treat as above. If such carelessness in details had been his worst fault, I would have been among his warmest admirers. His war puff appeared in due form in the *Argus* and Evening Post, and doubtless aided his election. He had said in the United States Senate, that "To the Victors belong the Spoils," and on that principle did he administer the government of N. Y. Marcy is over fifty years of age. I have heard, but am not sure that it is so, that he is from Mass. and came to Troy, opened a shoe store there, and then turned lawyer, like Hoyt.

*Too barefaced even for Hoyt!—Stephen Allen's Tammany Hall Bank, to bring the Democracy under the direct influence of exclusive privileges, in open mockery of their principles.*

[No. 241.] Stephen Allen, Receiver General of Sub Treasury's advice to Jesse Hoyt at N. Y.

ALBANY, Nov. 23, 1832.—Dear Sir: Nothing is more true than the observation made by Mr. Van Buren at the Democratic festival; that the democratic party, in a great measure, owe their present and previous victories to *Tammany Hall*, the place of concentrated opinion and action, and a rallying point of the democracy of the city, or words to that effect. There cannot be a doubt but that the building of that Hall, and thus far preserving it as a *Party Establishment*, and a rallying place on all occasions for the Republicans of the City and surrounding Counties, has been one of the means of our triumphs.

I was one of the Committee who purchased the ground—made the contracts for building—and raised the money to pay for it.

The operations of that Committee arduous and responsible, as during the progress of the work they were frequently compelled to raise considerable sums on the responsibility of their own names. The whole establishment cost about \$55,000; all of which sum was subscribed by individuals of the party except \$18,000 (if I recollect right.) and for which last sum the premises are now under mortgage.

If the party properly estimated the benefit it has received from the establishment, this debt would have been cleared off by subscription long since; but such a result, perhaps, is not to be expected.

A thought has therefore occurred to me, and which it is the object of this letter to communicate; whether the extinction of this debt may not be effected by obtaining the CHARTER OF A BANK, by the name of THE TAMMANY BANK.

*There cannot be a more favorable period than the present for such an application.*

The large majority we have in both Houses and the good feeling evinced by the Country towards US consequent on the large vote given by the City to the democratic candidates, together with the important object of relieving Old Tammany from its embarrassments, WITH OTHER CONSIDERATIONS, I should presume would carry the bill through triumphantly.

The following plan of a Bank, I think would effect the object.

The capital to be FIVE HUNDRED THOUSAND DOLLARS AT LEAST. The Society of Tammany to be PRIVILEGED to subscribe for \$100,000 of the Stock. The Bank to be authorized to loan the amount on their bond, at an interest of three per cent per annum the loan to be for three or four years. If the Bank divides six per cent on its stock, the SOCIETY would receive THREE THOUSAND DOLLARS annually, over and above the interest on the loan, which, in three years, would amount to \$9,000.

In the mean time the stock would advance in value, and if sold at the end of three or four years, would probably be worth ten per cent above par, netting a clear gain of \$10,000, by which operation the Society would be put into possession of \$19,000, a fund more than sufficient to clear off the incumbrance.

*My opinion you no doubt know is in opposition to an increase of these Banking Monopolies in the City—but the Legislature WILL make them—and therefore IF WE must have them, there cannot be a more legitimate object to be effected, both in a party point of view, as well as the charitable attributes of the Society, than the one alluded to.*

If you think well of the matter, I wish you would consult some of our leading men—and if, on due consideration, the project should be deemed proper, it will be necessary that a notice should be published of the intention to apply, which you know may be published without the name of the applicant.

*I wish it to be distinctly understood that I cannot serve in any of the offices created by such an institution—but any assistance I can give in advancing the interests of Old Tammany will be cheerfully afforded.*

You will, of course, let the matter drop if, upon a view of the subject it shall be deemed inexpedient. I am with due respect, your ob't serv't, STEPHEN ALLEN.

*Hoyt desires C. L. Livingston to be re-elected Speaker of Assembly—let him renounce his principles—we must be hostile to the present bank of the U. S.*

[No. 242.] Lorenzo Hoyt, Albany, to his brother Jesse, at New York.

ALBANY, Dec'r. 19, 1832.—DEAR BROTHER: In one of your late letters you wished me to do what I could to make Charles Livingston, † Speaker; this I will cheerfully do; but his course

† Lorenzo did not labour in vain for the Old Hunkers of Tammany, at the request of their man of all work Jesse Hoyt. Charles Livingston was re-elected speaker of the Assembly with but little opposition—and a third time in Jan. 1833, having received 199 votes to John C. Spencer's 22. The Hunkers next made him their Senator for the district which includes the city of New York, and their representative was every way worthy of his patrons. A resolution was introduced into the Senate in 1832 against rechartering the United States Bank, which was opposed by STEPHEN ALLEN and others, and supported by N. P. Tallmadge, Edmonds and Beardsley. Speaker Livingston, with Messrs. Van Schaick and Stilwell went with Edmonds for the U. S. Bank, but the pet bank coalition were successful. Lorenzo Hoyt wishes Livingston to seem to come round to the pets.

last month, in relation to the United States Bank resolution, I fear will defeat him, unless his mind on that subject, has undergone a change, and he is willing to avow it. Otis was a conspicuous advocate of the *Morehouse resolution*, as originally introduced, and I think that circumstances will give him a decided advantage in the contest for Speaker, over any man that took the course that Livingston did.

I think the [U. S.] Bank question will enter, more or less, into every other political one that is agitated here this winter—and I think and hope that our friends will feel no disposition, to retrace, in any degree, their steps last winter. As a party in this State, I think we are fully committed to a *course of uncompromising hostility to THE PRESENT Bank*—and if Old Hickory has suffered himself to be duped—which I think not unlikely—by Livingston and McLane, he must take the consequences.

In addition to Otis and Livingston, I have heard a Mr. Litchfield, a member from one of the western counties, named as a candidate for Speaker; and if he will consent to run, which is doubtful, he will probably be nominated. He is an old member of the House, and has been a member of Congress; and there was a strong disposition among the country members to run him last year, but he declined. If you know anything about Livingston's *present views* on the Bank question, I wish you to write me forthwith. If he is wise and wishes to acquire and maintain a standing with the Democracy of this state, he must renounce the principle by him avowed last winter. \* \* \* \* \*

L. HOYT.

*Mock Democrats anxious to become United States Bank Directors.*

[No. 243.] C. C. Cambreleng to Jesse Hoyt, N. Y.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 10, 1833.—DEAR SIR: You are surprised at the appointment of Mr. Alley as Bank Director instead of Mr. Jackson. I was negligent in not writing to Mr. Jackson a second time. The day Mr. White left here he stated that Mr. McLane desired us to say who should be appointed, that he, Mr. White, had named Mr. Alley. I told him I was committed to Mr. Jackson, and should recommend him—Mr. White then said that he would concur with me in supporting Mr. Jackson, and he wished me to write to Mr. McLane that he did so concur. I wrote him in behalf of Mr. White and myself, and also wrote him that I understood Mr. Verplanck to be also favorable to Mr. Jackson. After this I presumed the matter settled, and so wrote to Mr. Jackson. Some days after I learned to my surprise, from Mr. McLane, that in consequence of Mr. White's having named Mr. Alley, whom he presumed would be satisfactory to the Delegation, he had gone too far to recede, before he received my letter. I ought to have written this to Mr. Jackson, but omitted to do so. You will oblige me by explaining it to him.

Very truly yours, C. C. CAMBRELENG.

*Very secret reasons for appointing Alley. The way our friend Coddington got to be Postmaster of New York.*

[No. 244.] Same to Same.

WASHINGTON, 10th Jan'y, 1833.

*Private.* Dear H.—I wish you to show the enclosed letter to Mr. Jackson. Mr. McLane, besides which that letter contains (which is a true statement) had *other reasons which cannot be explained on paper*. There was no deception—no want of influence about it—the question rested on other grounds altogether.

Say to our friend C. [Coddington] in answer to his enquiries, that I had this morning a frank and full conversation with Mr. Barry, who tells me that he never authorized Mr. Smith to believe that he would appoint him, and that he had no idea of doing any such thing. Mr. Smith's going on to New York has done him injury—he *will not get the office*. It is well understood by the President, Mr. Barry, and by all who have any influence here, that when a change takes place Mr. C. will undoubtedly be the man. Although I cannot and will not be instrumental in the removal of Mr. Gouverneur, I will take care that our republican friends shall not be disappointed for the last time. *When a change takes place, Mr. Coddington will be the choice of the President and the P. M. G.*

Sincerely yours, C. C. CAMBRELENG.

☞ Your letter is destroyed—do the like with this. Gov. Throop and Mr. Craig were nominated to-day.

*One excellent vote by Gulian C. Verplanck—a pair of canting hypocrites out-generated.*

[No. 245.] Same to Same.

WASHINGTON, 15th Feb. 1833.

Dear H.—Yesterday Mr. Verplanck's vote would have elected Mr. Blair—to-day the Bank have elected a printer for us by one vote.

I understand Mr. V. P's. The value of pledges may now be understood.

Sincerely yours, C. C. CAMBRELENG.



*Bet of Gold Mine on Gen'l Jackson—Clay—Nullification dead—the Golden Lottery—Value of Gold Mines—a \$20,000 prize.*

No. 246.]

R. J. Arnold, to Jesse Hoyt, New York.

WHITE HALL, [Savannah, Ga.,] March 14, 1833.—DEAR SIR: Since I last wrote you I have not received a line from Boyd; and the only official intelligence that I have of his proceedings, I received through your letter of the 18th ult. which came to hand a few days since; and also a certificate of one share of the N. A. Mining Co's. stock, *the one due me out of the six shares remitted to pay the bet of five shares lost by me on the re-election of General Jackson.* It is strange times in the political world, such revolutions I never before witnessed, *and were I in the field, I should be somewhat at a loss on what side to fight.* Jackson has certainly risen in my estimation since I saw you, and of Clay's proceedings I do not know what to think or say, but I suppose we shall know more ere long. Nullification being dead, it will not be long before something else will be gotten up to create a political excitement: what that may be time alone will develop. *You ask me how the Gold Lottery is getting on?* and what effect it will have on our stock? In answer to the first, I know but little respecting it, excepting that I understand the drawing is nearly finished; and with respect to the last, I should presume it would decrease the market value of all mines, so many being offered for sale. *As yet, however, I have not heard of any changing hands,* though I should presume some sales had been effected. I know that many persons did speculate in the chances before the drawing. The best speculation I have heard of late was by a neighbour of mine who went into Savannah last week, bought a ticket in one of the northern lotteries, for \$5, and the following day received the intelligence of its having drawn \$20,000—took \$17,000, and came home. Yours, &c. R. J. ARNOLD.

*General Prosper M's humble prayer to Collector Swartwout, for a family admision into his political Poor House—a queer argument, backed by Cornelius W. Lawrence, Price, Lee, Allen, and other Wire Pullers of pretended Democracy.*

[No. 246a.]

General Prosper M. Wetmore to Collector Swartwout.

NEW YORK, April 18, 1833.—DEAR SIR: I was so unwell the day I called on you that I fear I did not succeed in impressing you with the interest, the deep interest I feel in the success of the application I then made to you.

I have refrained from troubling you again personally in the matter from two reasons—first, because these solicitings are, I know, as unpleasant to you as they are mortifying to me. A further motive for my relieving you thus long from this importunity, has existed in the probability, that, while there was an uncertainty about Mr. Craven's continuance in office, you might wish to keep the other appointment open.

Since I saw you, General Spicer has again visited Washington, and is now returned. He expects to be provided for to his satisfaction, and is anxious that Mr. Ogsbury may have the benefit of his vacancy. Under these circumstances, I must again throw myself upon your indulgence for permission to say how very much I should feel obliged by your compliance with the request.

Apart from the connection existing between us—he is my wife's father—I am bound to him for many favours received in his days of prosperity, and which I have no means of returning. His character—business talents—industry—integrity—general popularity—all would conspire to make his appointment acceptable to the merchants and citizens. If individual recommendations were necessary, *they could be furnished to any given number.* I can hardly think them to be so for one so well known.

If I can be supposed to *have the slightest possible influence with you, or claim on the administration—and I do not pretend to either—I beg that both may be transferred to Mr. Ogsbury,* if they can in any way advance his interest in this application.

There is one view of this subject in which perhaps both Mr. Ogsbury and myself might be justified in this application. He has been for many years engaged in the importation of Goods. *I have also in former years contributed to the revenue—*My brother, with whom I now am, and my brother-in-law, George Treadwell, *who takes a large interest in this affair—*are both extensively engaged in foreign importations. It might be considered that individuals so situated *have a stronger claim than those who have never contributed to the revenue.*

Excuse me for saying so much; I did not intend it when I commenced this letter. If you can favourably consider the application, I most sincerely hope you will do so. Of one thing I am sure, you will never regret having conferred the appointment on the individual named.

With great respect, I am your obedient servant, \*PROSPER M. WETMORE.

Name of applicant, Francis Ogsbury, 391 Broadway.

\* General Prosper was a regular introducer of candidates for office at the Custom House. His abilities as an office-beggar on his own behalf may be inferred from his appeal for his father-in-law to succeed his old partner in the United States Lombard, General Spicer, whose modest appeal to his neighbor Swartwout for a share of the public plunder, backed by Mr. Van Buren, forms No. 178 of this series. In another letter to Swartwout, dated Feb. 21, 1835, he tells him that "Mr. McDermot is about to apply for a situation under the general government,

[No. 247.] Attorney General John Van Buren to Jesse Hoyt, N. Y.—DEAR SIR: Please pay Glover one hundred and fifty dollars and accommodate your recently much abused friend. At your office, Saturday, 2 P. M. (May, 1833.) J. VAN BUREN.

*A National Convention—\$40,000 given to John Mumford—Ingratitude.*

[No. 248.] J. G. Bennett to J. Hoyt, N. York. Postmark, PHILADELPHIA, 13th June [1833.] DEAR HOYT: You will see by the papers what we are about here. My object is to make the party come out for a National Convention. It can be done by prudence, skill, and address. In relation to what I talked to you in New York, I have an earnest word to say. I really wish that my friends there would try to aid me in the matter I formerly mentioned. Morrison I fear will do nothing. John Mumford has been aided to the extent of \$40,000. With a fourth of that sum I would have done twice as much—soberly and with some decency too. I should be sorry to be compelled to believe that my friends in New York should bestow their friendship more effectually upon a drunken fellow than me, who certainly has some pretensions to decency. I am sorry to speak harshly of any body, but really I think there is something like ingratitude in the way I have been treated. I want no favor that I cannot repay. I want no aid that is not perfectly safe. I should like to hear from you, if there is any likelihood of my success.

Yours, &c. J. GORDON BENNETT.

*Bennett of the Herald trying to borrow \$2,500 from Van Buren.*

[No. 249.] Same to same. PHILADELPHIA, 27th July, 1833.—DEAR HOYT: I have written to Van Buren to-day about the old affair. I MUST have a loan of \$2,500 for a couple of years from some quarter. I can't get on without it—and if the common friends of our cause—those I have been working for 8 years—cannot do it, I must look for it somewhere else. My business here is doing very well—and the money would be perfectly safe in two years. You see already the effect produced in Pennsylvania—we can have the State.—But if our friends won't lay aside their heartlessness, why, we'll go to the devil—that is all. There is no man who will go further with friends than I will—who will sacrifice more—who will work harder. You know it very well. I must be perfectly independent of the little sections in this city, who would hurry me into their small courses, at the risk of the main object. Kendall leaves Washington tomorrow on his tour of Bank inspection. † Let me hear from you.

Yours, &c. JAS GORDON BENNETT.

*A Scotchman's thanks for "working night and day for the cause of Mr. Van Buren"—anguish, disappointment, despair!—suspected, slandered, reviled!—Bennett's share in Webb's printing office—Cold, heartless, careless Van Buren!—What can I do?*

[No. 250.] Same to same. PHILADELPHIA, 3rd Aug't 1833.—DEAR HOYT: I am extremely sorry at the result of your efforts. The effect is inevitable: *I must break down* in the very midst of one of the most important contests which VAN BUREN'S CAUSE ever got into in this state. I do not see how I can avoid it. With every advantage in my favor—with every preparation made—every thing in the finest trim to check-mate and corner all the opposition to Van Buren, and to force them to come out in his favor—as I know they must do soon—I must give way to the counsels of those who have most hostile feelings to the cause—and on what ground? Because neither Mr. Van Buren nor his friends will move a finger in my aid. I must say this is *heartless in the extreme*. I do not wish to use any other language than what will convey mildly *the anguish, the disappointment, the despair I may say, which broods over me*. If I had been a stranger to Mr. Van Buren and his friends—if I had been unknown—if I had been in being a blockhead—I might not have got into my present posture—nor would I have expected any aid from your quarter. *But after NEARLY TEN YEARS spent*

and it is therefore an act of justice to him to say that *in the past contest in this city, no man has more strongly evinced a determination to sustain the measures of the administration at the expense of private interests*—and therefore he (Vermore) desires that he (McDermot) may be repaid by a fat salary!

Immediately after the fall election of 1831, Messrs. Cornelius W. Lawrence, Wm. M. Price, Stephen Allen, J. H. Whiting, R. Riker, Daniel Jackson, Gideon Ostrander, Gideon Lee, and W. P. Hallett addressed a letter to their friend Samuel Swartwout, requesting that F. Ogsbury might be appointed an Inspector, as follows: "New York, 23d Nov., 1831.—Mr. Ogsbury is an old inhabitant of this city—a firm supporter of the administration—and IN THE LATE ELECTION WAS ACTIVE AND INFLUENTIAL."

† In Bennett's Kitchen Cabinet had once, No. 3, he says, "I advocated the removal of the deposits;" but he had dated in his Pennsylvania, July 20, 1831, that it seemed to him probable that nothing would be done till Congress met; and for this the New York Van Buren editors, whose speculating upholders wanted the bank plunder, denounced him, while Van Buren himself [No. 252] disclaimed "the evident tendency of his paper." Kendall wrote him from Baltimore that he was sorry he had said "that the deposits would not be removed"—adding, "I shall want your most prudent counsel, when I get" to Philadelphia. "I had been and was for a removal, but I doubted whether this mode was honest," says Bennett—he also published a letter from Kendall, accusing him of "sowing the seeds of distrust far and wide," and telling him that he might "raise up a great paper in Philadelphia—one which shall almost control the Democracy of Pennsylvania," but to do that he would have to keep on good terms with "the other leading Democratic papers in the Union." Mr. Bennett next applied to Van Buren, thro' Hoyt, for a loan, and would probably have got it had not the regency been afraid that a trap was set for them, seeing they had said so much about buying up the press—moreover, Bennett had not worked well in party harness, so they said.

in New York, WORKING NIGHT AND DAY FOR THE CAUSE OF MR. VAN BUREN AND HIS FRIENDS, surrounded, too, as I have been, with those who were continually talking against him, and poisoning me to his prejudice, the treatment which I have received from him and his friends during this last year, and up to this moment, is *as superlatively heartless*—and if I could use any other word more expressive of my sentiments I would—as it is possible to conceive or imagine. By many of those whom I have supported for years I have been suspected, slandered, and reviled as if I had been in bitter hostility to Mr. Van Buren for years, *instead of supporting him through every weather*, and even sacrificing myself that I might retain the same feelings towards him—for I assure you I might have continued my connection with the C. and E. last year, very much to my advantage—retained my share in the printing office of that establishment, if I had not differed with Mr. Webb on the points that you know so well of. I sold out however to Hoskin—saved a small pittance from the wreck of the *Globe*—came here and invested it in the *Pennsylvanian*, which is now entirely under my control, provided I could find a friend anywhere between heaven and earth to help me along, *and enable me to carry out MY FIXED PURPOSE IN FAVOR OF VAN BUREN and his friends. But that friend God has not yet made*, though several of the opposite character *the other gentleman* has put his brand upon, and fondly says “this is mine.”

*I except you, DEAR HOYT*—I am sure you would help the cause if you could. I find no fault with you, although what fault you and with me about the deposits is nonsense, and only a clamour raised in Wall street by a few of the jealous blockheads hostile to me, who have not brains to see that in this city we can use the deposit question very efficiently in the October election. I do not blame even the jealous blockheads or any others in New York—I blame only one, and that is the Vice President himself. He has treated me in this matter as if I had been a boy—a child—cold, heartless, careless and God knows what not. By a word to any of his friends in Albany he could do the friendship I want as easily as rise and drink a glass of Saratoga water at the Springs. He chooses to sit still—to *sacrifice those who have supported him in every weather*—and even hardly to treat me as one gentleman would treat another.

*I scarcely know what course I shall pursue, or what I shall do. I am beset on all sides with importunities to cut him—to abandon him*—What can I do? What shall I do? I know not. You will excuse this letter—you can easily appreciate the situation of a man confident of success if properly supported—but nothing before him but the abandonment of his deliberate purposes or a shameful surrender of honor and purpose and principle and all.

Yours truly, J. G. BENNETT.

I do not know whether it is worth the while to write to Van Buren or not—*nor do I care if you were to send him this letter.*

*The past and the future placed before Jesse Hoyt.*

[No. 251.] Same to same.—PHILADELPHIA, 15th Aug't, 1833.—DEAR HOYT: I have not heard from you for a week. I hope that my old friends—if I ever had any—which I begin to doubt—will not forget what I have heretofore done *or what I may do.* Do let me hear from you again for good and all at least. I am, Dear Sir, Yours, &c. JAS G. BENNETT.

*Van Buren will not lend his friend Bennett one cent—but will bestow his good wishes upon him as long as he keeps honest!!—Van Buren dare not venture to trust himself on paper to his friend—Cannot Philadelphia uphold one Van Buren Press!*

[No. 252.] Vice President Van Buren, to Jesse Hoyt at New York.

SARATOGA SPRINGS, August 19, 1833.—(Free, M. Van Buren.)—DEAR SIR: I return your Mr. B's letters. [i. e. No. 250. &c.] *I have never doubted his personal friendship for me. I would always have been happy to do him good*, but I cannot directly or indirectly afford pecuniary aid to his press, and more particularly so as I am situated at the present moment. If he cannot continue friendly to me on public grounds and with perfect independence, I can only regret it, but I desire no other support. Whatever course he may pursue, *as long as it is an honest one*, I shall wish him well. He does not understand the relation between the Editors he quarrels with and myself, or he would not complain of me for their acts. They are as independent of me in the management of their papers, as I wish him to be, and remain. I had intended to have said thus much to him, but the , your letter, and the evident tendency of his paper, render it preferable that I should not. I did suppose that he would have found no difficulty in obtaining money in New York as others get it, if our friends in Philadelphia could not all-together make out to sustain one press. If you happen to meet him I wish you would make these explanations to him, BUT KEEP THIS. I am, in haste, your friend, M. VAN BUREN.

[No. 253.] Vice President Van Buren, to Jesse Hoyt, N. York.

ALBANY, Sept. 7, 1833.—DEAR SIR: General Vance, with whose good character and respectability you are well acquainted, goes to New York on business in which our State is deeply interested, and in respect to which you may perhaps be of service to him. If you can do so, I hope you will—and am very cordially yours, M. VAN BUREN.

*Stocks, Checks, Shirts, and Drawers—Swearing, Spelling, and the letter S.*

[No. 254.] Attorney General John Van Buren, to Jesse Hoyt, N. Y.

ALBANY, Dec. 19, 1833.—‘MY DEAR’ HOYT (as some rascal writes to ‘Webb’)—I enclose you your check, for your comfort—it was deposited in the Bank for collection, and, of course, is returned to you without inconvenience. As for money, I don’t know that I shall be peculiar short (not physically but *peculiarly*) unless Boston and Providence should go down to a mere anatomy. In that event I fear the ex-Danish Commissioner and myself will be a ‘below-par nobile’ of sufferers.

Please to let Willard of the City Hotel be apprised that I want two flannel shirts, and as many pairs of drawers, to be had of Tryon for a trifle *alias*, credit.

I am not a ‘Councillor’ and be d——d to you—and if I were I should spell it with an ‘S’ in the middle. Yours ‘to serve,’ J. VAN BUREN.

P. S. Since the foregoing effusion was poured forth, I have enquired at the Bank, and find your check has been sent to New York. I suppose the easiest way ‘to work it,’ is to enclose you, as I do, my check on this bank for the same amount, payable at the same time. J. V. B.

[No. 255.] J. A. Hamilton, to Jesse Hoyt, on supporting ‘the Standard.’

NEW YORK, Dec. 30, 1833.—Dear Sir: In reply to your enquiry whether I am willing to unite with other friends in raising money to sustain the *Standard*, I have to say—that if 30 persons will agree to advance \$250 each, the repayment to be satisfactorily secured upon the paper, I will agree to advance \$250 whenever the arrangement is completed.

With very great respect, &c. JAMES A. HAMILTON.

*Governor Silas setting the wheels in motion—contracts to be kept by Farmers with Patroons, but may be broken at will with National Banks—no thunder from the city—Plunder’s our game, and ‘our state leads’—the legislature is a party organ; let it play up ‘Judas’s march’—Instructions from Washington how to manufacture public opinion at Albany, for effect at Washington—also for country use!*

[No. 256.] Silas Wright, U. S. Senate, to Jesse Hoyt, New York.

WASHINGTON, 3d Jan’y, 1834.—My Dear Sir: Your letter and the enclosure came to me this day, and I have this evening sent both to Mr. Flagg, with such suggestions as occurred to me. Nothing can be clearer, in my mind, than that the friends of the Administration in your City should *not attempt* to get up a popular meeting upon this subject. *The legislature is the proper organ to speak for the people* upon this important subject, and there is not a doubt that they should act without one moment’s delay. It is too late to fear any effect from the allegation that *our State leads*. The subject is now before the Virginia legislature, and I think it quite likely they will recommend a restoration of the deposits. The legislature of Ohio have acted, and go strong against *the Bank*—in favor of the removal of the deposits—and against the land bill. I say they have acted. The mail to-day has brought a copy of their resolutions, which had passed the Senate, and which Mr. Morris, the Jackson Senator from that State, says will pass the House 3 to 1. Every legislature in the Union will act upon this subject, and ours will not be behind.

If the friends of *the Bank* in your city attempt to get up a popular meeting, the subject will be one which the friends of the Administration on the ground will best know how to dispose of—but in any other way I do not think *the mass of your somewhat excited population* should be called to act.

The state of feeling here is very violent, and popular meetings either way can have little effect. Still I should dislike to see a meeting in New York seeming to embody an undivided expression, given to our opponents—for *the political effect in the country would be bad*. I have no time to write farther—but shall be happy to hear from you often and freely.

I think the legislature should—in the shortest possible language—

1st. Express an opinion against the re-charter of *the Bank* in any form.

2nd. Approve of the communication read to the Cabinet on the 18th Sept. last.

3rd. Approve of the change of the deposits.

4th. Approve of the reasons given by the Secretary for that change,\* both on the ground of

\* Governor Wright well knew that he was advising a violation of a contract with the bank, and, of course, of the United States constitution. He bids Hoyt to get the party fagmen in the legislature to cause it to approve of Attorney General Taney’s reasons. What a world this is! Had W. J. Dunne consented to the plunder of the United States Bank, and the enriching of the Van Buren pet banks with the spoils, he might have remained in office as Secretary of the Treasury, gone to Russia on an \$18,000 bonus as a sincere minister, or received the reward obtained by the supple parasite Taney, the Chief Justiceship of the United States. Having acted honestly, he was thrust from office, his business as a lawyer had gone into other hands on his removal to Washington, and from that day to this, the hired press of the Van Buren school have slandered him without the slightest regard for truth. Is it thus that American freedom can be upheld? Wright in the Albany Senate, voted for banks, and took stock in them—in Washington he pulled them, got the public money placed in them, borrowed out that money next, with other speculators, to raise the prices of the public lands to the people—the national treasure was used to blind and bribe the millions to elect Van Buren and uphold the party—and, that done, Wright in 1837, denounced his own pets as “soulless existences,” ever faithless in time of need.

the near expiration of the Charter, and on the ground that *the Bank has abused its chartered powers and privileges, and has become a political institution.*

These points will cover the whole case *in a form and manner most applicable to the state of things here.*

Most truly yours, SILAS WRIGHT, JR.

[No. 257.] Cornelius W. Lawrence, M. C., to a Friend in New York.

WASHINGTON, 24th January, 1834.—My Dear Sir: Your favor of the 21st was received late last evening. *I am inclined to think we shall have a project introduced FOR A NATIONAL BANK, as well as a renewal of the old one, upon principles somewhat different than [from ?] the bill rejected by the President [Jackson.] Perhaps new propositions, not either attacking or sustaining the administration, would receive the approbation of the country.*

The motion to return the Deposites is justly considered an attack upon the President, and it is resisted on that ground—but nothing is yet matured, I believe.

Respectfully your obt servant,

CORNELIUS W. LAWRENCE.

[REMARKS.—It was Mr. Van Buren's rule, and it appears to be Mr. Polk's, to reward with offices, contracts, *early information*, or in some sure and effectual way, those congressmen, state-legislators, or other persons holding official station by popular suffrage, who had in any way injured their characters and standing by violating principle to serve party, right or wrong. It is in this way that Mr. Lawrence has obtained the N. Y. Custom House, with its patronage, and vast influence and emoluments.

A few months after writing the letters of the 24th, 26th, and 31st of January, 1834, *here given*, the name of C. W. Lawrence was put up by the Van Buren Safety Fund Bank men, in opposition to the friends of the U. S. Bank, for Mayor of New York. Mr. Lawrence had been elected to Congress in Nov. 1832, by 5895 votes over Mr. Ogden, the highest whig candidate. When too opposed to G. C. Verplanck for Mayor his 5895 majority dwindled down to 180; obtained, too, by a sacrifice of principle for the love of gain. At the great celebration, by the whigs of N. Y., April 15, 1834, the 5th regular toast was "CORNELIUS W. LAWRENCE, *whose HEART was with us, but whose NECK was with his party.*" That it was tightly in the collar there is abundant testimony. The reader, on perusing Mr. Lawrence's three letters, will perceive that this toast told the simple truth. His judgment was avowedly on one side and his votes were on the other. His prospects of adding to his wealth by the sacrifice of his opinions were in the one scale—honor and honesty were in the other—"in private (says the Cour. & Enq. of April 9, 1834) he admitted that the removal (of the public treasure) was inexpedient. To those who conversed with him on the subject he admitted that this removal was uncalled for and impolitic." Yet he voted for the removal, on a pledge, well kept, that he would get the fingering of two millions of dollars of these deposits himself, for a bank to be started in Wall street, with special privileges, and called the Bank of the State of New York, of which bank he and his cronies should have the control, the jugglery of disposing of its shares, &c. The bargain was fulfilled by Van Buren—Lawrence had the two millions—had the two million bank charter—and had Jesse Hoyt's Custom House monies to boot—finally, he has the N. Y. Custom House, its vast power and influence, with his bank as a treasury pet, and his brother serving by way of a stool pigeon, as its president, till he (Cornelius) is again ready to resume that lucrative office. "As for supposing that Newbold, George Griswold, Stephen Whitney, or any of the old federal commercial men were with us on this occasion, for any other reason, than *because they found it for their interest to go with us*, I never for one single instant had such an unwarrantable idea." These were Butler's remarks to Hoyt, Feb. 24, 1834—and he might have included C. W. Lawrence, Morgan Lewis, Saul Alley, Preserved Fish, Ab'm Bloodgood, and several other rich men, who only went with Van Buren for the love of a share of the plunder. In the Cour. & Enquirer of April 8, 1834, we are told (and the fact is neither explained away nor contradicted) that several merchants of Mr. C. W. Lawrence's acquaintance called on him when on a visit to New York, a few weeks previous, when he "frankly avowed his conviction of the necessity of a Bank of the United States, and his disapproval of the conduct of the Executive (Jackson) in reference to the deposits; but added, that *he had bound himself BY A WRITTEN PLEDGE to uphold the party.* Such was his sense of the embarrassments of his situation that HE ACTUALLY WEPT." The crying congressman, the weeping stock-jobber *COULD HAVE RESIGNED* had he disliked the party drill—but it brought him plunder, and he blubbered and held on, and afterwards lent his name as a candidate for the mayoralty to uphold the gamblers he voted with in public, and whose dishonest measures and greediness of gain he had secretly condemned to Jesse Hoyt and others. The above letter (Jan. 24) was first published in the Mercantile Advertiser, which also gave paragraphs from another letter by Lawrence, written after 'the party' had resolved not to go for a new bank, as Daniel Jackson and Cambreleng had privately urged them, nor to re-charter the old one modified, as he (Lawrence) hoped they would—in which he had begged of the gentleman to whom he had written, to give him his letter back again—he dreaded exposure and public shame.

The *Evening Post*, by Bryant, denounced the bill introduced into the N. York Legislature,

by recommendation of Marcy's six million message, which John Van Buren had speculated on, declaring that it would make "Lawrence run like the Cholera," for mayor. According to the *Post*, it should have been entitled "An Act to loan the credit of this State to the Speculators, Monopolists, and Rag-money dealers thereof." The trading politicians of the state, then, as now, went any and every way for gain—Avarice was their god. "If the United States Bank is dangerous to the liberties of the country (asked the *Cour. & Eng.* of Jan. 28, 1832) *how came Governor Throop to vote for it?* How is it that *all this danger, all this unconstitutionality, has been discovered by the Argus within the last twelve months!!!!*?" When George D. Strong was not an applicant for a bank charter at Albany, he opposed C. W. Lawrence, got up a nomination opposed to him for Alderman, and beat him too—but in April 1834, when he was petitioning the Regency for their sanction to his Commercial Bank (which soon failed) he (Strong) went it *strong* for Lawrence as the only true democratic candidate for Mayor. In Jan. 1834, Lawrence wrote Hoyt, "that a national bank would be useful to the government and the country"—in April, same year, he voted with Cambreleng to keep the public revenue in the vaults of the pets, tho' the U. S. Bank had paid the republic \$1,500,000 for the use of it, and also that it was unsafe to re-charter the National Bank. Three years after this, Lawrence's own bank was bankrupt, with two millions of dollars of the public plunder clutched in its grip, and he at the head of it. On Sept. 25th, 1843, Lawrence was one of Van Buren's *Sub Treasury* Vice Presidents at the meeting in the Park—and his bank keeps the depositos to this day, while, if the sub-treasury scene shall be re-enacted he will share the plunder there also, under some new and plausible form.—W. L. M.]

*Collector Lawrence of N. Y. on the Removal of the Deposits—Calhoun, Preston, Clay, McDuffie, Rives, and the Nullifiers, their views.*

[No. 257.] Cornelius W. Lawrence, M. C., to Jesse Hoyt, N. Y.

WASHINGTON, 19th Jan. 1834.—My Dear Sir: Your favor of the 8th (returned from Fayetteville, N. C.) was received this morning, and I notice in the *Courier & Inquirer* of Friday the 17th, another letter to me, signed Jacob, referring to the depositos.

You will no doubt have read Mr. Calhoun's speech—he admits the right of removal from office by the President, and says "nor can I doubt that the power of removal from office, wherever it exists, does, from necessity, involve the power of general supervision; nor can I doubt that it might be constitutionally exercised in reference to the depositos." Then he goes on to say, that to prevent the removal of the depositos it would have been his [the President's] right and his duty to have removed the Secretary.

In conversation yesterday with the other Senator from South Carolina, Mr. Preston, he admitted the giving up the charge of a violation of the Constitution by the President—but the removal of the depositos *was a violation of Contract with the Bank, &c.*

I think Mr. Clay and Mr. McDuffie's position, of a usurpation of power by the President, is gone—and the only question is as to the sufficiency of the reasons. Mr. Seaborn Jones of Georgia, a Nullifier, will speak next in our House—and he will maintain that the reasons given by the Secretary of the Treasury [Taney] are satisfactory and sufficient.

If the Nullifiers give up the question of usurpation of power in the act in question, that point may as well be abandoned by the opposition with us, and Mr. Clay's first resolution cannot even pass the Senate.

Mr. Rives of Virginia is said to have made a very able speech in the Senate on Friday—and I have heard that a distinguished Senator from the east said afterwards, that on the constitutional argument he had demolished Mr. Clay.

However I do not say these words were used, and do not wish to be quoted as reporting what any one says. My letters are only intended for my friends to whom they are addressed.

Respectfully, your friend and obedient servant, CORNELIUS W. LAWRENCE.

*Cornelius the friend of a National Bank when behind the screen—The quaker on both sides of the fence at once.*

[No. 258.] Collector Lawrence to his 'assured friend' J. Hoyt.

WASHINGTON, 26th Jan'y, 1834.—My Dear Sir: I am much obliged to you for your letter of the 21st, and I AM APPREHENSIVE OUR POLITICAL FRIENDS MAKE A MISTAKE IN GOING TOO FAR AGAINST A NATIONAL BANK, but I will have the pleasure of writing a few days hence. Respectfully, your assured friend, CORN' W. LAWRENCE.

*Hoyt introduces Kernochan to Van Buren on behalf of the United States Bank.*

[No. 259.] To Vice President Van Buren. New York, January 28, 1834.

Dear Sir: This will be handed you by my friend Joseph Kernochan, Esquire, one of the delegates from the merchants of this City, charged with a memorial to Congress in relation to the embarrassed condition of our Commercial affairs. He has now retired, but has recently been extensively engaged in business, and his great experience enables him to know all the variety

of forms of Mercantile operations, and would seem to qualify him to express accurate opinions on this subject. He has been, ever since I have known him, and that is for many years, a uniform supporter of the democratic administration of the Country, and continues that support to the measures of the present one, in all save its views in relation to the Bank of the United States, and on this subject he says, as Mr. Jefferson once said, "differences of opinion are to be tolerated where reason is left free to combat them." His object in going to Washington is purely with the hope of rendering a public service; and if he should have a desire to state his views to you, I have no doubt you will give him the opportunity. His great integrity of character will authorize you to place the utmost reliance upon his statements as to the true condition of business and business men in this city. Respectfully your friend and ob't serv't. J. HOYT.

*Hoyt introduces 'a Bank Missionary' to Taney and Van Buren.*

[No. 260.] Jesse Hoyt, N. Y., to Vice President Van Buren, Washington.

NEW YORK, Jan. 28, 1834.—Dear Sir: My friend and neighbor, Elbert J. Anderson, Esquire, who will deliver you this, visits Washington as one of a Committee of Merchants, charged with a memorial from a portion of that class of our citizens, in relation to the present embarrassed state of trade. He is extensively and actively engaged in business, and is familiarly acquainted with the difficulties that seem, and no doubt actually do exist with all commercial and mercantile men. He is one of the few intelligent and ardent supporters of the present administration, who differ in opinion with it in relation to its views concerning the Bank of the United States. He makes a personal sacrifice in this mission, with no other motive than a desire to promote the interests of his fellow-citizens, and the information that he will be able to impart concerning this interesting subject, to those whose motives are in common with his own, commends him to your favourable notice. Though I do not agree with him in all his views, yet I take pleasure in bearing testimony to his great sincerity, and purity of character; and his intelligence upon this subject you will discover without any intimation from me. With great respect and consideration, I remain your friend and obedient servant. J. HOYT.†

*Lawrence firmly believes in the utility of a National Bank, while exerting all his powers to aid in crushing it!*

[No. 261.] Collector Lawrence of N. Y., to his friend J. Hoyt.

WASHINGTON, 31st January, 1834.—My Dear Sir: I can scarcely suppose it possible that I could have written any letter to authorize the paper you have enclosed to me, and I feel deeply mortified that any one should have authorized a publication in a newspaper. May I beg the favor of you to request the person to whom it was directed to return it to me, or at least not to circulate it, and if any one should speak of the contents of my letters, please mention that I had repeated to you, that my letters were only intended for those to whom they were directed. I can not imagine who could have received the letter alluded to. I have no idea any compromise is thought of by either political party.

*It is my individual opinion that A NATIONAL BANK with proper restrictions and subject to State Taxes, &c., WOULD BE USEFUL TO THE GOVERNMENT AND COUNTRY, and I know there are other individuals in Congress of that opinion, and that is almost as much as I do know.*†

Respectfully, your friend, CORN' S W. LAWRENCE.

*The Missionary addresses Jesse as a friend to the Bank.*

[No. 262.] Elbert J. Anderson to Jesse Hoyt, New York.

WASHINGTON, February 1st, 1834.—Dear Sir: I have only to say that Mr. Wright's speech in the Senate, seems to preclude any hope of success from our mission; nothing but the action of the people in their primary assemblies can operate upon Congress, and you know better than I can what is to be hoped from that source. The deposit question will be settled, to confirm them where they are. The sooner that is settled, the better for all parties. Forty votes cannot be obtained in both houses of Congress in favor of [a] new bank, at present; and the chance of a renewal of the old charter, under any modifications, depends solely upon the contingency mentioned above, a decided expression from the people. A metallic currency seems the present hobby; I conceive it utterly impracticable. If I see any hope of a change, I shall write; you will please receive this only as my individual opinion.

Your friend,

ELBERT J. ANDERSON.

† A similar letter was sent with Mr. Anderson to Mr. Taney, Mr. Duane's successor in the Treasury Department, having the following words added:—"He has a great desire for an opportunity of conversing with you upon the matters referred to, and I have taken the liberty to hand him this letter, and I beg you will indulge me for the liberty, And believe me to be, &c. JESSE HOYT."

† On the 26th of March, 1831, Mr. Lawrence wrote Mr. H. Durell, in reply to an enquiry of the working men of the 6th Ward, New York, as follows:—"In reference to the 'abolition of all licensed monopolies.' On the broad ground, I admit the justice of the general proposition, that it is objectionable to give any man or set of men, privileges which interfere with the just rights and liberties of others." He added, that as to "a district system of elections," on which there had been "much discussion, he had not reflected sufficiently."

*Van Buren and Swartwout, when at sixes and sevens.*

[No. 263.] Vice President Van Buren to Abraham Miller, White Plains, West Chester county, N. Y. WASHINGTON, Feb. 1, 1831.—My dear sir: There is certainly nothing that I could do for you with propriety and effect that I would omit. *I cannot, however, write to Mr. Swartwout.\* On this subject, I have done so so often without success, that self-respect has compelled me to desist.* I presume, however, that he has his hands full. If the expression of my wishes in behalf of your son can be of use, he may show this letter to the Collector. Wishing continued health and happiness, I am, dear sir, very truly yours.

M. VAN BUREN.

*Buying \$20,000 in Stocks, on the strength of a confidential peep at Marcy's Mortgage Message, before its delivery.*

[No. 264.] Attorney General Van Buren to 'My Dear Jesse' Hoyt. ALBANY, March 22, 1834.—MY DEAR JESSE: Please let Nevins and Townsend buy me 100 shares of Moh. and Hud. R. R. for cash at 96, and Bost. and Prov. 100 shares at 92½ cash; drawing on me at 3 days sight for the amount. If better terms can be had by taking the stocks two weeks hence (buying on time) I should like it better. I fear stocks will rise after Monday, and therefore I want these purchases made Monday, but leave it open after. *Let the beggars deal honestly by me for I lose a deal of money anyhow.† There will be something done here Monday that will charm you Yorkers. Lawrence will run like the Cholera.*

Please ask Bucknor to hand you the amount of differences at which my fifty shares Manhattan stock were settled, and send it to me. Yours very truly, and much better.

J. VAN BUREN.

*Attorney General (John) Van Buren asks Omnipotence to curse his friend Jesse Hoyt—wishes his Rail-road stock sent, with Jesse, to Tophet—and grumbles at the New York officials for not furnishing funds for his stock gambling transactions—Hoyt obtains stated preaching at \$28 per annum, at the Ascension Church—Parke Godwin's opinion of the Leaders of 'the Democracy.'*

[No. 265.] John Van Buren to Jesse Hoyt, Wall street, N. Y. ALBANY, March 25, 1834.—Why God d—n you, Jesse! buy my stock and draw upon me at sight. You must be poor bitches down there, if you cannot raise this two penny sum. If the stock has gone up, let it go to H—! The Bank will come up against the Safety Fund Banks, and depress stocks—the Governor's measure will eventually relieve the country.‡ Yours truly,

J. VAN BUREN.

\*There was evidently the best possible understanding established between Mr. Swartwout and the Albany Regency as early as 1835, for in that year and 1836, Marcy, Wright, Crosswell, J. Van Buren, Corning, &c., are liberal in their letters to him, recommending candidates for his Hospital. Seymour and many others thus got places. On the 23d of March, 1836, Edwin Crosswell recommends Barnum Whipple to his "most favorable consideration"—assures him that his (W.'s) "pecuniary circumstances render it peculiarly desirable as this time," that he should be admitted into Swartwout's Poor House—and thus sums up his character—"His political qualifications are equally unquestionable; being a uniform Republican of the Old School." Mr. Attorney General J. Van Buren thus endorses Whipple on the same sheet: "Samuel Swartwout, Esq.—Dear Sir—I fully concur in the foregoing (Crosswell's) recommendation of Capt. Whipple, and as he is a very clever fellow, to boot, I hope you will be able to do what he asks. Yours truly, J. VAN BUREN."

† Albany, March 23d, 1836."

‡ Mr. Hoyt got along more quietly with Van Buren's knavery than with that of some other persons. On the 25th of February, 1839, he wrote to Levi Woodbury from the Custom House—"Mr. Price's son has published, in the Courier of this morning, a letter from his father, which I have not read and do not mean to read. I am quite tired of 'the rogues and roguery.'"

On the 8th of November, 1839, he wrote as follows: "B. F. Butler, Esq., U. S. Attorney—Sir: Do not fail to put the case of Harvey & Slagg in a position for a new trial. Several merchants have been to me, who are perfectly outrageous at such a violation of all law and sense. I think I could safely swear to newly discovered testimony, so as to get a new trial on that ground. Mr. Russell has stated some facts to me that are new. Think of this point. I am so mortified and upset at the result. I WILL LEAVE NO STONE UNTURNED TO PUNISH the party who would attempt to overturn all law and morals. Resply. J. HOYT, Collector."

§ Mrs. Jameson tells us in her Summer Rambles, that a Baptist Preacher, whose church she attended in Detroit, and who evidently wanted to steer clear of offending hot and foolish partisans, made an acute prayer for John's father, viz: that "if Mr. Van Buren were a good man he might be made better, and if a bad man, that he might be speedily regenerated." Perhaps if he had been favored with a peep at John's correspondence, he would have omitted the if altogether, as applied to the junior. Mr. J. V. B.'s monstrous impetuosity appears to have shocked even the impatient Hoyt about this time, and partially effected that which even the Pious B. F. Butler's calls have failed in—as witness the following receipt—"Mr. Jesse Hoyt—To the Church of the Ascension, Dr. To Rent of Pew, No. 38, 1 May, 1831, to 1 May, 1835, \$28. Received Payment, &c.

WILLIAM DONALDSON."

§ RELIEVING THE COUNTRY.—The junior Van Buren refers here to Marcy's Message of the previous day, [March 24,] advising the people to mortgage their farms, and lend the safety fund and pet banks the other six millions, to relieve the country. Mr. Parke Godwin, of the N. Y. Customs, has given an honest opinion about relieving the country, which we copy from his newspaper, *The Pathfinder*, of April 22, 1843. Electors of New York, is it not true? Read and judge. Godwin speaks the language of a true patriot, a man who felt for the distressed and



*Buy the Standard of Hone for \$20,000—Croswell puffs Murcy's Six Million Loan Message—talks of bank patriots and selfish monied men—imaginary distress, and stock not to be sold!—but will do to talk about—Jackson & Co.'s ten million bank scheme smothered as impolitic at the time.*

[No. 266.] Edwin Croswell of the Argus to Jesse Hoyt, New York. ALBANY, March 23, 1831.—My Dear Sir: If the *Standard* can be purchased of Mr. Hone, unincumbered, for \$20,000, our friends ought not to hesitate to get possession of it. Aside from the importance of the step, politically, it could scarcely fail, if managed with reasonable tact and economy, to prove a matter of pecuniary profit. I do not think of any one precisely qualified for the charge of the paper, who is at this moment free from engagements of another sort, but I have no doubt the man may be found, and soon, if our friends will take the refusal of it for a given period.

You have undoubtedly read the Governor's message. Allow me to ask your opinion of it? The Bank and opposition press grossly misrepresent the proposition. That was expected of course. The Bank has produced the "distress" and its incendiaries have contributed to it in all possible ways. Real or imaginary, it is their only hope. Hence any proposition, calculated to produce relief either by inspiring confidence, or by providing means, is their bane, and will be fought and lied down, if possible. But I am satisfied the project will be approved by the legislature, and by the people, and that it will result advantageously to the pecuniary and political interests of the state. Attempts will be made by the bank patriots and by selfish monied men to decry the stock in the foreign market. But rely upon it, IF ANY SHALL BE EVER ISSUED, it will find a sale without difficulty.

sorrows of the poorest of his countrymen. He is the son-in-law of Wm. Cullen Bryant, and were all the offices in Lawrence's department as well bestowed as his was, by Van Ness, who is there that could complain?

[From the Pathfinder, by Parke Godwin.]—"It [meaning the democratic party] has talked until it has not only exhausted its breath, but its life. What is it doing to carry out its principles? What real vitality is there in any of its prominent measures? What genuine manhood in any of its prominent men? Is it not, at this moment, a grand imposition and falsehood? Is it not a vast collective death's head, an illusion, a deceiver, a d anti-christ? We ourselves answer these questions in the affirmative. We do so, because we conscientiously believe that our politics and our political parties are stupendous and cruel humbugs. The democratic party, particularly, is liable to this charge, because it professes to be guided by lofty aims. Its ends are right, but its means are delusive. Not that the mass of its members are aware of this—not that a whole people would voluntarily agree to mislead and cheat themselves—but that the leaders of the party are filled other with ignorance or hypocrisy and selfishness. They are either grossly ignorant of their duties, or they know that they are betraying the multitude whom they profess to serve. We impeach them with the fact. We charge them with trifling with the happiness of millions. We accuse them of an utter want of human sympathy. We denounce them as cheats and pretenders.

This is strong language, but not too strong to be verified. Let us see. What have the mass of the population gained by the recent election? Why, they have dismissed one set of magistrates to adopt another, who may or may not be better. Beyond the few who will get office by the intolerant proscription of their opponents, what class is benefited? Has any principle been settled? Has any real, positive advancement been wrought in the condition of the people, or even in public opinion? After all the wasteful expen diture of time and money, after a l the parades, junketings and speeches, after the declamations of the newspapers and the vociferations of the bar-rooms, after society has been stirred to its depths by a fierce excitement, is there a single man who can honestly say that his lot has been improved by the result, even so much as one jot or tittle? Does any democrat, in the wildest flight of his expectations, believe that either prosperity, comfort, or elevation has been secured to the people? Are they more sure of employment, more easy in their pecuniary circumstances, better lodged, or clothed, or fed, enlarged in intellect and expanded in sympathy, in consequence of the political revolution to which they have been made to contribute? No! No! The poor deluded creatures are as miserable and debased as ever they were—in the face of all the lying flatteries of political addresses, and all the heartless mockings of political leaders.

Nay, we go further than this. We will suppose that the democratic party has been successful in its projects, not only in this city, but throughout the Union: we will suppose that Mr. Calhoun or Mr. Van Buren has been chosen to the Presidency, along with triumphant majorities in both houses of Congress: we will suppose that all the measures for which it contends are carried into practical execution: we will suppose all this, and yet say, that it will not benefit the mass of the people in any perceptible degree! It will hardly secure them a single one of their primary and most important rights! It will leave them as far from the point of true social happiness and individual development as they are now! They will continue to be as debased, ignorant, and squalid as they are now! They will be exposed to as much suffering and as many disasters as they are now! They will still live in nasty and pestiferous houses, in crowded and dirty streets: they will still work in shops that are little better than styes: they will still feed upon the worst products of the worst markets: they will still be cut off from many of the necessities, and all the refinements and elegances of life: they will still be visited by want, sickness, destitution, and hastened death: their children will still grow up in idleness, ignorance, and vice: they will still be denied the right to labor, the right to education, the right to social intercourse: they will still be the slaves of the capitalist and the dupes of the politician: still for ever running the same dreary round of disagreeable and monotonous labor, unsatisfied desires, artificial disease, debasing companionships, cheerless lives and hopeless deaths! Political changes may have brought them a brief political improvement; but ah! in all the essentials of happiness, they will be as meagre and helpless as ever. Politicians! have you thought of this? If you have not, what criminal blind guides you are? If you have, what infamous hypocrites your impostures prove you to have been? We suggest the question, in the utmost seriousness, to the higher minds among the democrats: whether for the last twenty years, they have accomplished aught worth speaking of for the millions? We ask them, whether they are likely to do anything more, for the next fifty years? We call upon Mr. Van Buren, upon Silas Wright, Samuel Young, Tammany Hall, the Democratic Review, the Pioneer, and Evening Post, or any organ or advocate of the democratic party, to declare in what respect they hope to improve the condition of the masses—to what degree and by what means they propose to advance the public happiness? When and how and where they are to furnish even a partial exemplification of the working of their boasted principles? They must do this, or be content to receive the withering curses which the long misled and abused multitude will sooner or later heap upon their guilty heads."

So far as we hear from the country, the effect of the message has been favorable, beyond our most sanguine expectations. Such is the case here. Moderate men of the opposition see and admit the value of the proposition as a measure of relief, and although the party *newspapers in the service of the bank* will deride and assail it, they will not carry by any means all their friends with them. Aside from its intrinsic worth, as the best proposition that, under the circumstances, could be presented to the legislature, *it will serve to give confidence to our friends, so far as that is necessary, and will put arguments and weapons into their hands. A ten million bank was received with little favor here, in or out of the legislature, and if proposed could not have succeeded. Defeat would have given to the whole matter a far worse aspect than if nothing had been attempted.* With great regard—sincerely your friend, E. CROSWELL.

*Gambling in the Stocks.*

[No. 267.] Attorney General (John) Van Buren to Jesse Hoyt, New York. ALBANY, March, 28, 1834.—MY DEAR JESSE—The purchase by N. and T. of 100 Mohawk at 96, is very good. I understand it to be payable in all next week. I shall be in N. Y. next Monday (31st inst.) and then shall arrange it. Please countermand the order for Boston and Providence; I should prefer not to buy it; and if it is purchased and can be resold without loss, let it be done—any how, as Lord Grey said, I shall stand by my 'order.'

Yours very truly, J. VAN BUREN.

[No. 268.] *Attorney General J. Van Buren ashamed to appear publicly as a Stock-jobber.*

ALBANY, April 17, 1834.—MY DEAR JESSE—Nevins and Townsend write me that they have bought my Utica Stock. Please get the money for the enclosed, and pay them. *I do not wish to correspond with THEM directly.* Let the certificate be made out in my name, and send it to me by some *private conveyance*, or keep it till I come down, which will be shortly.

Yours very truly, J. VAN BUREN.

*The Postscript shows the future Financier.*

[No. 269.] Attorney General J. Van Buren to Jesse Hoyt, at New York. ALBANY, June 13, 1834.—MY DEAR JESSE—With the slender assistance of the above [a draft for \$780] fortified by the enclosed [a check for \$31 10], you will, I think, be able (if you will do me the favor), to satisfy the following demands—Nevins & Townsend \$391.46—Chester Jennings \$250—"Young" Wilson \$100—Minthorne Tompkins \$70. If it falls short, parcel it out to the Cornorants, in such bits as you may deem most meet to subserve their several necessities. I intend to walk into the Mohawk soon.

J. VAN BUREN.

P. S. I tho't my stock was bought at 109, was it not? The receipt says 109½.

*Young Van Buren's father-in-law, and Hoyt's brother, Lorenzo, getting rid of less profitable Bank-Stock, through Jesse's agency.*

[No. 270.] Judge James Vanderpoel, Albany, to Jesse Hoyt, New York. ALBANY, June 20, 1834.—Dear Sir—I thank you for the services you have rendered your brother and myself in procuring stock for us in the Lafayette Bank. Our portion to be sure is not large, but we console ourselves with the truth of the old adage, that "half a loaf is better than no bread." You will confer another obligation upon me to procure the residue of the deposit money, and either send me your check, or deposit it in the Phoenix Bank in my name to the credit of the Canal Bank. I send you a draft on the Commissioners for the amount. If it is presented on Monday the Commissioners will pay it, otherwise it must be drawn through the Butchers and Drovers' Bank. Respectfully yours, J. VANDERPOEL.

*Mem.* by J. Hoyt. June 23. Received \$250 from Commissioners and sent my check to Judge Vanderpoel for it. J. H.

[No. 271.] Lorenzo Hoyt, Albany, to Jesse Hoyt, New York. July 18, 1834.—Dear Brother: The Judge [Vanderpoel] and myself THINK WE SHALL MAKE NOTHING BY HOLDING OUR LA FAYETTE STOCK, and therefore, annexed, send a power of attorney to sell it. Please have it done, and send your check to the Judge for the amount. Yours affectionately, L. HOYT.

"July 21, 1834. Sold for account of Jesse Hoyt, Esq. By Nevins & Townsend, 25 shares La Fayette Bank stock at 101½ \$2537.70—less commission ½ per cent, \$6.34—\$2531.16—Less 90 per cent, UNPAID, 2250=\$281.16."

*A silk stocking Democrat.*—"We have to be a little vulgar these Jackson times."

[No. 272.] James Monroe, Esq., to Jesse Hoyt, 42 Wall street, N. Y. BALLSTON SPA, July 24, '34.—Dear Hoyt: A Virginia friend, like all the rest of them who have not played a part in Wall street, do not know and *will not learn* that when a note or draft is due, that it either has to be paid or protested. When I left N. Y. I made no provision for the payment of

a draft on me for \$1550, drawn by a Virginian, thinking that he would *think* and *act* so far as to put the money in bank to meet the payment. Not so—the draft had to be paid, and like Ward's notes, or rather my notes in his favour *silently* overdrawn my bank account which my agent made good by loan from my friend H. Ogden of the Custom House. Now, if you can conveniently, and if you cannot conveniently, then you must put in bank for my account the \$1000 as early as the morning of the 27th inst., as I shall send a check to Ogden for that day. *He is a good Jackson man*, and perhaps wants no money, but this you can ask him. If my friend from Virginia puts my money in Bank, I will send you a check for the \$1000 at once—this he may write me to-day that he has done. You can have the money again in a few days at any rate. *I know it is vulgar to attend to money matters this hot weather*, BUT WE HAVE TO BE A LITTLE VULGAR THESE JACKSON TIMES.

No news here. Let me hear from you. *If you would like to make a little money out of SARATOGA, let me know it. I tell you it must go down. I may join you.* When does Glover and Ward come up? In haste, yours truly,  
J. MONROE.

*A Beggar—Can you get bets?—Perish C. P. C. Beardsley.*

[No. 273.] Attorney General John Van Buren to J. Hoyt, N. Y. Albany, Aug. 29, 1834. MY DEAR JESSE: For G—d's sake send me my over coat—my underclothes are all worn out, and I'm a beggar. Let it be taken to Wheeler's, who will send it to me. Can you get any bets on Governor, even? We shall lick the dogs so in this State that the 'Great West' will hear the howling. Yours truly,  
J. VAN BUREN.

N. B. Our brethren in Oneida are all 'with one accord united'—look out for a tall majority in O. (1) \*Perish C. P. C. Beardsley' (2) will be re-elected by 1500 majority.

*'I must have a shy at the Boys'—a Stockjobbing Epistle.*

[No. 274.] Attorney General John Van Buren to J. Hoyt, (Albany,) Sept. 5, 1834.—MY DEAR JESSE—Please let Nevins & Townsend buy me 100 shares of Patterson R. R. Stock del'v'r in 60 ds. as cheap as possible. I must have a *shy* at the boys. Keep the purchased note till I see you. I shall go west this afternoon, and return in 3 or 4 weeks. If anything turns up in my absence to depress stocks rapidly and seriously, which is hardly possible, sell out and save me from loss. Yours truly,  
J. VAN BUREN.

*Pearce on the Rhode Island Election—Potter an old fed, in his dotage—Whip the Bank Men—Governor Francis, a Van Burenite of 1st water—a hint about family connexions, Jeromus Johnson like.*

[No. 275.] † Dutée J. Pearce, M. C., Rhode Island, to Jesse Hoyt, N. Y. NEWPORT, R. I. Sept. 18, 1834.—*Private*.—Dear sir: Yours of yesterday I have. If our men do not act like fools, we can elect our Senator by a decided majority, say a majority of five or six. In a vote between Potter and Burgess, the vote would probably stand 41 to 41, thus giving to the Governor the casting vote in favor of Mr. Potter—but to give Mr. Potter 41 votes, he must get three votes in , and this three we are afraid he will not be able to do—and it is moreover well understood that if there would be no probability of Mr. P's having a majority of one over Mr. B., Mr. B. will be withdrawn and the Atto. General, Greene, taken up, who would undoubtedly beat Mr. P. three or four votes. I think it will not do to run Mr. Potter, *who is now in his old age and dotage—cannot forget his early associations of federalism and Hartford Conventionism*. It is hard for the Ethiopian to change his skin. Mr. P. will be the cause of our defeat, if defeated we should be; and, if disposed, can put our success beyond a doubt—in other words, if he will give up his pretensions where his friends tell him there is no chance for him—and this we must do, and support another man with the same zeal we would support him. *If we could support him with the hope of success, we would give the bank men a severe whipping, and send to the Senate the best man we have, in my opinion, in our state, Governor [John B.]*

\* Perish C. P. C. Beardsley was the whig nickname to Samuel Beardsley, of Oneida, who was a violent supporter of the Safety Fund League of Banks, and an enemy to the United States Bank and branches. He got it by a speech in Congress, January, 1834, in which he said—"No! sooner than retract our steps—perish the state banks—perish credit—perish commerce."

† Dutée J. Pearce, an influential lawyer of Rhode Island, was appointed by Monroe, in 1824, its U. S. District Attorney. He entered the 19th Congress, in December, 1825, with Tristram Burgess; and John Quincy Adams thus congratulates him on a re-election to the 24th Congress, ten years after, in a letter dated Quincy, Sept. 7, 1835. "I heartily congratulate you upon your re-election to Congress—although upon many important public measures, I differed widely in opinion from you in the last Congress; and although I do not flatter myself that we shall agree much better in the next, I am yet convinced that the party which has been these two years struggling to break you down, the base compound of Hartford convention federalism and royal arch masonry, is so rotten with the corruption of both its elements, that I hail with joy the victory which you have achieved over it; I rejoice also that the same people have repaired the injustice done by the same party to Mr. Sprague, and have returned him to Congress as your colleague. Of that party, treachery is so favorite an instrument, that I have heard Mr. Burgess complain that they have used it even with him. It is their nature and their vocation. I welcome the result of your election as a pledge that their chalice is returning to their own lips."

Francis. He can certainly be elected against any man the bank party can name, by a majority of five, reserving his own vote as the presiding officer of both houses.

*Mr. Francis is my confidential friend, and would support the administration. He is more devoted to Mr. Van Buren than any other man in Rhode Island.* He was my classmate, and the classmate of Governor Francis in College, and is also your Governor [Marcy's] personal friend. Mr. Francis is not anxious for the place, but *I know* would run if he would receive the support of our party. With these prospects before us, it will be too bad to have them blasted—and blasted they will be, by Mr. Potter's pertinacity and obstinacy. What can we do? I hardly know. I have written lately to Mr. Woodbury fully, in regard to our difficulties, and have at times thought I would write Mr. Van Buren, and Mr. Wright your Senator, in relation to them. *Mr. P. [Potter] is under great obligations to Mr. Wright.* If Mr. Wright would, without bringing my name into question, or in any way referring to it, urge Mr. P. to withdraw when he finds success hopeless, and throw all his weight into the scale of Mr. Francis, our victory would be a glorious one. Mr. P. would raise himself in the estimation of the administration, and if he on earth would not receive his reward, some of his friends and family connexions may. Truly yours,

DUTEE J. PEARCE.

*Perish C. P. C. Beardsley no 'Bank slave,' only a Van Buren man!!*

[No. 276.] Samuel Beardsley, M.C. to Jesse Hoyt, N. Y. *Private.*—WASHINGTON, September 24, 1831.—Dear Sir: Your favour of the 16th, reached me here to-day. I am well aware of the feeling of your bank\* merchants, and all other bank worshippers towards myself. That is of little moment to me, and less still to the public. I dare not venture any opinion to you about my district, although I believe our political friends hope that it will be for the country rather than for the Bank. Personal feeling aside, I must say that I hope such may be the result: in other words, I would prefer being a freeman to being a bank slave. I do not give any opinion for myself about the District. I however believe that our friends not only hope for a democratic majority in Oneida and Oswego, but they expect one of from 5 to 10 hundred. My opinion is, that General Root may have 400 majority in Broome, but that in Delaware he will be behind some 800. I presume Governor Marcy will be re-elected by more than ten thousand.

In haste yours,

S. BEARDSLEY.

*Van Buren's Profanity set off by Butler's Piety.*

[No. 277.] Attorney Gen'l J. V. Buren to J. Hoyt, N. Y. P'm'k—"Avon, N. Y. Sept. 25" [1831]—franked by "M. Van Buren." MY DEAR JESSE,—I make use of a frank *the old man* left with me, to let you know that *I am about as unhappy a d—l as you would wish to see—from the fear that you have purchased me some Patterson R. R. Stock, on which I am to lose a large sum of money.* I see that on Wednesday it left off at 8½, which is 8 or 9 per cent. lower than it was when I authorized you to buy for me. I know nothing of the d—d stock, except that Bremner was dealing in it,† and it had been rising for a month, and I hardly thought my

\* When Samuel Beardsley was elected to Congress, from Oneida, he resigned the office of U. S. District Attorney, was succeeded by N. S. Benton, now Secretary of State for N. Y., and in 1836, appointed by Governor Marcy Attorney General. He was a firm supporter of the safety fund bank system, opposed to Young, and one of four to buy Groswell's three-walled house, out of which job the Evening Journal extracted much amusement at the expense of the knaves who made the bargain. Beardsley entered the senate of N. Y., in 1823, was a rigid partisan, thorough for Crawford, and, as Hammond thinks, very honest. Marcy nominated him to be Attorney General, late in 1836; and when a senator, he could not bring his conscience to consent to the sending of Bishop and Kemble back to their constituents. Like Wright, in 1834, he thought that popular appeals may be made too often.

† BUTLER'S PIETY.—John Van Buren is said to have remarked, when in New York, some time since, that he suffered less for his profanity than Butler did for his piety. I annex another specimen of the latter.

It is well known that J. G. Bennett took part with Van Buren, Lawrence, Butler, Morris, Edmonds and Stevenson, in the Glenlivet affair of 1840. In the N. Y. Herald, of Oct. 26th, we find the report of a N. Y. indignation meeting, held, at noon of the 24th, in the Park, David Banks being its president, and Wright Hawkes, now of Paris, the mover of resolves. Mr. B. F. Butler was the orator of the day; and, had he really been a pious man, his pathetic appeals to God and Providence would have been passed over by me without remark—but look at the impudence, covetousness, and hypocrisy shown in his letters, which compare with his description of his opponents, and the then mayor of Philadelphia. He said, "that frauds extensive and atrocious were perpetrated by the Whigs in 1838 and 1839, is now abundantly proven. These frauds were successful in the first instance, and nearly so in the last. The reason that they were not so in the latter instance, is not from the want of exertions on their part, but from the direct interposition of an overruling Providence. . . . I shall do all I can, undeterred by threats of prosecution, indictment, or assassination, which have been held out, to go on and bring these perpetrators to justice, even if my life fall in the effort. I look on this as a special interposition of that providence—that ruler of truth and justice, who rules and reigns over all, and even in this life punishes the guilty, and brings frauds to light and punishment. . . . What a frightful system of fraud does not all this develop, on the part of our opponents! Monstrous in the extreme. And chiefly concocted in and thrust upon us from a neighboring city, the central seat of the monied power, and which is also the head quarters of the United States Bank, and has so long been under its blighting influence. Yes, from that city came the Hessians who were to crush our liberties, and destroy the freedom and purity of our institutions. (Cheers.)" And John Swift, its mayor, (great outcry,) the chief magistrate of the second city in the United States, was the wicked and willing agent and participator in forwarding these stupendous frauds, and in conniving at the contemplated frauds of 1840. (Tremendous outcry.) And by his control over his police

buying would knock it down forthwith. Perhaps it will go still lower, and may be worth nothing for all I know. If so, and if I own any, sell if you think best, and let me lose the present difference. If I get out of this job, you may consider me "discharged cured" as the Cholera reports read. Yours ever truly,

J. VAN BUREN.

*Jesse Hoyt and John Van Buren's Bets, Sept. and Oct., 1831.*

[No. 278.] I have compiled the following statement from Mr. Hoyt's memoranda of his bets, on his own and John Van Buren's account, previous to the fall election in New York. 1834.

With *James Watson Webb*.—\$500 on Governor (Marcy vs. Seward), even—\$500 on 7000 for Marcy—\$50 to \$25 against Verplanck's nomination for governor—\$50 on Cambreleng—\$250 on Members of Congress in N. Jersey—\$250 on Governor of Ohio—\$250 on Governor of New York—\$100 each, on 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8000 majorities for Marcy—\$50 against 900 majority 1st ward, N. Y.—\$1000 on 750 majority for Congress in city of N. Y.—\$1000 on 1250 majority for governor, in do—total \$4500.

With *Geo. F. Tulman*.—\$100 to \$200 on Marcy—\$50 on Beardsley—\$50 that Marcy does as well in Montgomery as in 1832—\$50 that the whigs would have 2250 in Washington Co.—\$200 that Young and Cramer would be elected—\$200 that the whigs would not elect M.C.'s in N. Y. city—\$100 on 7th district—\$10 on Marcy—\$100 ag't \$200 on Lucas as governor, in Ohio—\$100 each on 6, 7, and 8000 majorities to Marcy in N. Y.—\$100 each on 6, 7, and 800 majorities for Marcy in city of N. Y.—\$10 on majority in Ulster Co.—\$50 on 250 for Governor in 14th ward—\$50 on New Jersey Congress ticket—total \$1570.

With *Alexander Hamilton*, on Governor, \$250.

With ——— *Brenner*—on Governor \$500—on Members of Congress \$25—\$100 on 2000 majority for Lucas in Ohio—a hat (\$10) on governor—\$500 on 5000 maj. for Marcy—total \$1135.

With *D. S. Jones*.—\$100 on 15,000 whig gov.—\$100 on gov. even—\$25 on each 1000 up to 6000 on whig majority in N. Y. city—\$25 on each 1000 whig maj. in state of N. Y.—\$200 to \$100 that Seward would not have 5000 majority—\$700.

With *Moses L. Grinnell*, \$100 on 5000 maj. for Marcy—with *John A. King*, \$100 that the hunkers would beat Stilwell 750 in N. Y. State—with *Ellsworth* on Beardsley \$25—with *G. W. Bruen*, a hat (\$10) on Marcy—[*Joseph?*] *Kernochan* \$50 on Beardsley—with *H. K. Bogert* \$50 on governor, and 2 bales of cotton (\$90) on city M.C.'s &c.—with *E. Curtis* that Gen'l Root gets no majority in Broome Co. \$25—with same on governor, \$100 against \$200—with *Dudley Selden* on Beardsley &c. \$100—with *John Hone* \$150—with *Thaddeus Phelps*, 3 cases of champagne, and cash \$50 on Bergen—with *T. Carpenter*, wheat, wood, hams and apples \$44—with *H. Ketchum*, boots \$7—with *John C. Cruger* \$150 on fall election—with *J. L. Joseph* \$200 on Lucas of Ohio and on Congress—with *Draper* \$100 to \$200 on majority of Congress, from Ohio, and \$100 on assembly in do—with *J. G. Pearson* \$100 on legislature of Ohio—with *George S. Doughty* on 750 average maj. on Congress ticket in N. Y. city \$200—with *John Duer*, a suit of clothes, \$50, on 10th ward—with *O. Moran* \$100 on Congress maj. in N. Y.—with *Jacob Little* \$100 on 5000 maj. for Governor Marcy—with *Charles L. Livingston*, that Alleghany and Orleans would not both be against V. Buren and Co. for governor \$100, Oct. 6th—increased to \$250, Oct. 26th—another bet \$100—with *Christmass*, a ham \$3—2 cases of champagne with G. ———, on Ohio election—with *Cornelius Bogert* \$50 on Beardsley.

With *J. — Blunt*.—\$100 on Gov. of Maine—\$100 on Gov. of Ohio—\$100 on Gov. Marcy against Seward—\$100 on W. Jersey Congressmen—\$100 on aggregate majorities of

officers, concocted and marshalled a system which was successful in enabling men to come here and deposit illegal votes in our ballot boxes. What is due to these officers of justice, men sworn to preserve the course of justice pure, and to do all to detect all offenders against justice, and to prevent the perversion of the course? These police officers and this John Switt, one of the sworn vice-gerents of the God of justice on earth, all sending on men to vote, and some coming on to vote themselves, and giving to those sent the character of the greatest desperadoes their city contained, sending them here to be dressed up in the committee-rooms, and to vote at all the ward polls, if possible! I ask you, I ask our opponents, I ask all honest men, whether these officers of justice ever sent to the state prison, the penitentiary, or gallows, or took to prison or the gallows, any men so culpable, so criminal, or so deserving the gallows, as they were themselves? (Loud and continued cheers and cries of "No, no.") Mr. Butler denied having asserted that on Oct. 15th, he would make disclosures that would settle Mr. Van Buren's election—"yet, [said he,] strange to tell, on that very day, Mr. Stevenson walked into my office and told me of all these frauds. I then remembered it was the 15th of October. (Cheers.) Who, then, shall charge me with fanaticism, or superstition, when I say that I can see in this the finger of the God of truth and justice, who orders all things well; who will protect the virtuous and punish the guilty? And strong in this belief, and undismayed by threats, I shall continue to go on, and honestly do my duty to him and my country."

On this same far-famed 15th of October, at a great National Hall meeting, Mr. Prescott Hall thus dissected the demerits of Butler. "This individual, with no merit of his own, but what he derives from shadowing forth Mr. Van Buren's opinions, whilst he was decrying the credit system, was himself a borrower of \$25,000 from the Manhattan Bank, without any security. He expended it all in speculations. The committee called on him for security. What did he give? Why Chicago lots, (Roars of laughter) all of which only cost him \$200, and that was as much as they were all worth! (Cheers,) and yet he talks about the aristocratic borrowers and speculators on the credit system."

democratic Congressmen from N. Y. S.—\$100 on 6000 majority for Marcy—\$50 on Congress ticket in

Mr. Hoyt's handwriting being bad, I may have made some mistakes, but think not. It appears to me that these bets, amounting from \$12,000 to \$15,000, are but a part of his wagers on the election of 1831—but his other memoranda are less clear. He seems to have begun betting early in September, and to have kept on daily till the elections were all over. A revenue officer told me one day at the custom house here, that Mr. Hoyt's bets on the fall elections of 1810 were enough to have ruined a dozen of men who had not extraordinary resources, but he gave me no facts, so I do not vouch for his statement, though very probable. Mr. Hoyt's betting did not enrich him, as witness Warren's letters of Dec. and Jan. next. John Van Buren may have cleared through Hoyt alone, on that election, \$9000. He had access to the whole correspondence of the central junta at Albany, and the returns by which their gambling on the elections was regulated.

[N. 279.] John C. Cruger to Jesse Hoyt.—Charlestown, Nov. 27, 1831. My Dear Sir—On my arrival here I wrote to my brother-in-law Mr. Pell requesting him to pay you three hundred dollars 150 for yourself and the same sum for Mr. Wilson. I send this letter by the steam packet as it will probably be in New York as soon as that. When you receive the \$300, please pay the 150 to Mr. Wilson whose bet is the same as yours. Although the result of this election must be very agreeable to you, I cannot congratulate you, for I trust that you will look upon it as a source of regret before many years.

I am truly yours. JOHN C. CRUGER.

*Success at the poor Whigs—But up to \$5000—Marcy's Election "as sure as G—d."*

[No. 280.] Attorney General J. Van Buren to "My Dear Hoyt," N. Y. ALBANY, Oct. 7, 1831. [Tuesday.]—MY DEAR HOYT—They say "the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church," and heaven knows I have been freely tapped in the good cause. THE REM. [removal] OF THE DEP. [deposits] cost me a fortune, and now I don't see but I must lose another hunk of my little earnings.

My impression is that Stocks will go up till Election, and fall immediately after. If the poor Whigs could carry a Constable somewhere and get up a Jubilee, stocks would rise. New Jersey may go for them, and give them a flip—but Penna. will knock them stiff next week—so will Ohio—and so will N. Y.

If you could get the difference bet on Marcy, I should say "Sell by all means," and any how I don't know but you had better sell. Do exactly as you see fit. I shall be down before it falls due probably; meantime I should be most particularly obliged to you, if you can get me an even bet against Marcy to any amount less than FIVE THOUSAND DOLLARS. I think I would bet \$100 on each 1000 majority up to 5000. I would bet \$1,500 against \$1,000 on an even election. I consider Marcy's election, by from 7,500 to 15,000 majority, AS SURE AS GOD.

You know best how much the Patterson is worth, and you must do exactly as if it was your own, and I shall be satisfied. Make me some bets if possible. Yours, truly, J. V. B.

P. S. The Whigs may gather pluck after some meetings or some things.

*Wagers, betting, speculation—Boston and Providence—Ned Livingston.*

[No. 281.] Attorney Gen'l J. Van Buren to J. Hoyt, N. Y. ALBANY, Oct. 12, 1831.—My Dear Jesse—I should think you right about selling the Patterson, if it will not do to hold. By the looks of Webb's paper, (although it is intended no doubt to operate on New Jersey,) the opposition gained confidence. Can you tempt them with A WAGER on 3, 4, and 5000 Majorities; \$200 on each or \$500 on \$1000? If neither of these can be got to-morrow, BET them \$500 on 5000 majority. There will be no betting after to-morrow. Save the order for Bost. and Prov. open; the Moh. is all right. We have nominated a strong ticket, tho' Livingston (Ned) is the Assembly man, contrary to all expectation. Yours ever truly, J. VAN BUREN.

*'Don't be uneasy,' Jesse, go ahead! Bets on Marcy and Lucas of Ohio.*

[No. 282.] Same to same. ALBANY, Oct. 14, 1831. Don't be 'uneasy' Jesse; go ahead. I wrote you by Sunday's boat; but I suppose as there was no mail the letter miscarried. I think stocks will fall this week. Sell if you think best.

Can you get BETS on three, four, and five thousand majority for Marcy, two hundred dollars on each? if not, I will bet five hundred dollars on four thousand; perhaps, if we lose New Jersey, you can get this.

If you can't do better, I should like a bet of three hundred dollars on five thousand majority for Marcy; unless we lose N. J.: in that event I will wait to get better terms. Yours truly,

J. VAN BUREN.

P. S. I WILL BET on five thousand majority for Lucas in Ohio.

[No. 283.] Senator Tallmadge to Jesse Hoyt, at New York. PO'KEEPSIE, Oct. 14, 1834.—MY DEAR SIR: I received your letter of the 11th, and had an interview with Judge Ruggles, who holds the Putnam circuit this week. *He will talk with the gentlemen* referred to on the subject mentioned. *Such an interview will have more effect* than any thing else. Every thing looks well with us. We have renominated the "POKER" for Congress. Our whole ticket is a strong one; we anticipate a greater vote than in 1832.

Yours truly, N. P. TALLMADGE.

*Patterson Railroad. The Betting Ring. \$500 on Marcy.*

[No. 284.] Attorney General John Van Buren to J. Hoyt, N. Y. ALBANY, Oct. 15, 1834.—MY DEAR HOYT—You have worked the Patterson Rail Road very well. I am *shocked* at the shares only being \$50, having become reconciled to at least double the loss. Tell Wilson that I have an impression that he promised to invest \$500 or so, for me, provided I kept out of the 'betting ring,' so as to encourage the enemy to give him a fair chance. If I am right, and even if I am not, I count upon his *nobility* to spare me \$500 even on Marcy, out of his big investment. I shall be in New York the last of the month—let me know what W. says. Yours truly. J. V. B.

P. S. I dont care to bet on 5000 majority for Marcy just now; if it is not too late to back out.

*Van Buren pities the poor Whigs—thinks they will change their names.*

[No. 285.] Martin Van Buren to Jesse Hoyt, New York. KINDERHOOK, Oct. 21, 1834.—My Dear Sir: I send you with the greatest pleasure the letter you desire for our friend Phelps. I have been here for a few days where the Enemy is using very desperate efforts. I almost begin to pity the poor Whigs. Their next cognomen will be *Democrats*—remember what I say. I think you ought at some of your meetings, to call upon them, as our friends have done in Philadelphia, to give notice by what name they mean to pass next year. In haste, very truly yours,

M. VAN BUREN.

*Van Buren introduces his friend Clay to his friend Hoyt.*

[No. 286.] Vice President Van Buren to Jesse Hoyt, New York. WASHINGTON, Nov. 22, '34.—MY DEAR SIR: I take much pleasure in making you acquainted with my friend the Hon'ble Mr. Clay of Alabama [Clement C. of U. S. Senate,] who makes a short visit to New York before the meeting of Congress. I know it will give you pleasure to do what you can to make his stay in New York agreeable. I am, dear sir, very truly yours,

M. VAN BUREN.

*Old Le Foy, the Auctioneer, nominates Governor Marcy direct from the N. Y. Custom House!*

[No. 287.] In a letter signed by Cornelius W. Lawrence, Thomas Hertell, John Lorimer Graham, and George D. Strong, addressed to S. Swartwout, dated 8th Dec. 1834, at N. Y.—they say: "Mr. Le Foy from that time to the present has been an active, zealous, and efficient advocate of democratic principles, and has very materially aided in sustaining the present administration, and we believe that no individual who has been selected as an Inspector of Customs has presented stronger personal or political claims to your favourable notice." That *honest and steady* patriot, Wm. M. Price, thus adds his testimony (Dec. 10, 1834). "I am not acquainted with any individual who presents stronger personal *and* political claims to your consideration than Mr. Le Foy. His appointment would afford great gratification to a great number of your personal *and* political friends, and confer an especial favor on yours truly,

WILLIAM M. PRICE."

Le Foy, an old auctioneer, was installed as a Custom House officer, proved himself a useful tool—and, as a pretended representative of New York democracy, nominated Wm. L. Marcy as Governor, at the Syracuse Convention, Sept. 1836. New York therefore had a governor dictated by the Custom House—and when Throop was no longer endurable as a ruler, the Custom House opened its doors to him.

Samuel Swartwout, Esq.—Dear Sir—Mr. George S. Messerve of the 11th Ward is an applicant for the appointment of Inspector of Customs. Mr. M. has been A STRONG PARTY MAN, and is at present *an ardent supporter of the General and State Administrations*, and I have no doubt his appointment would give general satisfaction.

New York, April 30, 1835.

WALTER BOWNE.

*Selling R. R. Stocks and buying High Heeled Boots.*

[No. 288.] Attorney Gen. John Van Buren to J. Hoyt, New York. ALBANY, Dec. 17, 1834.—MY DEAR JESSE—Please sell me 100 shares Boston & Providence, deliverable in 60 days, at 107½ or 107¼. I shall be in New York this week. Can you send an order to — and Kimbal, No. 3 Wall st., to make me *forthwith* a pair of neat winter Boots with heels an inch high; I want them to wear when I shall come to New York, and that will be by Thursday.

Yours truly, J. VAN BUREN.

*Hoyt's Deerskins—Jackson escapes Assassination.*

[No. 289.] Vice President Van Buren to Jesse Hoyt at New York. WASHINGTON, Dec. 24, 1834.—MY DEAR SIR: I am obliged by your attention to my small concerns, and upon mentioning the circumstance in the presence of the President, he has requested me to ask you to send him also a pair of the skins. I will pay all. Yours, truly, M. VAN BUREN.

[No. 290.] Vice President Van Buren to Jesse Hoyt, New York. No date (1834).—DEAR SIR: I forgot to say to you that the President cheerfully accepted your present of the skins, and to make you my acknowledgments for your attention. The President is in fine health and spirits. His escape was perfectly miraculous.

*Providence lugged in with Providence R. R. gambling.—McKoun & Van Buren's happiness is "to do anybody's dirty work."*

[No. 291.] ALBANY, Dec. 30, 1834.—DEAR JESSE: Enclosed is your note. If the order to Nevins and Townsend to sell me 100 shares Boston and Providence at 107½ to ¾ at 60 days and interest should not, *providentially*, have been countermanded in season, I take it they have effected the sale: if so, let them close it at the present prices, so that I may recuperate a small portion of my losses.

Is Leggett wicked or crazy?

Yours truly, J. VAN BUREN.

P. S. I have formed a partnership in law with Col. McKoun: one of us will attend all the Courts, and we shall be HAPPY TO DO ANYBODY'S 'DIRTY WORK.' J. V. B.

*Speaker Livingston invites Ex-Commissioner Hoyt to join the Lobby.*

[No. 292.] MY DEAR HOYT: The U. and Schenectady rail-road passed our House this morning. I have just inquired of De Graff his opinion of its fate in the Senate—he is not confident of success, but thinks, with a full Senate, it may pass. *As this is a matter of some importance to yourself, I would advise that you come up and lend a helping hand to those already engaged in carrying it through.* Yours, C. L. L.

*[No. 293.] Van Buren's Pet Financier, Collector and Stockjobber, at fault.*

Two Notes—John Warren, Broker, Wall street, to Jesse Hoyt. "New York, Dec. 27, 1834. —Dear Hoyt: You will find by the enclosed account, made up to 21st inst., a balance due us of \$297.24 cts. Will you do us the favor to have it settled?"—"New York, Jan'y 12, 1835. —Sir: Not having received the balance due our late firm, I feel myself bound by the regulations of our Board to hand in your name unless settled by 10½ o'clock, to-morrow."

[Thus stood the successor of Swartwout in 1835. In a few months thereafter, through Van Buren's influence, he, his friend Butler, and their comrade W. S. Coe, were the board of Commissioners to examine into and settle all claims relative to duties, arising out of the great fire in New York!!!]

*The Madness of the Merchants and Auctioneers—the Victims of the Panic—To the Victors belong the Spoils!*

[No. 294.] Gov'r. Marcy to Jesse Hoyt, N. Y. ALBANY, 26th Jan'y, 1835. *Private.*—My Dear Sir—I received your letter this morning on the subject of L. M. M. It is proper that Mr. M. and all other office holders in N. Y. whose feelings or whose conduct has gone with the *Wigs* should be fully apprised of my situation in relation to their appointments, and that they should be made sensible that they have contributed to bring about a state of things which prevent me from doing towards them as I have done heretofore and should under other circumstances do now. The principal auctioneers partook of the madness and infatuation which last year seized the great mass of the Merchants—they aided in giving success to our opponents in the Common Council—they countenanced and some practised the proscriptive policy of that body—turned away their clerks, carmen, &c.—upheld the course pursued by the *Wig* papers—and cheered on the Common Council in *sweeping the decks* of all our political friends. The very men who have been *proscribed* in N. Y., with the expressed or implied approbation of those who wish reappointments, now surround me in *great numbers*, asking the places and commissions of the *proscribed*. What shall I say—what ought I say to these applicants? Shall I send these victims of proscription, and victims of the *panic*, home, empty handed, to beg employment of those who have deprived them of it, and give commissions to those who are the authors or even the silent approvers of the course pursued by the Common Council and the *panic makers*? If I had but one hour of official life to live I should consider it my solemn duty to employ it diligently in protecting my political friends from persecution. My friends in N. Y. ought to look at both sides of this question before they advise a course of liberality which would be injustice to friends, and, as past experience shows, *returned with ingratitude.* Yours, &c., W. L. MARCY.



*Silas Wright appoints a very suitable Law-Agent.*

[No. 295.] Governor Silas Wright to Lorenzo Hoyt, Lawyer, Albany. CANTON, 11 April, 1835.—My Dear Sir: I believe I some time since appointed you MY LAW AGENT in Albany. I cannot say now that I shall have any thing for an agent to do, as I have little expectation of doing any thing as an Attorney while my annual absences are so long. I wish you, however, to present the enclosed papers to one of the Justices of the Supreme Court, and get an order allowing to the clerk therein named the time shown to have been employed in classical studies, and then that you would file the papers, and send me copy of the order. I am, very truly, &c.

SILAS WRIGHT, JR.

*Andrew Jackson's first nomination as President, by his Old Associate, Aaron Burr.*

[No. 296.] From the Memoirs of Aaron Burr, vol. 2, page 433. Extract from Burr's letter to Joseph Alston, governor of South Carolina:

NEW YORK, November 20, 1815.

'A congressional caucus will, in the course of the ensuing month, nominate James Monroe for President of the United States, and will call on all *good republicans* to support the nomination. Whether we consider the measure itself, the *character and talents of the man*, or the *state* whence he comes, *this nomination is equally exceptionable and odious*. I have often heard your opinion of these congressional nominations. They are hostile to all *freedom and independence of suffrage*. A certain junto of actual and factitious Virginians, having had possession of the government for twenty-four years, consider the United States as their property, and, by bawling '*support the Administration*,' have too long succeeded in duping the REPUBLICAN PUBLIC. \* \* The moment is extremely auspicious for breaking down this degrading system. The best citizens of our country acknowledge the *feebleness of our Administration*. They acknowledge that offices are bestowed *merely to preserve power and without the smallest regard to fitness*. If, then, there be a man in the United States of firmness and decision, and having standing enough to afford even a hope of success, it is your duty to hold him up to the public view: *that man is ANDREW JACKSON*. Nothing is wanting but a respectable nomination, made before the proclamation of the Virginia caucus, and *Jackson's success is inevitable*. If this project should accord with your views, I could wish to see *you* prominent in the execution of it. It must be known to be *your work*. Whether a formal and open nomination should now be made, or whether you should, for the present, content yourself with barely *denouncing*, by a joint resolution of both houses of your legislature, *congressional caucuses and nominations*, you only can judge. One consideration inclines me to hesitate about the policy of a *present nomination*—it is this: that *Jackson* ought *first* to be admonished to be *passive*; for, the moment he shall be announced as a candidate, he will be assailed by the Virginia junto, with *menaces* and with *insidious promises of boons and favors*. THERE IS DANGER THAT JACKSON MIGHT BE WROUGHT UPON BY SUCH PRACTICES. If an open nomination be made, an *express should be instantly sent to him*,' &c.

AARON BURR.

*Young Blennerhassett hastens from Montreal to ask an office from S. Swartwout, his father's colleague in the Burr Movement.*

[No. 297.] Harman Blennerhassett, to Collector Swartwout. New York, April 15, 1829.—Dear Sir: I respectfully take this liberty to remind you that I am a candidate for an appointment to any situation in the Custom House which your goodness and circumstances will allow you to offer me. As reference to my character or abilities, I beg to mention the following gentlemen from whom I can submit a written recommendation, should that be necessary, and will offer any further testimonials you require.

Robert Emmett, T. A. Emmet, Jr., David Codwise, William H. Harrison, William H. Maxwell, Cadwallader D. Colden, counsellors at law; Doctor M'Neven, Broadway; Doctor Ludlow, Hudson street; B. M'Evers, Walter Odie, John Griswold; merchants; Gerard Beekman, Bleecker street; Robert Stewart, Benjamin Romaine, Hudson street, gentlemen.

I was born on my father's island in the Ohio, and have spent the principal part of my life in the United States, with the exception of a few years that I lived in *Canada*, where I completed my education; AND CHERISHING THE HIGHEST SENSE OF YOUR FRIENDSHIP FOR MYSELF AND FAMILY, and with the ardent hope that you may find some post in your department in which I can be useful, I have the honour, &c.

HARMAN BLENNERHASSETT.

*The old Burrite aid-de-camp in direct correspondence with the chief manufacturer of revolt in Texas.*

[No. 298.] Collector Swartwout to General Samuel Houston, Texas. NEW YORK, 18 May, 1835.—My dear General, I am most happy to make you acquainted with the bearer, Mr. Fortune, my very good and highly esteemed friend. Mr. Fortune has business on hand of some importance in respect to the *Felasola* grant in your country. Give him all the aid

you can in his honorable and praiseworthy efforts to settle your delightful Texas. Mr. Fortune is intimately acquainted with the details of the Cartiajal purchase. He was a witness to the whole transaction, and will give you all the particulars. *Write with him to get me my grant*, and, as in duty bound, I will ever pray. I remain yours, my dear general,

S. SWARTWOUT.

[No. 298.a] Major Morgan Neville, to Collector Swartwout, N. Y. CINCINNATI, Jan. 15, 1839. My Dear Swartwout: \* \* \* I thank you for the pledge you give me, of interesting yourself for me at Washington, \* \* \* My wife, who is a niece of Capt. Heth of Richmond, one of Burr's securities, \* \* \* I would have gone to Mexico, but not as Charge; I know I am better qualified for the station than any man of our party in the west. \* \* \* I would prefer going to Texas, if that province be ceded. Under the administration of Jackson I can accept of no minor office—I know too well my own claims and my own standing. At the time Clay's feelings were the most bitter against me, a Senator high in his confidence pressed me to accept the Charge-ship to Sweden at Somerville's death. Of course I declined. There is something preposterous in the offer of a similar office under an administration, for the success of which I have done as much, *at least*, as any man in Ohio. A Caucus is now holding at Columbus. An officious devil of the name of Watson is getting recommendations from every source he can. \* \* \* Since the election, abstract Jacksonism (the true spirit of reform) has not been sufficiently cherished in our state; faction and impudence have pushed themselves into office. Those among us whom public opinion placed in the front rank of the party, have not been consulted, and the state of Ohio has been degraded to make room for the glorification of Kentucky. \* \* \* *I have been told that THE OLD BURR BUSINESS has been used against me.* Believe me, as in boyhood, sincerely your friend,

MORGAN NEVILLE.

*Swartwout pays court to Jackson by carrying out Van Buren's views—so far.*

[299.] Samuel Swartwout to Col. Frost Thorne, Nacogdoches, Texas. NEW YORK, 18 May, 1835.—My Dear Colonel: I take the greatest pleasure in making you acquainted with my friend Mr. Fortune, who goes to Texas, in company with Mr. Bossie, and young Mr. Zavala\* on business for a Company in which I have an interest. Both these gentlemen are entitled to your perfect confidence and respect; and I shall esteem it a great favor if you will receive them all as my confidential friends. Mr. Fortune was a witness to the Cuabojal affair, and will give you such information as will enable you to *press the justice of my claims*. I wish you to insist upon the precise tract surveyed by Newton and Strode, as I consider that a valuable tract. *Do all you can for me*, and oblige Yours, most truly, SAMUEL SWARTWOUT.

*A queer and curious Epistle, considering its date.*

[No. 300.] Collector Swartwout to Collector Breedlove, New Orleans. (Private.) NEW YORK, 6 Nov. 1835.—Dear Sir: This letter will be handed to you by James Morgan, Esq., who is on his way to Galveston Bay, Texas. Mr. Morgan is deeply interested in the cargoes of two vessels which have lately sailed from this port for Galveston, with large and valuable cargoes on board. These vessels have been ordered to rendezvous at the southwest pass of the Mississippi, and there wait for convoy. The war between Mexico and Texas renders the passage from the Mississippi to Galveston a very hazardous one. Mr. Morgan is therefore desirous of procuring the protection of the U. S. Revenue Cutter as far as the mouth of Galveston Bay. As his vessels have *no contraband goods* on board, I have thought it possible that you might be able to grant him this favor. Should it be in your power to do so, you will render the parties concerned a most acceptable service, and personally oblige

SAMUEL SWARTWOUT.

*Swartwout's interests very large in Texas—Neutrality Practised.*

[No. 301.] Collector Swartwout, New York, to Col. Frost Thorne, Nacogdoches, Texas. NEW YORK, November 11, 1835.—Dear Sir: General John T. Mason has been requested, by me, to deposit with you a certificate or grant of ELEVEN LEAGUES OF LAND IN TEXAS, which I purchased from him, and which he has kindly agreed to procure to be recorded at Nacogdoches, and get the commissioner to name a surveyor for. I have also given James Morgan a letter or order to receive the same, which order I will thank you to honor on presentation, as Mr. Morgan is to locate the same for me, and is a citizen of Texas.†

\* Was this the son of Zavala who had so steadily supported Poinsett, when in trouble in Mexico, and whom Santolina finally subdued? Yes. He was a land contractor.

† This note was printed in the Lives of Lloyd and Butler, with the words John Y. for John T. Mason, and so I read Mr. Swartwout's manuscript. Having been since assured that it was Mr. Mason the father of a Governor of Michigan, and not Mr. Mason the cabinet minister, that speculated in Texas lands, I offer this explanation of the alteration now made. Can Mr. Swartwout alienate his Texas lands? Has he done so? Are they available for his defalcations or is payment in such cases not expected? Why did General Jackson allow or encourage his chief revenue officer to interfere in the internal concerns of Texas, raise settlers, and speculate in lands there? Was this neutrality towards Mexico? Certainly not after the Canada fashion. Who got the \$200,000 which Swartwout reported to Woodbury as being in the U. S. Bank to meet contingencies?

[No. 302.] The Same to the Same. NEW YORK, 11 February, 1836.—My Dear Sir: I received a draft from you yesterday for 1000 dollars at 60 days, which was promptly accepted, but there was no letter of advice accompanying it. This I regret, as I do not know what it is for, although I presume it is for the Texan cause. If so, please to inform me by the return post—General Mason leaves this for Nacogdoches to-morrow morning. He goes on for the purpose of locating his grants. I have requested him to speak to you about Carahall's business, about which I will thank you to write me; I have paid your third draft, or rather my third note due 28th January. My interests are now very large in Texas, and I pray you to do all you can to sustain Mason.\* You must not forget that *we* who have hitherto purchased and paid for our lands were in a great degree the cause of your getting so many gallant men into your country. I received a newspaper of your place of the 2d January, this morning, and thank you for it. We all feel that Texas is now *Independent*. But, my dear Sir, do not let your new government run into extravagances, let them confirm all the land grants, and it will give confidence to those who may become purchasers, or residents hereafter. Let them decree that holders in the states shall have their rights preserved, and they will increase the value of their public domain. Let them also authorize foreigners or people in the states and in Europe, to hold real estate as if they were on the soil. Nothing would so far give character to your country. As you are an old and respected citizen, your advice ought to have weight. Therefore speak. Do, my dear friend, let me hear from you what is my *Atogue now* worth, that is when you shall have made and maintained your independence? Write me all about that and other matters. Believe me very sincerely yours.

SAMUEL SWARTWOUT.

*Wetmore and the Board of Brokers. Joseph D. Beers the disinterested (?) retired Financier.*

[No. 303.] General Prosper M. Wetmore to Henry G. Stebbins, Esq., Wall street, New York. Assembly Chamber, ALBANY, February 6, 1836. My Dear Sir: An unusual pressure of business, resulting from my recent absence, has prevented an earlier reply to your letter. Two of the requests contained in your first letter cannot well be complied with in consequence of my distance from the city. I should have been most happy to visit your board, and to possess myself of such facts as would enable me successfully to defend them. As to the form of the memorial, it is usually the better course to make it brief and moderate in tone. Show no warmth of feeling—seek to convince by the force of reason—avoid irritation. This is the best advice I can give you. It might be well to set forth some prominent facts connected with the positive good done by the Exchange Board; such as the attraction of Capital to our city, the confidence given to Capitalists abroad BY THE PERMANENT AND STABLE CHARACTER GIVEN TO OUR LOCAL STOCKS *resulting from your daily quotations, &c.* I would certainly advise the presence here of some discreet, intelligent and respectable member of the board, at an early day. Much benefit will ensue from compliance with this suggestion. I would further recommend the early transmission of your memorial. Could you not send up a Committee of three, AND LET J. D. BEERS BE ONE? *I name him as one likely to give weight to such a deputation, as well from his general standing, as from the fact that he has RETIRED from the business, and may therefore claim to be disinterested in its merits.* I write in extreme haste, in the midst of the most urgent engagements.

It will afford me pleasure to render you any service in my power, consistent with other associations. With respect and regard, I am very truly yours,

PROSPER M. WETMORE.

*Patriot Cutting joins Jesse, and John V. B., in speculating out of the Deposits—Van Buren puts in for double profits.*

[No. 304.] Attorney General John Van Buren to Jesse Hoyt, New York. ALBANY, Aug. 23, 1836. My DEAR JESSE: On inquiry I find that I can get one of the Banks in this city to deposit, subject to their own order, such sum as may be requisite to make the arrangement of which we spoke, in any Bank in New York (say the Fulton), that you may choose: this will answer the purpose provided you can get the Bank selected to loan you the money on your note. All our Banks are nearly up to their throat, and I cannot borrow the money. The Bank here will charge the Bank there 6 per cent. *but, on the Deposit, and you will pay 7 probably.* If this meets your views you will please advise me by return mail. *If you agree to give me half the profits of the enterprise for making this arrangement, please send me a stipulation to that effect, signed by yourself and Cutting, when you write.*

\* John T. Mason, at an early age, left Virginia for Kentucky—and, many years since, removed from thence to Michigan. His son, John T., became secretary of the territory of Michigan; and when it became a state the people elected him their governor. He was fond of speculating in lands, was very desirous to see Canada annexed to this Union, married a daughter of Thaddeus Phelps, of New York, in which city he commenced business as a lawyer, and died several years ago. His father made several visits to Texas, and President Tyler appointed him a commissioner under some Indian treaty.

Your note might be made payable on demand, with an understanding that you should pay it when our Bank calls on the N. Y. Bank for the Deposit, *which will not be till we see fit.*

Yours truly, J. VAN BUREN.

*'Bets on 15 perfectly safe.'*—*'For God's sake' secure me the Presidency, said Martin Van Buren!*

[No. 305.] Attorney General J. Van Buren to Ex-Commissioner Hoyt.

ALBANY, NOV. 11, 1836.—MY DEAR HOYT: I'll do the justice to say (and so does my father), that you have stood the d——d lies from Pennsylvania better than most of our friends in N. Y. I hope the fright from this dictates the letters to us, saying that all of our tickets besides Register [I think that's the word], are in danger. I don't believe we shall lose one. In this State our majority will range from 15 to 25,000. *Bets on 15 are perfectly safe.*

For G——d's sake let our friends turn all their attention to New Jersey, and not be caught napping there, as in Connecticut. *My father wishes me to say so to you.*

Yours truly, J. VAN BUREN.

*A pair of Gamblers betting on Elections—the Pewter Mug—Cornelius put in Chancery.*

[No. 306.] Collector Hoyt to Collector Lawrence. [not sent.] NEW YORK, NOV. 21, 1836. Dear Sir: As the excitement of the election has in a great degree passed away, it is proper that I should pay attention to those incidents in which I am concerned, connected with it; though perhaps I ought to apologize to you for not having done this sooner. You will recollect that when I was reproached by you for having voted a "split ticket," that I *proposed to bet you \$100, that you voted what was generally called "the Pewter Mug Ticket,"* and that I would take upon myself the burthen of proof to establish the fact. Your reply was that you "would take the bet, if I took upon myself the burthen of proof, for you had never told any one how you had voted." I answered that it should be considered a bet. There are various ways recognized in legal proceedings of making proof and competent proof too in courts of law, and forums of conscience, and which perhaps did not occur to you when you observed you "had never told any one how you had voted." After such a remark, the right more peculiarly belonged to me to select my own tribunal, through which I would make the proof, I volunteered to make. That tribunal is a court of Equity, or in other words a court of conscience. In England, the country from which we have derived most of our legal forms, certain high dignitaries answer bills in Equity *upon honor* and not *upon oath*. I am perfectly willing to place you on the same footing, and I therefore desire you to consider this my bill in Equity, charging that you voted the ticket referred to, I ask you to answer the charge, and whatever the answer may be I shall be perfectly satisfied with. I enclose you my check for the \$100, to your order, which you will use, if under the circumstances you are entitled to, and if not you will please to return it, with your own for an equal amount.

With great respect, your obedient serv't.

J. HOYT.

*Mr. Van Buren, having secured the Presidency, orders the Plaindealer.*

[No. 307.] President Van Buren to Jesse Hoyt, N. Y. Dear Sir—Please to ask Mr. Leggett to send me his paper. Please also ask the editors of the *Evening Post* to send their paper here. It now goes to Albany. Yours truly, M. VAN BUREN.

[The above was written on a sheet of gilt post, from Washington, Dec., 1836.]

#### REMARKS.

Mr. Leggett was able and honest; but although he censured Van Buren severely for his hypocritical conduct to the south in his inaugural about slavery at Washington, Van Buren and Butler persuaded him that they were sincere in their efforts to divorce bank and state. I think it was to get him out of the way, as much as to please his numerous friends, that Van Buren appointed him to a commercial mission in one of the South American states. Leggett died soon after, on Long Island, in his 39th year. Vanderpoel proved himself a bitter opponent of the right of the sovereign people to petition their hired servants in Congress against slavery. Vanderpoel came into the Assembly of New York a Clintonian—his family were opposed to the war of 1812—one of Van Buren's sons married his niece. He was for Van Buren in Congress, and is now a city judge in New York. When he ascended the superior court bench, a son of Clinton was clerk. Him he caused to be removed immediately, and gave the situation to his brother-in-law, Oakley. Owing to the sonorous style of his eloquence, he was named when in Congress, "the Kinderhook roarer."

*Aaron the Judge no prophet—Jackson, the Usurers, and the Treasury Circular.*

[No. 308.] Judge Aaron Vanderpoel to Jesse Hoyt, N. Y. WASHINGTON, Tuesday, 6th Dec., 1836. My dear Sir—Yours came to hand day before yesterday, and had I been more of a "down Easter," so that I could have guessed what course the opposition would take, I would have answered it more promptly; but all here among us is doubt and uncertainty as to the tack our adversaries are now going upon.

They all seem to be very good-natured and very glad to see us, but whether the "treasury order" will be improved as a means of getting up another congressional panic remains yet to be indicated. The message speaks for itself. It strikes me, that those who are now under the power or the screws of usurers and shavers cannot derive much consolation from *that document*. The old Chief is unwilling to admit, that the government has by any act contributed to the present pressure in the money market. His doctrine is, that it has its origin in the mischievous expansion of the paper system, and the mad speculations and overtrading of the last eighteen months. You know too that the President is *in one respect like Revolutions. He never goes backwards*. I will not hazard even a conjecture as to the main point of your letter. We have as yet no more facilities for accurate guessing here as to the future movements of the opposition than you have at New York, and I cannot therefore do more than subscribe myself your friend,

A. VANDERPOEL.

*The Special Order. Benton. Talking a Session out.*

[No. 309.] C. C. Cambreleng, M. C., to Jesse Hoyt, Wall street, N. Y. WASHINGTON, 13th Dec'r, 1836. Dear H.—I cannot tell you what will be the fate of the Special Order—though it is not a favorite measure with either House. Benton will, however, make a strong speech about it, and he has besides strong ground. *That question, AND NO OTHER, will be soon decided*. We shall consume the session in battles about the Tariff and Public Lands.

C. C. CAMBRELENG.

*A Democratic (!) Congress encourage the Pet Bank Politicians to buy the Public Lands with the Public Money, and refuse to check speculation at the settlers' expense. Van Buren supposed to be patriotic. A talk about selling the national lands to settlers only.*

[No. 310.] William L. May, M. C., to Jesse Hoyt, N. Y. WASHINGTON, Dec. 9, 1836. My dear sir: I am inclined to believe that a very general disposition exists on the part of the friends of the Administration *to limit the sales of the Public Lands to actual settlers*: should this be accomplished (and I see no reason at present to doubt it) the necessity of keeping the Treasury Order in force would no longer exist, and the President [General Jackson] would thus be supplied with the best possible reason for its immediate repeal. *All parties*, so far as my knowledge extends, *deprecate the order*, not only as injurious to every branch of trade, *but as tending greatly to lessen the number of our political friends*. A few more changes in Pennsylvania and our party will be in the minority. How important then, not only as it regards the welfare of the country, but also as it regards our existence as a party, that some speedy measures should be adopted to quiet the public mind, and restore confidence to the trading part of the community. As yet I have had no opportunity of conversing with Mr. Van Buren on these subjects, and am of course ignorant of his views. I am credibly informed, however, that HE IS OPPOSED TO THE ORDER; and it may fairly be presumed that his friends will adopt any course not likely to wound the sensibility of the President, to get rid of it. The plans of the Opposition are not yet developed; I cannot even conjecture the course they will be most likely to pursue. \* \* \* \* I remain your friend,

WILLIAM L. MAY.

[No. 311.] The same to same. WASHINGTON, Dec. 22, 1836. Dear sir: The Treasury Order will not, in my opinion, be repealed; but I think that a law, *limiting the sales of land to the actual settler*, will be passed. Since I saw you I disposed of a portion of the land I sold to you at \$1000 per acre, in Philadelphia. I am still inclined to sell five or ten acres more; but I would be unwilling to take a cent less than \$1000 per acre, for the whole, or any part of the tract. In haste, I remain your friend,

WILLIAM L. MAY.

*Solomon Southwick's two Characters of his friend Van Buren.*

[No. 312.] Solomon Southwick to W. L. Mackenzie. Rochester, N. Y. ALBANY, Dec. 8th, 1838.—I hope, my dear sir, that you are now convinced of what I told you in August last, that Van Buren was heartless, hypocritical, selfish and unprincipled. He is the tool or slave of a foul heart and a false ambition, and never possessed a particle of true greatness. I speak not from prejudice—I knew him intimately—very intimately, for seventeen years—and never knew him to act from a noble and disinterested motive; always full of low cunning, dark intrigue, and base selfishness. When I told you this in August, you seemed to be surprised—but are you not now satisfied? I fear that the leaders of both parties, with but few exceptions, are against the freedom of Canada. This is a sensual, selfish, money-making age. It seems to me you might have known better than to go to Washington, that sink of iniquity, corruption, and British influence! Van Buren and his tools are the slaves of Victoria.

Yours truly, S. SOUTHWICK.

[From the Albany Register of April, 1812.]

In the Middle District, we rejoice in the nomination of Mr. Van Buren. We have long

known and esteemed him. He possesses genius, intelligence, and eloquence—has long been one of the firmest props of the Republican interest, and with a spirit which will not bend to servility or sycophancy, cannot fail to become a distinguished and useful member of the Senate.

S. SOUTHWICK.

*Jerse Hoyt as Van Buren's Collector of Customs—Henry Ulshoeffer, (Ward & Hoyt's Law Student, Bryant's partner (or editor) for the Evening Post, Clerk in the Custom House, and brother to our first county judge,) Custom House Spy and Scandal-monger—breasting the storm of Whiggery—how to get raised in the family esteem—the Crockery-man's Clerk—Bryant and myself—Boggs too democratic—Wisterrell, 'thoroughly loco-foco'—Depeyster domns Van Buren to his cost—Who the devil is Mr. Hoyt?—the rankest Whig breathing—a mere drone—Gov. A. Wasson gets a comrade—Lorenzo Hoyt's rule of secret defamation, put in steady operation—My nephew Rose—Dan. Winship and son—My brother the Judge—let him be removed—how to secure a large family interest.*

[No. 313.] Henry Ulshoeffer to Collector Hoyt. [New York,] 17th March, 1838.

#### MEMORANDUM.

"George W. Rose has laid before you an application for *Clerkship* in doors, or the office of *Inspector*, whichever shall appear to be at your disposal. I have already stated to you (and I now repeat it for your remembrance) that he is related to me as *nephew* (by a sister). He has mostly resided in the Seventh Ward, where he kept a ship-chandler's store, as successor to my eldest brother, George Ulshoeffer. (They were partners at his death.) My brother, in his will, directed Mr. Rose to go on with the business and pay to my father and mother the full value of the stock at the time of his decease, for their future comfort. Before he accomplished this he became *insolvent*, but acted with good faith to his grand-children, and paid them for the stock (the balance due at his failure being small). He then procured a release from his creditors by great exertions, and with the aid of some friends went into the grocery business in Cherry street, which made 'both ends meet,' apparently. Last May he removed his store into Counties Slip, and took a partner, and attempted to do a better business; but the change that came over the business community upset all his calculations, and he has been wasting his means ever since in necessary expenses. To crown all his misfortunes, his store took fire the early part of March, and his whole stock was lost. Though the stock was covered by insurance, it had been procured mostly upon credit, and must be paid for; and even if it had been otherwise, the prospect of doing business for a long while is but a hopeless one. Trade is not likely to revive for a considerable period, and Mr. Rose thinks he must finally give up. Under these circumstances, Mr. Rose wishes to withdraw from his business, and take such an appointment as will afford him a livelihood for a few years. He is a *democrat of our stamp*—is pertinacious in argument, and of good education. In the Seventh Ward, he *breasted the storm of Whiggery* in 1831, and suffered in his business some on that account. As to his qualifications, I will assure you he is fit for any of the clerkships in doors—he writes a good hand—is good at figures and calculations. As to an out-door appointment, he is far superior to many who are now in office. This I well know. Mr. Rose has a wife and one child, and is about 30 years of age. As I have before said to you personally, this is an affair which I feel an interest in—and if you can appoint him you will confer another favor (among others) on me, as well as him. It will also raise me in the esteem of our family, who affect to believe there is no chance for him. My brother the Judge, Mr. Jordan and others, have doubtless spoken to you on this subject.

JOSEPH GARNISS, with whom I have been acquainted for years, is applying for the office of *Inspector*. He is about 33 years of age, and was formerly a clerk of Coleman the crockery dealer in Broadway, where your wife has purchased China-ware frequently. Garniss boards with my mother-in-law, and has for several years. He boards in John street (2d Ward). I know him well—his *politics are of the right kind*. Every day at dinner Garniss and I have a regular conversation with the Whigs at table, and I have found him firmly and enthusiastically attached to the administration. Although I have *no personal interest* in his application, I know of no young man I could more cordially recommend to your notice, both on account of his politics and capacity. I place him only next to Mr. Rose in the interest I feel in his application. Owing to change in trade and the necessity of economizing, Mr. Coleman was obliged to dismiss Mr. Garniss, and every department seems to be filled in other places where he has sought for employment. He is a single man.

JAMES MONROE WINSHIP, a young man 19 years of age, applies for a Clerkship. He is son of Daniel Winship, henchman of Fulton Market, and resides in the 17th Ward. He is of course a *Democrat*, as I know from repeated conversations. You have seen him at your house, and can judge somewhat of his merits. As to my own knowledge of his capacity, I can say no more than that I believe him to be qualified for some situation of small salary. His father has contributed liberally in money to the Democratic party, and it would be securing a large family interest for the administration, if the appointment could be made.

GEORGE W. SHOURT wants the place of *Cartman* to the Public Store in Nassau street. As he has seen you on the subject, and you know his politics, you can form an opinion of his merit, and the expediency of doing what he wishes. He has for some time been the *Cartman* of the *Evening Post*, carrying daily the mail papers to the Post Office. He is a 15th Warder, and you can take care of him without any urging from me.

EDMUND J. GROSS is an applicant for the place of Inspector. He is of the 10th Ward. Of course he is a Democrat. I introduced him to you one day in your office in Wall street. He is a married man of about 45 years of age, judging from his appearance. He is a respectable man, and would, I have no doubt, fill the place creditably. He relies much on my influence in this business, *but I have no particular interest in his application.*

WILLIAM J. BOGGS is an applicant for the appointment of Inspector. I am well acquainted with him—*know his politics to be thoroughly Democratic*—and as he depends a great deal on what I say to you, I will be candid enough to say that the letters he has laid before you, signed by Mr. Cambresleg, Colonel Johnson and others, although entitled to great weight, ought not to be conclusive. He took great interest in Mr. Coe's application for the Collectorship, and wrote letters to Washington in his behalf, and with Ely Moore and others, endeavored to defeat your appointment. He is at present a letter-carrier in the Post Office, and though *I at one time felt disposed to do all I could for him*, some things have induced me not to urge you strongly in his favor. He is in the 10th Ward, and has a family. Mr. Coddington can tell you about him.

The above applicants are all *new ones*.

Of those who are *already in the Custom House* I will speak as follows:

JAMES WESTERVELT is a *Weigher*, and has spoken to me about his situation. He is *thoroughly loco-foco*, and ought not to be removed. There is no objection to his being retained that I know of. He has been in office about eighteen months. PETER COUTANT is an *Inspector*, and has been in office about a year and *an half*. I know him well. He is *one of the firmest of our party*. Old Gilbert Coutant is his uncle. He has been persecuted formerly by the Whigs, and had to abandon his business in consequence. He ought to be retained by all means. He is son-in-law of Daniel Winship.

THOMAS KIRK is a *Weigher*, and now in office. He has not spoken a word to me on the subject of his being retained, but I cannot omit the opportunity, while I am making these memorandums, of recommending, cordially, his reappointment. He is a fine old gentleman, of our politics; and has been a constant visitor at the office of the *Evening Post*, where he frequently discourses on politics—and, of course, his opinions are well known to Bryant and myself. He was once of the firm of Kirk & Mercier, booksellers of this city.

JOSEPH DREYFUS is now an *Inspector*, and wishes to be transferred to the *French floor* in the Public Store in Nassau street, where the pay is the same as he now gets, and which change would enable him (on account of greater convenience in the hours of business) *to pay some attention to other matters, and make his income better*—or rather enable him to instruct his children in some branches of education. In this store he would be attendant upon the appraisers. Knowing his politics to be *decidedly Democratic*, I would recommend, if nothing interfered in your opinion, his transfer to the Public Store. He is a good judge of French articles, and might be of service in that department.

Among those who are opposed to the administration, and in office, there is A. S. DEPEYSTER (*weigher*). He is a thorough Whig, but has urged some Democrats to speak to you for him. Look out for him! He told Mr. Daniel Winship that "Mr. Van Buren was a damn'd little rascal," or words to that effect—and this too *very recently*. SAMUEL B. FLEMING is a *Conservative* Democrat of the rankest sort. He was a strenuous advocate for Coe's appointment to the Collectorship—and said before you was nominated, "Who the devil is Mr. Hoyt? Who ever heard of him?" &c. HENRY K. FROST, a Clerk, I know to be the rankest Whig breathing, and ought to be removed without scruple. GEORGE RICARD, an *Inspector*, has been in office several years, and is, I understand, in good pecuniary circumstances, and could live without the office. He is from the 10th Ward. He scarcely ever attends our meetings, and is, in a political point of view, *a mere drone*. Let him be removed!

HENRY W\*\*\*\*\* is an *Inspector*, is a drunken beast, and notwithstanding his politics, he ought to be removed. 'This is public sentiment wherever he is known. Any one in the 10th Ward will say so.'

REMARKS BY W. L. M.—The original letter is in the possession of C. S. Bogardus—the author is dead—his remarks are on public matters, and belong to history. Some people say, you must not tell any bad things done by the dead. Does the Bible say so? Are the histories of America, France, England, and Ireland silent about bad men and bad actions in cases where the parties are dead? The very first act of the London Times, when the prodigate George IV. had gone to his last account, was to review his life, and hold him up to the example of posterity as a monster, scarcely less wicked than Henry VIII., or any others of the worst of England's kings. It is wrong to speak falsely of the departed; very wrong to erect marble mausoleums to meanly ambitious and avaricious men.

## THOUGHTS

ON

## WAR, TEXAS, SLAVERY, AND OREGON.

I would not have a slave to till my ground,  
To carry me, to fan me while I sleep  
And tremble when I wake, for all the wealth  
That sinews bought and sold have ever earned.

COWPER'S TASK.

*Signs of the Times.*—War to crush Reform and uphold Oppression.—England's Complaint in 1814—America's in 1815.—Bradford Wood's accurate Views.—Ill Treatment of American Merchants.—Offers to settle the Oregon Boundary.—Why it ought to be settled Peacefully.—Texas Constitution.—O'Connell on Polk, War, and Slavery.—Intellectual Powers and Bravery of the Negro Race.—Anderson on the Indians.—Washington, Jefferson, and Randolph on Slavery.—The Synod of Kentucky on Negro Bondage.—Van Buren's Bargain with the South for his Office.—H's Apology for Outrage, Mobs, and Riots, noticed by Leggett.—New York for Freedom to all, in 1819.—The Missouri Vote.—The Virginia Slave Trade.—Poinsett made War Minister, and why.—Van Buren's Efforts to prevent Emancipation in Cuba.—Polk and Van Buren for, and not for, European Colonization, in America.—Cass and Allen.—Guizot.—Polk's Treatment of Mexico.—Van Buren's Canadian Proclamation.—Channing on Calhoun.—Col. Young on Texas and Abolition.—Wright's Manœuvring.—Van Buren's Neutrality in 1829.—On Slavery in Iowa and Wisconsin.—Greeley on Florida Annexation.—[Notes.] Bankrupt Laws and Repudiation of Debts.

THE occurrence of war between the United States and Great Britain, is spoken of at present as if it were an event neither improbable nor perhaps remote; and the questions of, peace, may it be preserved? or shall we see two great nations at enmity, contending with each other in armed strife? are of such vast importance, that I think the occasion an opportune one to offer some observations and to state some facts, both as to the risk the country runs of being involved in war, and as to the chances of success, and other results should a struggle take place. I know, by experience, that when men get angry, and act under the influence of passion, it is too late to reason with them for the prevention of mischief. Both parties are yet cool and calm, on this question; and having reflected on the matter carefully, I add here to the opinion expressed in my widely circulated pamphlet of last September, that peace may and ought to be secured; and that the great interests of society require, that no stop be put to those bloodless triumphs which our brethren in the United Kingdom are effecting, under prudent and patriotic leaders, whose memories will be sweet in the remembrance of generations yet unborn. If it were a just and necessary war waged against a proud and unsympathizing aristocracy who had trampled to the ground a patient people, by their enormous taxations, military rule, and proud monopolies, in favor of the oppressed, and with good cause of offence, old as I am, I would travel from Maine to Michigan, to rouse the people as far as one man could. But when monopoly in England lies prostrate; when its ancient champions now range themselves in the ranks of its deadliest enemies; when the cause of the people, that cause for which methodist and presbyterian, catholic and protestant, have so long petitioned the favor of heaven, is gaining new and glorious triumphs; when I see the defeated monopolists comforting themselves with the hope of high rents and more debt, expenditure and taxation, through a war with America, I cannot range myself on the side of the ultra Tories and bigots of the old world, against the efforts of the Humes, the O'Connells, the Cobdens, the Greys, the Morpeths, and the Macauleys; and although personally speaking, I might have a far greater interest in fanning the flame than in endeavoring to throw water on it, yet I can see so very little good, and such a Moscow or Waterloo, as it were, of mischief in the approach of war,



as things now stand, that I gladly avail myself of this medium, to state my views to those whom this volume may reach.

The signs of the times are not very pacific, certainly. Mexico, it is said, will have a monarch from Europe; Paredes is in power there already; the annexation of Texas is not the settlement of that act for the perpetuation of slavery; England is arming to the teeth; a military officer, and not a civilian, is permanently placed over Canada; preparations for an onslaught are openly acknowledged there; the landed interest talk as if war was their only refuge from total defeat, in England and Ireland; President Polk bids America prepare for the worst; the gambling sections of our numerous banking establishments look to a deranged currency, with usurious interest, baseless paper, a new national debt, and heavy taxes to meet it during the next twenty years, as a national blessing; others besides R. J. Walker's constituents are ready to repudiate;\* many want Canada; not a few have bright visions of Oregon;

**\*BANKRUPT BANKS. REPUDIATION OF DEBTS.**—On the 13th of January, 1842, a meeting was held at the Merchants' Exchange, N. Y., to oppose the repeal of the bankrupt law, John I. Morgan in the chair. Messrs. Prescott Hall, Selden, Tilden, McVean, John W. Edmonds, and Butler spoke. Edmonds said, that the laws are lamentably deficient in not affording due relief to the unfortunate debtor, and *guarding against fraud*—that no civilized community ever invented such a wretched plan as our executions, judgments, creditors' bills, &c., to drain from the pocket of the unfortunate their last dollar—that, as our laws stand, a man had better be a thief and steal, than be a poor debtor. The thief may start afresh in life, the debtor never can. He was for including banks, and upholding the bankrupt laws, but for the law whether or not. Butler was opposed to the repeal of the bankrupt law of July, 1841. We had got, he said, the English insolvent law system, without its general bankrupt law system, but with 26 laws, all varying, in as many states. The insolvent law of England took all a man's property, stopped his business, imprisoned and then turned him out destitute, and proclaimed to be unworthy of credit, and yet expected him to take courage and make money for his creditors. Such a system was bad and had bad results. It was really disgraceful that our laws all tended to oppress the honest and unfortunate debtor, and yet do no good to the creditor. Another meeting was held on the 18th against the law, and much said on the other side. The great evil seems to be, that systematic, beneficial legislation, by Congress, on this and many other subjects, especially a general partnership law, seems hopeless. Whether too many live by intrigue—or there is carelessness—or that opposing interests have marred useful improvements, I know not.—On June 2d, 1840, when it was proposed to give to the U. S. government the power to wind up the concerns of every bank, or insurance, manufacturing, or trading corporation, that stopped payment of its debts, by including such banks, &c., in the bankrupt law, then under discussion in the Senate, Calhoun opposed it, but proposed no remedy for bank suspensions by the hundred, dozen, or single. The bill authorized any creditor who had asked payment of \$500, or upwards, due him, to take out a commission of bankruptcy, if not paid within 15 days, so that the affairs of the bank, &c., might be placed in the hands of proper trustees, and wound up. There were *then*, nearly 500 suspended banks, and he would not compel them to pay, or be placed under the care of federal officers, to be wound up. It would place too much power in the hands of the government, and bring about a political alliance between it and the banks. Mr. Calhoun proposed no remedy for the bankruptcy of corporations, and seemed to suppose that Congress ought not to or could not apply one.

It would surely follow, of right, that if the banks are to be privileged from paying their debts, they shall have no power, while that privilege lasts, to coerce their debtors—but, to me, the Rev. Sidney Smith's reasoning, in his memorial to Congress is conclusive. He says; "Your petitioner lent to the State of Pennsylvania a sum of money, for the purpose of some public improvement. The amount, though small, is to him important, and is a saving from a life income, made with difficulty and privation. If their refusal to pay (from which a very large number of English families are suffering) had been the result of war, produced by the unjust aggression of powerful enemies; if it had arisen from civil discord; if it had proceeded from an improvident application of means in the first years of self-government; if it were the act of a poor state struggling against the barrenness of nature—every friend of America would have been contented to wait for better times; but the fraud is committed in the profound peace of Pennsylvania, by the richest State in the Union, after the wise investment of the borrowed money in roads and canals, of which the repudiators are every day reaping the advantage. It is an act of bad faith which (all its circumstances considered) has no parallel, and no excuse. Nor is it only the loss of property which your petitioner laments; he laments still more that immense power which the bad faith of America has given to aristocratical opinions, and to the enemies of free institutions in the old world. It is in vain any longer to appeal to history, and to point out the wrongs which the many have received from the few. The Americans, who boast to have improved the institutions of the old world, have at least equalled its crimes. A great nation, after trampling under foot all earthly tyranny, has been guilty of a fraud as enormous as ever disgraced the worst king of the most degraded nation of Europe."

I think that the dishonest party leaders, in Pennsylvania, Mississippi, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, and other defaulting states, led on by the early example of Van Buren's confederates, and encouraged by the unequalled profligacy of his government, had lost all sense of shame. In Pennsylvania, the lust of money, and of office in order to get money, is as scandalous as here; while the feelings of manly pride, and the desire to merit the good opinion of the human race seems to be little felt. Each party appears to dread to impose taxes, or enforce their collection for the payment of just debts, lest the other party should make political capital out of such a measure! I must say that Hume's views of the British National Debt—punctual payments of the interest, great economy and retrenchment, and a sound currency, with good laws and independent judges to do justice to all, comes nearer to my views of republicanism than borrowing on your honor, and begging those who lent what your wants required. Without a sound currency and a comprehensive partnership law, and a different management of contracts and revenue than I now witness, very little good will be effected.

The Dutch remonstrance against American Repudiation, was handed to C. Hughes, the agent of the U. S. in Holland. To its doctrines, as contained in the following extract, every true American will subscribe.

"We, the undersigned, bondholders, of North American loans, negotiated of late years, or secured upon stocks issued by several States of the Union, confidently take the liberty to invoke your kind intercession in our behalf. You are well aware that the engagements entered into on issuing these loans have not been fulfilled; that the payment of interest has been suspended; that resolutions passed by some of the States have rendered these securities almost valueless; that severe losses have been sustained; whilst every endeavor to effect a remedy to this deplorable state of things has hitherto proved fruitless. The doctrine of repudiation, although embraced in some quarters, has excited the just indignation of the majority of the population. Men in elevated stations have openly declared, that whatever the calamity of the times or the malpractices and dilapidations of the banks and public officers, or whatever the disappointments attendant on too sanguine expectations, nothing can sanction such a doctrine. The inviolability of engagements, which having no tribunal to enforce them, are to be considered the more sacred as being placed under the protection of the national honor and public faith, has been warmly advocated in your country itself."

there are yet those whom an unfeeling colonial government wantonly and wickedly wronged, who bide their time; the Indians are on hand; O'Connell and Ireland will not go for slavery; France is considered in the interest of Wellington; and peaceful conventions, whether of this state or of the Union, to improve the condition of the people, and afford a bright example to less favored lands, are hateful to those who desire to see the speedy downfall of republican government.

Many say here—"War would be a most effective tariff, to protect our manufactures." So it would; but may not peace and an *honest* currency supply that, without war? Many of our manufactures depend on our commerce, and would be injuriously affected by war. War, say some, "would put down slavery in the south and give us Canada on the north, and secure Oregon on the west." I am anxious to see slavery put down everywhere, but not to risk the peace of the world to effect it sooner by a few years; and railroads, canals, national prosperity, upright government and universal education will settle the Canada question more to our satisfaction in the long run than seven years of strife and butchery. Yes, but it is said again, "War would humble England." Are you sure of that? England is far more powerful, united, enlightened, free, prosperous, and populous at this day than she was when she withstood for a series of years, the combined efforts of many nations, led by Napoleon, and backed for three years, nearly, by the United States. Besides, when the war was over, both parties would begin to count the cost, and wish they had waited a little.

As John Bull is older, by some thousands of years than Brother Jonathan, we will take his evidence first.

[From the London 'Times' of December 30, 1814.]

TREATY OF GHENT. "If any of the powers who have received our subsidies, or have been rescued from destruction by our courage and example, have had the baseness to turn against us, it is morally certain, that the treaty of Ghent will confirm them in their resolution. They will reflect, that we have attempted to force our principles on America, and have failed. Nay, that we have retired from the combat with the stripes yet bleeding on our backs—with the recent defeats of Plattsburgh, and on Lake Champlain unavenged. To make peace at such a moment, they will think, betrays a deadness to the feelings of honor, and shows a timidity of disposition inviting further insult. If we could have pointed to America overthrown, we should surely have stood on much higher ground at Vienna, and everywhere else, than we possibly can do now. Even yet, however, if we could but close the war with some great naval triumph, the reputation of our maritime greatness might be partially restored; but to say, that it has not hitherto suffered in the estimation of all Europe, and what is worse, of America herself, is but to belie common sense and universal experience. 'Two or three of our ships have struck to a force vastly superior?' No, not two or three, but many on the ocean, and whole squadrons on the lakes; and the numbers are to be viewed with relation to the comparative magnitude of the two navies. Scarcely is there one American ship of war, which has not to boast a victory over the British flag; scarcely one British ship in thirty or forty, that has beaten an American. Our seamen, it is urged, have on all occasions, fought bravely. Who denies it? Our complaint is, that with the bravest seamen, and the most powerful navy in the world, we retire from the contest when the balance of defeat is so heavily against us. Be it accident, or be it misconduct, we inquire not now into the cause; the certain, the inevitable consequences are what we look to, and these may be summed up in few words—the speedy growth of an American navy, and the recurrence of a new and much more formidable American war. From that fatal moment, when the flag of the *Guerrière* was struck, there has been quite a rage for building ships of war in the United States. Their navy has been nearly doubled, and their vessels are of extraordinary magnitude. The people, naturally vain, boastful and insolent, have been filled with an absolute contempt of our maritime power, and a furious eagerness to beat down our maritime pretensions. Those passions, which have been inflamed by success, could only have been cooled by what, in vulgar, but emphatic language, has been termed 'a sound flogging;' but, unfortunately, our Christian meekness has induced us rather to kiss the rod, than to retaliate its exercise. Such false and

feeble humanity is not calculated for the guidance of nations. War is, indeed, a tremendous engine of justice; but when justice wields the sword, she must be inflexible. Looking neither to the right nor to the left, she must pursue her blow, until the evil is clean rooted out. This is not blind rage, or blind revenge; but it is a discriminating, a calm, and even a tender calculation of consequences. Better is it, that we should grapple with the young lion, when he is first fleshed with the taste of our flock, than wait until, in the maturity of his strength, he bears away at once both sheep and shepherd."

Now for the Yankee version. Make way for the witness, Mr. William Coleman. Silence in court!

[From the New York Evening Post of February 13, 1815.]

TREATY OF GUNT. "For ourselves, the people, who shall tell us, at the conclusion of this war, how we are recompensed for the death of thousands and the expense of millions? Who shall tell the sacrifices, the losses, we have sustained, the sufferings we have undergone and the deprivations we have endured and must endure for years to come; and not we alone, but our children and grandchildren after us. When the accounts of this war shall be all wound up; when, in addition to the necessary expenses of it, the squanderings, the waste, the innumerable frauds that have been practised, the losses that have accrued from the abuses of public trust, are taken into consideration; (and let us consider that fifty thousand dollars lavished upon a single scoundrel to bribe him to forge a miserable calumny, forms an item and but an item in the account;) when we reflect upon the multitude of paymasters, and agents, contractors and commissaries, with all the hosts of jobbers for the army, from his excellency, the governor of a state, who haggles and chaffers for a lot of cartouch-boxes, down to the petty rascal who crimps recruits at eight dollars a-piece, men, who without virtue, labor or hazard, are growing rich, as their country is impoverished, when these and a host more, who have battered upon the distresses of their country, shall have their accounts adjusted and allowed by the proper officers, what think you will be the melancholy result presented to us? I will tell you what, and if I am wrong, let my words be remembered and the public confidence be withdrawn from me for ever—it will be nothing less than a funded debt, of more than one hundred and fifty millions of dollars; bearing an interest of six per cent. Still, vast as the amount is, it is within the ability of the country, if we can stop here, to discharge it. Let us then meet the evil since it is inevitable, with firmness and resolution, and cheerfully resolve, since it has now come to a conclusion, to provide for the debt, to the best of our ability. Let the nation rejoice, for though we have been compelled to make vast sacrifices without any adequate cause for it: though we have suffered calamity and distress wantonly brought upon us by a weak and profligate administration; though we have been compelled to submit to losses which can never be repaired, and to suffer golden advantages to pass by, which will never again return, yet let the nation rejoice, we have escaped ruin."

Colonel Duane, a veteran of opposite politics, and a warm friend of the war, did not differ from his federal neighbor.

[From the Philadelphia Aurora, by W. Duane, July 24, 1816.]

"Never was a peace concluded more timely or fortunately; the inconsistency and want of system, the utter incapacity which had been shown in the management of the war and the finances, and the want of energy to repress revolt and put down those who conspired against their country in league with the enemy, had made a deep impression on the country: but the peace came so suddenly, the people were so surprised and amazed at their good fortune, that all the imbecility and incapacity, all the waste and extravagance, the disasters and shame, which belonged to the public measures from the beginning to the close of the war, were, in the extacy of disappointed despondency, forgotten and forgiven—the squandering of treasure and stores in the west, misconduct, which would, under any other government, have sent generals to the common hut, were overlooked; the most futile plans of campaigns, and the most ludi-

crous and sometimes the most barbarous and wanton sacrifices of human life, for no other purposes on earth, than to aggrandize the vanity of a profligate favorite; merit persecuted and slandered, and baseness and profligacy rewarded with the honors which, heretofore, it had been alleged were to be the meed of genius, virtue and patriotic services."

The stripes at Plattsburgh, and the young lion of the west—that's the language of England's leading journal for 1814, and as to the victory hoped for, to close the struggle decently, that came also—at *New Orleans*. The cost—eternity alone can tell the tears, the agony, the woe, the wretchedness, which were the result of that fierce and unnatural contest. When the ill-fated Lexington was burning off Long Island, and her 160 passengers and crew were crowded in the bow and stern, till compelled to leap into the ocean to be drowned, to escape being burnt alive; when the boats were swamped, and all nearly perished by fire, water, frost and cold, in that terrible hour, how gladly would thousands of generous Americans and Britons have joined in risking their lives to save these unhappy men, women and children! Yet their horrible deaths are as nothing in the account of woe and misery that must result from a deadly enmity between two peoples, of one origin, one religion, one kindred, and speaking the same language. The man who will interfere, in aught, effectually to prevent the slaughter of another 100,000 christian men; the grief of parents, brothers, sons, sisters and lovers; the destruction of property, of friendship, and of commerce; the retardment of republican progress; and the immorality and hardness of heart which such a war would generate, would deserve well of mankind.

War will bring again upon us, heavy direct taxes—high prices—a wretched, fraudulent currency—loans, perhaps, as before, at 53 per cent. discount; and it will delight the British Tories; it is just what they want. The people of England, Ireland, and Scotland, have united and pressed the landlords to the wall. Free trade with America, in Corn, in Pork, in Cotton, in Flour, in everything, is now the popular cry, the honest cry of a nation. O'Connell echoes it, the aristocracy are appalled, the iron duke gives way—when lo! a new obstacle is found. The freemen of the west and the north are ready to battle—not for freedom, like their gallant sires; not for aiding an oppressed colony, but for slavery in Texas, and for a band of heartless slave-owners, who have joined with the pretended, stockjobbing democrats of the north to gamble the nation into a 200 million debt, for a strip of 33 Oregon!

I have met with the speech of Mr. Bradford Wood, member of Congress from this State, delivered in the H. of R., Jan. 31, 1846, in the Albany Evening Journal. Though late in life, I thankfully receive lessons of wisdom from this son of a revolutionary sire. If permitted to call myself a democrat, Mr. Wood's creed, as given below, would best indicate mine.

"Grant, if you choose," said he, "that England should be worsted in every conflict, and that your plans for conquest and victory, like Captain Bobadil's, were perfectly feasible, it would still be dear-bought victory. You would have inflicted greater evils on your own country than on your enemy's. You will have demoralized your country, centralized its government, swept away its democracy, and erected on its ruins a military aristocracy, and thrown back for years the civilization of mankind. Nor would this be all. You will have arrested the progress of liberal opinions throughout the world, and especially in that very country where the principles of free-trade (the best of all peace societies) are spreading rapidly, widely and triumphantly, benefiting alike that country and this, and which can be arrested only by a war between the two nations. Gentlemen were very much inclined to denounce England; but the England of 1775 or 1812 was not the England of 1846. The only effectual way to attack England was by peace, not by war. It was the only way you could reach her proud unfeeling aristocracy, who had been built up by war, and whom a continuance of peace would ere long put down. With that aristocracy, none of us had any sympathy; but he trusted all had with a down-trodden people, struggling to unclasp their grasp, and who had been demoralized, plundered, beggared and reduced to starvation by glorious war. . . . Why was this deadly hate manifested against England? Say what you would, with all her injustice to Ireland and to a portion of her own citizens, she still had more of civil and religious liberty than any other country in Europe. There the liberty of speech and of the press were inviolate, and the blush came sometimes tingling to his own cheek when it occurred to him that in this respect it was more inviolable in England than in some portions of his own country. The first aspirations of civil and religious liberty that ever dawned on this world arose in England—the same spirit that sent forth the pilgrims of New England, inspired Hampden, Milton, and Vane, and brought the

first Charles to the block. And now at this day, among the middle classes of England, and among those whose names are great without titles, were many who were manfully battling the cause of the people and of human progress, and who would deprecate a war with this country as a disgrace to civilization. The arrogance of the British government was as little to his taste as the profligacy and insidious tyranny of France, or the despotism of Russia. All three were hostile to republican institutions; and it became us to see to it that no unjust act of ours should furnish them a pretext for an increased hostility."

In the able and temperate speech of Mr. Winthrop on Oregon, as I find it in the *Intelligencer*, he referred to Mr. Preston King's remark that Mr. Polk had offered the 49th parallel to Britain last summer, knowing it would be rejected; and in Mr. Polk's message of December last, he affirms, "that the British plenipotentiary, without submitting any other proposition, suffered the negotiation on his part to drop." Let the reader turn to the correspondence of Buchanan, and it will there be found that the negotiation was abruptly closed by the withdrawal of all proposals of compromise, by the president's own order! In Jefferson's letter to Monroe, Oct. 24, 1823 [Works, vol. 4, p. 380], he tells him, that "Great Britain is the nation which can do us the most harm of any one or all on earth; and with her on our side we need not fear the whole world. With her then we should most sedulously cherish a cordial friendship."

An honorable and dignified body of merchants are a blessing to any country. Their calling is among the most useful, respectable, and necessary of any in these United States; and they ought to stand with a perfect equality before the law. That they do not so stand is a fact which none will deny. That many of our laws are made, or administered, so as to tantalize and pillage them, is daily made manifest. That gross favoritism towards some, and bitter enmity towards others, was the practice in Van Buren's time, the journals of Congress too clearly testify; and when we see B. F. Butler again district attorney, malgré his extortions from 1838 to 1841, we do not anticipate too kind treatment now.\* Add to all this, that they are kept month after month in absolute uncertainty as to the continuance of peace, their adventurous spirit checked, their calculations made doubly doubtful, and the important subjects of a tariff, and the currency, left unsettled—and then let the Congressmen and their constituents ask themselves, if the bold, fearless, intelligent, upright, and industrious American merchant receives from his government fair play, or anything like it?

The London Times thinks "that every purpose both of honor and interest would be answered, if the British Minister, on whom now devolves the duty of making fresh proposals to the Government of the United States, were to renew on his part the offer made to England by Mr. Gallatin in the presidency and under the direction of Mr. Adams. That proposal was to take the 49th degree of North latitude as far as the sea, as the boundary line, reserving to Great Britain

\* CAN MERCHANTS NOT BE TRUSTED AS JURORS?—Mr. Hoyt, collector of customs, N. Y., informed Matthew Birchard, Solicitor of the Treasury, Washington, by letter dated Feb. 22, 1840—that "the arrogance of the commercial classes, exhibited within the last few years, in their efforts to satisfy the people that this class alone were entitled to control the government, as well as the destinies of all other classes, has had its influence even 'in the judgment seat,' and, from a sympathetic feeling, has controlled judges in advices and administrations to jurors; which has been adverse to the interest of the United States. We have been heretofore unfortunate in the selection of jurors in the courts of the United States. They are not drawn, as is the practice in other courts, but are selected by the marshal from what sources he pleases; and hitherto large numbers of jurors have been taken from the mercantile classes, against which course I have remonstrated," &c. Mr. Hoyt went on to state that there should be "instructions;" and, five days afterwards, M. Birchard, Solicitor of the Treasury at Washington, thus instructed the Marshal, A. J. Bleeker:

"Feb. 27, 1840.—There are few persons who have not often seen honest men err in judgment in consequence of influences from which they, at the time, believed themselves entirely free. It imputes nothing against the honor of New York merchants to suppose that, in this respect, they are subject to the like imperfections which belong to other men. I have therefore to request you to bear these general observations in mind, when selecting jurors for the trial of revenue cases, and endeavor to SELECT impartial, capable MEN, who are TOTALLY DISCONNECTED WITH TRADE and all its influences — — — — — the whole nation knows that CONFIDENCE MAY WELL BE PLACED IN THE INTEGRITY AND JUDGMENT OF HONEST FARMERS AND MECHANICS, AND THAT IT IS not less PROPER FOR THE U. S. TO SEEK A FAIR TRIAL than for a private citizen."—M. BIRCHARD, Solicitor, &c.

In December, 1839, we find Henry D. Gilpin taking Hoyt and Butler to task for compromising heavy lawsuits instituted for alleged fraudulent entries, without authority from the Treasury Department—half the amount thus recovered went to Hoyt, Coe and Craig—half to the United States—with enough to Butler. In January, 1840 (next month), the convenient Matthew Birchard had taken the place of the more severe and rigid Gilpin. The Hoyt, Van Buren and Butler private correspondence, may help some of my readers in guessing why and how this sudden change came to pass. On the 23d of January, the pliant Birchard wrote to Hoyt that the reasons given "are such as would have induced this office to advise the course taken respecting them, had it been consulted."

In December, 1838, [Rep. 669, p. 331], Hoyt writes to Bancroft, Collector at Boston (now Secretary of the Navy), as follows:

"You may, however, be able to succeed [in condemning the goods] better in your district than we can here; for OUR COURT IS VERY MUCH OF A MERCANTILE COURT—and the juries, AS A MATTER OF COURSE, always go against the government, and will continue to do so as long as it is the fashion of the day to consider the government as opposed to the merchants. In other words, when the merchants are the jurors and witnesses, God help the government!"—Jesse Hoyt."

Vancouver's Island, the harbor of St. Juan de Fuca, and the free navigation of the Columbia." I think that in America made that offer to England 20 years since—if Polk said 49° a few months since—if 49° was the word in Monroe's time—in Adams's time—in Tyler's and Calhoun's days—and if, as is "clear and unquestionable," the 54° 40' was a mere puff, written by Walker, and put forth in the conclave of office-seekers and office-holders at Baltimore, by Butler, Sandy Hill fashion, to secure the election from the whigs—if President Polk knew of all these 49° offers, and yet *professed to believe* in the 54° 40' till his election was carried by a trick—if Van Buren, Marcy and all the rest had approved of the 49's and yet sung the new song of 54° 40' to secure the man they deemed available; and the speech of Haywood, Polk's college chum, indicates all this; the sooner the thing is settled, and the less we say about it, the better. I do not pretend to judge of the merits of the several parallels, but surely, a few acres of desert are not worth quarrelling about. Reform progresses with giant strides in England, and God forbid that the noble sons of Illinois, Indiana, Michigan and Ohio, should stop its onward course, to please the British Tories, and to gain for us here a life-lease of Polk, Walker, Marcy, Texas, Houston, and more slavery! My private opinion is, that Oregon belongs to the people there, natives and immigrants; and that if England and America would bestow a tenth part of the money a war would cost, in settling it on the National Reform principle, of 160 acres to each family; settlers to be entitled to 160 acres each, and no man to hold more; the result would be more pleasing than that of a war, conquer who may: a war, too, for a narrow strip of desert we have thrice freely offered to give away!

John Quincy Adams thinks that a war to free the slave, to give liberty to the captive, to complete the glorious work of '76, and make the great declaration a truth, would be popular in England. So it would. Who there would sympathise with Polk, Marcy, Walker, Cave Johnson, and the slave monopolists? Who ought to sympathise with them here? No one. "The occupation of Texas will convert the old slaveholding part of the United States into a disgusting nursery for young slaves, because a *black crop* will produce more money to the proprietors than any other crop they can cultivate." O'Connell, in his dispute with Stevenson, published as his opinion, that the slaveholders abolished the foreign slave-trade, "that by such abolition they enhanced the price of the slaves then in America by stopping the competition. Why otherwise was not the home trade stopt as well as the foreign?"

The N. Y. Evening Post of Feb. 14, 1815, says that the news of a peace, though not ratified, lowered prices. Sugar fell at once from \$26 to \$12.50; Tea, from \$2.25 to \$1; Specie, from \$22 premium to \$2; Tin was \$80 per box on Saturday, and only \$25 on Monday; U. S. six per cent. stock advanced from 76 to 86, and Treasury notes to within 2 of par. "In no place has the war been more felt or proved more disastrous." Yet I do not think that privation would enter into the American mind in the event of a new struggle. Of the bravery of this people no one can entertain a doubt.

I know it will be said that it is to free Ireland that we would fight, in part. Will Irishmen, who saw Polk struggle to get a judge put upon the bench of the Supreme Court, by means of a senatorial approval of his nomination, whose chief merit consisted in his unceasing, rooted hatred to adopted citizens, believe this? Would Ireland join England in such a case? I have not a doubt of it. Our *police* majorities, our slavery, our Philadelphia riots and church burnings, to put down the Catholics, are not very politic, if Ireland is to be won. England, if she go to war, will come to a full understanding with Ireland, as she has already with France. If there is nothing to apprehend from the French republicans, and I hear that there is not, it would be a fair fight, between two very brave countries; but it ought not to be, and I hope will not be. Our case, as far as Texas is involved, is about as unjust a one as England's effort to subdue the Afghans, who had never owed her any allegiance.

You were told, free Americans, that to add Texas to the Union was to extend the area of freedom. Here is an extract from its constitution:

"All persons of color, who were slaves for life previous to their emigration to Texas, and who are now held in bondage, shall remain in the like state of servitude, provided the said slave shall be the bona fide property of the person so holding said slave as aforesaid. Congress shall pass no laws to prohibit emigrants from the United States of America from bringing their slaves into the republic with them, and holding them by the same tenure by which slaves were held in the United States; nor shall congress have the power to emancipate slaves; nor shall any slaveholder be allowed to emancipate his or her slaves, without the consent of congress, unless he or she shall send his or her slave or slaves without the limits of the republic. No free person of African descent, either in whole or in part, shall be permitted to reside permanently in the republic, without the consent of congress."

This was what Polk was for annexing immediately—this was what the shrewd and far-seeing Calhoun was ready to involve the whole Union in war for, had it been necessary. I now begin to think, that with him and McDuffie the principle is, nullification or negro slavery uppermost. Even Van Buren, who knew his case was hopeless in the north without abolition votes, had to admit, that "Nothing is either more true or more extensively known, than that Texas was wrested from Mexico, and her Independence established through the instru-

mentality of citizens of the United States. Equally true is it that this was done not only against the wishes, but in direct contradiction of the best efforts of our government to prevent our citizens from engaging in the enterprise." Houston, Jackson, Swartwout and Polk could have contradicted the latter assertion, but it was useless. The language of Mr. Clay was, "I am decidedly opposed to the *immediate annexation* of Texas to the United States. I think it would be dishonorable, might involve them in war, would be dangerous to the integrity and harmony of the Union, and, if all these objections were removed, could not be effected according to any information I possess, upon just and admissible conditions." And Jackson, on the brink of eternity, exclaimed, "Let Polk, Dallas, and Texas, be the watchword and counter-sign—and Clay and his friend Frelinghuysen, the friend also of abolition, for which he spurns at Texas, will be overwhelmed by the unanimous voice of the south." Yet when Pakenham was invading Louisiana, Jackson, on December 18, 1814, addressed his black soldiers in another strain. He said: "Soldiers! When on the banks of the Mobile, I called you to take up arms, inviting you to partake the perils and glory of your white fellow citizens; I expected much from you; for I was not ignorant that you possessed qualities most formidable to an invading enemy. I knew with what fortitude you could endure hunger and thirst, and all the fatigues of a campaign. I knew well how you loved your native country, and that you had, as well as ourselves, to defend what man holds most dear—his parents, relations, wife, children and property. You have done more than I expected. In addition to the previous qualities I before knew you to possess, I found, moreover, among you a noble enthusiasm, which leads to the performance of great things."

Shall such men as these be denied the right of voting, by the Convention, next June?

The two most influential men in Ireland are Daniel O'Connell and Theobald Mathew; they have united in an invitation to the Irish here to oppose slavery. In the *official* publication of O'Connell's speech in Conciliation Hall, March 20th, 1845, he thus warned our pretended democrats where Ireland would be found whenever an attempt might be made to realize Calhoun's idea of adding all Mexico to the republic.

From the Dublin Freeman's Journal.

MR. O'CONNELL.—"I regard with horror the annexation of another slave state to the American Union. Sir, no good is to be bought by the slightest admixture of evil, and I condemn, and I deplore, and I denounce the augmentation of human misery that must result by the annexation of another slave state. They talk about the boldness of Mr. Polk's message—in one point it betrays arrant cowardice—I will not condescend to mince the word. In talking of slavery in the States, Mr. Polk has not the courage to call it by its proper name. He does not speak of the Americans upholding slavery and possessing slaves, but he glosses over the infamous traffic by styling it by the delicate expression of a 'domestic institution.' Domestic institution! Mr. Polk, it is Slavery! Mr. Polk, it is luskstering in human flesh (loud cheers). It is a loathsome, an execrable system that makes man the property of his fellow; it is buying and selling man created after the image of God, redeemed by the blood of his Son, and bearing upon his brow the impress of the Eternal seal, it is buying and selling him, I say, as though he were the beast of the field that grazes, and not a deathless being marked out for an immortal redemption, the heir of a heavenly inheritance, and designed for a destiny so glorious that the mind of man is dazzled in contemplating it. And I am to be told that slavery is 'a domestic institution' (hear, hear)! Out upon those who would make it so! I love my country, but I would accept of no advantage to my country through the medium of such a crime. I want no American aid if it comes across the Atlantic stained with negro blood, and from my soul I despise any government, which, while it boasts of liberty, is guilty of slavery, the greatest crime that can be committed by humanity against humanity. The right to freedom depends not on the hue of the skin; if it did, who shall decide upon what hue is the favored one (hear, hear)—seeing that all eyes do not delight in the same colour? No matter under what specious term it may disguise itself, slavery is still hideous. It has a natural, an inevitable tendency to brutalize every noble faculty of man. Let not America imagine that this boasting of liberty makes her name respected. No, for as the assertion of virtue is a proof of hypocrisy, if the virtue be not practised, so the attempt to proclaim liberty becomes blasphemous when we see three millions of human beings stimulated and torn by the lash—the husband separated from the wife, and the children from the parents, and sent into distant and remote plantations never more to behold the face of a father or the smiles of a mother [hear, hear, and loud cheering.] And yet those who are ready to uphold that system are the people that dare talk to me of liberty. \* \* \* We tell them from this spot that they can have us—that the throne of Victoria can be made perfectly secure—the honor of the British Empire maintained, and the American Eagle, in its highest pride, brought down. Let them but conciliate us and do us justice, and they will have us enlisted under the banner of Victoria—let them but give us the Parliament in College-green, and Oregon shall be theirs and Texas shall be harmless (cheers). While England was not threatened by America, as long as she was in a state to compel submission, so long we heard not a word of conciliating Ireland,

but the moment the Oregon territory became a bone of contention, that war was threatened, and that there appeared no solution but the sword for the tangled web of affairs, then is Ireland recollected, then concessions are spoken of (cheers.) I repeat, when they want us they shall have us (continued cheers.) I have felt it my duty to offer these remarks, again to pronounce my detestation of human slavery, and my assurance to England that she cannot obtain us by *pro forma* concessions, that she can however obtain the beating heart and the ready hand of Ireland, but she must pay the price that all rational men will assent to, liberty and justice. (great cheering.)

I apprehend, that, in case of war, Ireland will be less in the way of Britain than the southern slaves in that of their owners, who are already so terrified and unhappy that everything that can be done is done to keep the whites in ignorance lest the blacks also become enlightened. If not so, how is it that we find in North Carolina, Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia, &c., hundreds of thousands as uneducated as Hottentots? If such as they can vote for slavery over us and their blacks also, much as I dislike to see the suffrage extended to any class who are not educated, I shall vote for those delegates to the convention who are believed to be the most willing to raise the oppressed African to the full dignity of northern freedom. There is a risk, I admit, but it is on the honest side, and good may come out of it. Black men are as kind-hearted, as skilful, as ingenious, as faithful, and as deserving of encouragement as white men. When Charles Sumner of Boston, and R. W. Emerson were asked to lecture before the New Bedford Lyceum, they refused because negroes were excluded from equal rights. Sumner's refusal contained the following remarks:

"It is well known that the prejudice of color, which is akin to the stern and selfish spirit that holds a fellow-man in slavery, is peculiar to our country. All will remember the two youths of African blood, who gained the highest honors in the College at Paris in the winter of 1838, and dined the same day with the King of France, the descendant of St. Louis, and of Louis the Great, at the palace of the Tuileries. In Paris, I have sat for weeks, at the School of Law, on the same benches with colored persons, listening, like myself, to the learned lectures of Degerando, and of Rossi; nor do I remember observing in the throng of sensitive young men by whom they were surrounded, any feeling toward them except of companionship and respect. In Italy, at the Convent of Palozzuola, on the shores of the Alban Lake, and on the site of the ancient Alba Longa, I have seen for several days a native of Abyssinia, only recently conducted from his torrid home, and ignorant of the language that was spoken about him, yet mingling with the Franciscan Friars, whose guest he was, in delightful and affectionate familiarity. In these examples may be discerned the proper influence of the Christian spirit."

I intend to support native Americans in their right to self-government, whatever be their color, although some of them were a little too bitter against Europeans who live here. The conduct of colored people in Canada, and a careful perusal of the reports from the British West Indies, which show the good results that have arisen from educating, liberating, and trusting the blacks, have fortified me in this resolution. A colored man, who had been in the state's prison, committed a few days since a dreadful murder in this state. Had he been cared for in youth, educated, treated as a fellow creature, and not degraded, such a crime would have been terrible to him, even to think of. The English speak in high terms of some of their black troops. Washington confided in armed negroes; so did Jackson, and he gave them very high praise too; Hammond says that General Root and Colonel Young, "during the most perilous period of the late war," voted for a law for raising a regiment of blacks. Why then hinder them from voting? Because they are not so well informed as the whites? How do we know that? And if we did know it, shall the black man who cannot write be driven from the polls, and whites who have oppressed his race allowed to vote, though equally ignorant? On the 22d of August, 1814, the darkest days of the last war, the N. Y. Evening Post, under the caption of "Patriotism of the Africans," says: "This morning, between 800 and 1000 of the hardy and patriotic sons of Africa, accompanied by a delightful band of music and appropriate flags, crossed the ferry at Catharine slip, to work on the fortifications at Brooklyn heights. These men, knowing the value of freedom, are anxious to defend it, and too much praise cannot be bestowed on them for their voluntary exertions." How are their race rewarded? Marcy proposed to crush abolition by penal enactments; Congress spurns petitions; Van Buren had the Grampus stationed off New Haven, to clutch and deliver to instant death in Cuba, the innocent negroes of the Amistead; and in Virginia, if free negroes or their children, assemble at a school to learn reading and writing, any justice may dismiss them with twenty stripes on each scholar's back. Yet judge Upshur, the U. S. Secretary of State, in his will, made free his black slave, David Rich, with the following certificate of character: "I recommend him in the strongest manner to the respect, esteem, and confidence of any community in which he may happen to live. He has been my slave for twenty-four years, during all which time he has been trusted to every extent, and in every respect. My confidence in him has been unbounded; his relation to myself and family has always been such as to afford him daily opportunities to deceive and injure us, and yet he has never been



detected in any serious fault, nor even in an intentional breach of the decorums of his station. *His intelligence is of a high order, his integrity above all suspicion*, and his sense of right and propriety correct and even refined. It is due to his long and faithful services, and to the sincere and steady friendship which I bear him. In the uninterrupted and confidential intercourse of twenty-four years, I have never given, nor had occasion to give him an unpleasant word. I know no man who has fewer faults or more excellencies than he."

Napoleon said of Toussaint L'Ouverture of St. Domingo: "The black leader possessed energy, courage, and great skill." Thirty-two editors of public journals in the West Indies, are mulattoes, and not a few of the legislators there are black.

The Convention of 1821 declared that Senators of N. Y. must be freeholders, but that Assemblymen need not be. If two separate Houses are requisite, especially for appointments and executive business, why not make a distinction, and give us an aristocracy of intellect? To do this, it is only necessary to provide that none shall vote for Governor and Senate who cannot read and write, leaving the Assembly, &c. as at present. This would be a republican check of the true sort. Why should one class among us try to estrange the Indian, another the negro, another the catholic, and another the European emigrants? Is not our strength in union? Better the memory of ancient kindness than of ancient fraud and deceit. Mr. Anderson of Tennessee, in Senate, Jan. 8, 1841, told of the effects of Butler, Van Buren, Cass, and Jackson's Indian diplomacy, with the Creeks and Cherokees, whose memorials Congress contemned. He said:

"Peace! Peace! Security with the Indian! It is but a dream! He but reposes for a season in the enjoyment of your favors until that day shall arrive when he flushes with the hope of blood and revenge. The recollection of the injuries you have inflicted; the lands you have taken, the wounded pride you have humbled, the very tribute under which you have placed him, keeps the fire of hatred unquenched, and fiercely burning in his bosom! He will receive your gifts, extend his hand for your annuities, but instead of turning his face upon the bleak passes of the Rocky Mountains, and descending upon the coast of California, he will patiently await the period when events, guided by the potent hand of his old ally, shall call him to the war-path and the battle field. He will then remember, not your bounties, but your triumphs, and he will prepare, in a more formidable shape than at any former period, for uniting his kindred tribes in one solid league against your frontier brethren."

Are we to make the negroes our deadly enemies also? Calhoun tells us (Jan. 1837), that "A mysterious Providence has brought two races of men together into this country from different parts of the earth; the European to be the master, and the African the slave. These relations cannot be overthrown; and every society founded on the principle of separating them is acting on a basis of error." Polk lugged in Providence into his pro-slavery inaugural, Van Buren borrowed it for his epistles to Jesse, and even Calhoun condescends to insult heaven by pretending that it is a party to a daring violation of Christ's commandment to love your neighbor as yourself!

"I never mean, unless some particular circumstances shall compel me to it, to possess another slave by purchase, it being among my first wishes, ~~to see~~ to see some plan adopted by which slavery in this country may be abolished by law." Thus wrote the great Washington, the father of his country, to Sir John Sinclair; and although the darling wish of his soul, to remove the blot of slavery from his beloved country, was not fulfilled, he left his example, as a precept to posterity. The slaves of George Washington were made free; and the mantle of Elijah may have fallen on the chosen Elisha, whose power and energy in a glorious cause, will yet give a universal reality to the declaration of independence, so that our great abolition leader's prayers may have a speedy, peaceful, and glorious accomplishment. The memorable contemporary of Washington, Thomas Jefferson, felt the same detestation of this horrible system; and, having beheld its effects, from his youth upward, stated in a letter to M. Wareville, Paris, February, 1788, that

"The whole commerce between Master and Slave is a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions; the most unremitting despotism on the one part and degrading submission on the other. The parent storms, the child looks on, catches the lineaments of wrath, puts on the same airs in the circle of smaller slaves, gives loose to his worst passions, and thus nursed, educated and daily exercised in tyranny, cannot but be stamped by it with odious peculiarities. The man must be a prodigy who can retain his manners and morals undepraved by such circumstances. What an incomprehensible machine is man! Who can endure toil, famine, stripes, imprisonment, and death itself, in vindication of his own liberty, and the next moment be deaf to all those motives whose power supported him through his trial, and inflict on his fellow men a bondage, one hour of which is fraught with more misery than ages of that which he rose in rebellion to oppose."

And when writing, in 1821, the memoir prefixed to his [Jefferson's] correspondence, he declared, that "nothing is more certainly written in the book of fate, than that these people [the slaves of the U. S.] are to be free; nor is it more certain that the two races, equally free, cannot live in the same government. Nature, habit, opinion, have drawn indelible lines of

distinction between them." He [an abolitionist of 50 years standing] adds his opinion, that if gradual emancipation and deportation are not resorted to, the terrible example of the deletion of the Moors in Spain will be far exceeded here. He calls the slaves his "suffering brethren," and invokes heaven for their deliverance. How justly and liberally the Methodist clergy are acting in this matter, and what a powerful impress did John Wesley make of his free spirit upon his successors! John Randolph of Roanoke, said in his will, "I give and bequeath to all my slaves their freedom, ~~and~~ heartily regretting that I have ever been the owner of one." ~~and~~ He bequeathed \$8000, in trust, for the removal of his slaves to some other state, to settle them there comfortably. Thomas Jefferson Randolph, in the legislature of Virginia, in 1832, declared that Virginia had been converted into ~~and~~ "one grand menagerie, where men are reared for the market like oxen for the shambles." ~~and~~ The same gentleman thus compared the African with the Virginia, or domestic, slave trade: "~~and~~ The [African] trader receives the slave, a stranger in aspect, language, and manner, from the merchant ~~and~~ who brought him from the interior. But here, sir, [in FREE Virginia,] individuals whom ~~and~~ the master has known from infancy—whom he has seen sporting in the innocent gambols of childhood—who have been accustomed to look to him for protection, he tears from ~~and~~ the mother's arms, and sells into a strange country, among a strange people, subject to ~~and~~ cruel taskmasters. In my opinion it is much worse." In the same session, Mr. Moore declared that slavery was destroying morality and virtue in the commonwealth—that the desire of freedom being the inevitable consequence of intelligence, the owners of slaves, from policy, kept them in profound ignorance—that such ignorance prevented the slave from judging between right and wrong, and brought into action all the vicious propensities of oppressed human nature—that the slave looked on the whites as leagued in inflicting the many wrongs endured by his race, and thus became revengeful—that "the indiscriminate intercourse of the sexes," among the slaves was very demoralizing—that at no distant day slavery would "end in a servile war which would continue till the land was red with human blood, and either the whites or the blacks wholly exterminated"—and that this war would be commenced the moment the blacks should become so numerous as to give rise to a hope that they could burst the bands that bound them to the soil. The Presbyterian Synod of Kentucky thus officially describes slavery, as it is daily passing under their eyes: "This system licenses and produces great cruelty. Mangling, imprisonment, starvation, every species of torture may be inflicted upon the slave and he has no redress. There are now in our whole land two millions of human beings, exposed, defenceless, to every insult and every injury short of maiming or death, which their fellow men may choose to inflict. They suffer all that can be inflicted by wanton caprice, by grasping avarice, by brutal lust, by malignant spite, and by insane anger. Their happiness is the sport of every whim, and the prey of every passion that may, occasionally, or habitually, infest the master's bosom. If we could calculate the amount of woe endured by ill-treated slaves, it would overwhelm every compassionate heart—it would move even the obdurate to sympathy." By the Texas constitution, all free blacks are to be banished for the crime of not being bondsmen. On the 12th of February, 1837, the H. of R. of our free Congress, voted "that slaves do not possess the right of petition secured to the people by the U. S. constitution;" thus denying millions of poor, oppressed wretches a right which from infancy to old age is given by the God of Heaven to the poorest of his creatures, the right of the sufferer, in his pain, to entreat for succor and aid from the hand of wisdom, justice, and mercy. Millions of poor slaves are represented by pretended southern friends on the floor of Congress—this slave representation gives presidents to the republic, controls its patronage, protects southern oppression by its power over the army and navy, bargains with northern cupidity to degrade free institutions, and make them a mockery and a reproach throughout Europe. It contracted with, hired, and duly paid as a gilded puppet, that "northern man with southern principles," Martin Van Buren.

I earnestly desired to see Canada free from British power, in 1838. Had my wishes been fulfilled she would now have been ruled by the Polks and the Mareys, the Houstons and the Cambrelengs, the South Carolina and Virginia slave breeders and slave owners, the union of Tammany Hall stock and office brokers, with Mississippi blacklegs and Tennessee patriots; while the poor slaves whom they would tear from the arms of liberty at the farthest corners of the earth, would have had their chains again riveted. Few were more ardent than myself in their wishes that "Van Buren and freedom" might be successful in 1836. I have since found out that there may be more faithful mirrors of his democracy found than Holland's Life, and should be sorry to see the freeman's arm lifted against Canada while the power of the republic in the south is wielded by hypocrisy, and the avarice of dealers in human flesh ministered to, in order that both whites and blacks may remain in degraded ignorance.

"Ah! little thought I when in youth's warm hour, glowing indignant at tyrannic power,  
I turned in fancy to that happy land, whose milder laws victorious patriots planned,  
That I should ever see a region there, where dark oppression urges to despair;  
And freedom's clamor, and the negro's cries, in wildest dissonance commingling rise."

Three weeks after Congress had resolved that the injured African was unworthy and unfit to be listened to, if he complained of oppression—and near to the time at which Judge Law-

less advised a Missouri grand jury not even to notice the atrocious facts, that McIntosh, a black man, had been dragged from prison, chained to a tree, and consumed near St. Louis by a slow fire, not by a few fiends, but in presence of an assembled neighborhood—did Martin Van Buren come forth, on the 3d of March, 1837, to take a solemn oath to protect and defend, as the chief of the republic, the star-spangled banner, the flag of the free. O, what a mockery of heaven that was! Polk's more recent ministrations, as the high priest of Texan tortures, were decent and becoming when compared to Van Buren's.

"It would seem, (says William Leggett) that we have elevated Mr. Van Buren to the office of President for the mere purpose that he may be slave-master-in-chief and a negro-overseer. He pledged himself to exercise his veto power against anything which Congress might do toward the abolition of slavery for the next four years, without even pretending that it was beyond the constitutional competency of that body to act on the subject. This threatened use of the veto, by a man standing on the very threshold of the executive office, is the most indecent abuse of power, of which any American President was ever guilty."

"For Mr. Van Buren, standing on the threshold of his administration to announce to the world that he will veto any bill which Congress may pass upon a particular subject, is as gross a breach of public decorum, and as violent a stretch of his proper duties, as it would be for the Supreme Court to pass a solemn resolution, declaring that if Congress enacted such and such a law, they would pronounce it unconstitutional, and set it aside the moment it should come before them for adjudication."

"Virginia and Maryland may, in the meanwhile, [i.e. during V. B.'s 4 years,] abolish slavery, leaving the District of Columbia, like a plague spot, in their midst; but this will not release Mr. Van Buren from his pledge. He can never consent to strike off the fetters of the slave in the ten miles square, placed by the Constitution under the exclusive control of the federal government, until every state where slavery exists has accorded its approbation of the measure."

"Mr. Van Buren's indecent haste to avow his predeterminations on the subject of slavery, (continues Leggett,) has not even the merit of boldness. It is made in a cringing spirit of propitiation to the south." Again, page 291, Vol. I of *Plaindealer*: "We wish we could be convinced that it [the inaugural address] is not a cautious, timid, time-serving document, composed at the instance of a cringing spirit, willing to propitiate the slaveholders at the expense of justice and humanity."

The recent disgraceful riots in Lexington, Kentucky, the object of which was to put down freedom of discussion, and prevent the white population from knowing what could be said against slavery, had very nearly ended in the murder of Cassius M. Clay, a relative of Henry Clay, who had established the "True American" there. I was threatened, but not to the like extent, when I exposed Van Buren's confederates in the Butler pamphlet. One of Morris's post-office letter carriers went round cowing vengeance, and other officials talked foolishly. When the pamphlet reached Charleston, the bookseller to whom it was sent feared to offer it for sale, for ~~there~~ there was a foot note somewhere in it against slavery. But the American people love order: they showed that in the case of Morgan, and unless where instigated by such false guides as Van Buren, all classes glory in sustaining the laws of their country.

Washington and Jefferson have sincere disciples yet. Some of these, in 1836 and 1837, lectured on behalf of the poor negroes, others published newspapers to instruct the millions about slavery. One editor was shot dead—several presses were trampled to the ground, and burnings and violent riots had intimidated some very sincere friends of equal rights. To the astonishment of Leggett, Van Buren, in his inaugural, defended the guilty as a hired partisan would have done. In the *Plaindealer* of 1837, pages 226 to 290, Leggett thus reproves him.

"I do solemnly swear that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the constitution of the United States." This was the momentous obligation Mr. Van Buren had taken upon himself, when we find him almost in the same breath, uttering words of semi-approval of the most audacious and brutal conduct, having for its avowed object, to destroy the freedom of the press, and silence free discussion. . . . The violent outrages of ferocious ruffians he chose to designate as mere outbreaks of 'popular indignation,' a phrase which implies approval, since INDIGNATION conveys the sense of RIGHTEOUS ANGER. Not satisfied with describing the brutality and fierceness of the mobs by so commendatory a term, he alluded to the conduct of their victims in language calculated to convey the impression that they ~~justly~~ provoked, and fully deserved their fate, deserved all sorts of indignities and injuries for exercising, temperately and decorously, the commonest privilege of freedom, the mere privilege of speech. . . . Alluding to the pro-slavery mobs and riots in various parts of the country, he [Van Buren] says, 'a reckless disregard of the consequences of their conduct has exposed individuals to popular indignation.' This is an admirable version of the matter. The issuing of a temperate and decorous newspaper, in which a question of great public moment was gravely discussed, showed beyond all question, a most 'reckless disregard for consequences,' deserving the harshest rebukes; and the conduct of the mob that broke up the press, demolished the house which contained it, and shockingly maltreated the person of the editor, was merely ~~a~~ a natural and justifiable

expression of 'popular indignation.'" These are the opinions of Leggett, a true Tammany democrat, on the conduct and language of Van Buren, a pretended one. Joshua Leavitt of Boston took the same view. He said:

"The new President has delivered his inaugural address, and taken on him the oath and responsibilities of office. In the face of heaven and earth, the President stands forth, avowedly, the enemy of freedom, the opponent of equal rights, the defender of slavery, the slanderer of freedom's friends, and the instigator and patron of mobs. About to assume the responsibilities of the highest office in the gift of a professedly free people, he steps forth, and declares the effort to give freedom to the enslaved, "injurious to every interest, that of humanity included."

Van Buren did not thus act from principle. It was his bargain with the tyrants of the south. He was their delegate, their agent, their hired attorney—just as Fitzgibbon (Clare), Scott (Clonmell), Plunkett, and Toler (Norbury), were the creatures of bad English administrations for the oppression of Ireland. In 1810, when he thought that the friends of freedom would triumph, he was the deadly foe of slavery's extension. Why? It was popular to be so, and popularity was the stepping-stone to power. On the 20th of January, 1820, the Senate of this state UNANIMOUSLY agreed with the Assembly in a resolution declaring, that, "*Whereas 'the inhibiting the further extension of slavery in these United States, is a subject of deep concern to the people of this State; and whereas, we consider slavery as an evil much to be deplored, and that every constitutional barrier should be interposed to prevent its further extension; and that the Constitution of the United States clearly gives Congress the right to require from new states not comprised within the original boundaries of these United States the prohibition of slavery, as a condition of their admission into the Union—Therefore, Resolved, That our Senators be instructed, and our Representatives in Congress be requested, to oppose the admission, as a state, into the Union, of any territory not comprised as aforesaid, without making the prohibition of slavery therein an indispensable condition of admission.'*" General Root was, in those days, an Ajax in freedom's army—De Witt Clinton was ultra in favor of spreading freedom and not tyranny over America—and among the votes recorded for the above principles, and in opposition to slavery in Missouri, were those of Martin Van Buren, Samuel Young, C. E. Dudley, Walter Bowne, Roger Skinner, Livingston, Hammond, Hart, Barstow, Mallory, and Dayton. Not contented with voting, Marcy and Van Buren wrote a pamphlet, and travelled through the state, canvassing for Rufus King, as the anti-slavery candidate for the U. S. Senate, to be sent there to oppose receiving Missouri as an extension of the area of the whip and the torture. Let the reader look into Ritchie's files of the Richmond Enquirer for the early part of 1820, and he will there see Polk's confederate menacing Rufus King for his northern fanaticism, and inveterate hostility to the 'peculiar institution.' On the 16th of November, 1819, says the Evening Post, a general meeting of the citizens, at least 2000 being present, met in the City Hotel, New York, and "Resolved, that the existence of slavery in the United States, being, in the opinion of this meeting, a great political as well as moral evil, derogatory to the character of the nation, dangerous to the safety of its inhabitants, and opposed to the benign spirit and principles of the Christian religion, they consider it the solemn duty of the national government, presiding over a people professing a high regard for freedom and the just rights of men, to prevent, by all constitutional means, the further extension of such an evil in the United States;" and that Jonathan Thompson, John T. Irving, Henry Rutgers, Walter Bowne, T. Addis Emmet, John Griscom, Abm. Bloodgood, Matthew Clarkson, Archibald Gracie, George Newbold, &c., be a committee to check the progress of slavery, &c. In their address, written by the brother of Washington Irving, speaking of Missouri, they say, "It is no less a question, than whether, in this enlightened and philanthropic age, a mighty empire of slaves shall be permitted to be formed on the soil and under the sanction of republican America, and admitted into her Union; or, whether that new empire is to be composed of men who shall have a constitutional, as well as national, right 'to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness;" and fully maintained the humane doctrine, that Congress, after 1803, could have stopt at once the horrid barbarities, both of the African and domestic, or Virginian slave trade." Van Buren and the Regency have since changed for the worse.

William Jay shows, in his "View of the Action of the Federal Government," that the laws against the slave-trade, were in a great measure nullified, because the slave power appointed the officials. And when Van Buren had been rejected in 1810, he concluded his message to "Congress thus: "I submit to your judgments whether this government, having been the first "to prohibit, by adequate penalties, the slave-trade—the first to declare it piracy—should not be "the first, also, to forbid to its citizens all trade with the slave factories on the coast of Africa; "giving an example to all nations in this respect, which, if fairly followed, cannot fail to produce the most effective results in breaking up those dens of iniquity." This contrasts queerly with his inaugural, and the affair of the Amistead; and I would now ask Van Buren whether the slave-breeding factories in Virginia, and the slave coasters she employs in the Texan traffic in flesh and blood, are less "dens of iniquity" than those of Africa? "Is it more wicked, more base, more cruel, to traffic in African savages [asks William Jay] than in

NATIVE-born Americans—in white men, and women, and children—in the offspring of our own citizens, and not unfrequently, of very distinguished citizens? Yet it is this abominable commerce that our government fosters and protects." "The government of the U. S.," said Van Buren to the British minister, Feb. 25, 1832, "protects by reasonable laws, the rights of the owners of that species of property in the States where it exists, and PERMITS its transfer coastwise from one of these States to another [Virginia to Texas, for example], under suitable restrictions to prevent the fraudulent introduction of foreign slaves." That is, to secure to the home, or Virginia breeder, a sure monopoly of the detestable traffic! Texas bribed the southern slave-trader, by providing in her constitution to give the U. S. a monopoly of the supply!!!

There are many persons who do not fully comprehend the reasons why Polk, Van Buren, and others who have grown rich by abandoning the principles of seventy-six, went dead against Adams, when he proposed commissions to the Panama Congress, and now lustily advocate the opposite principle when they fear that their non-interference policy may affect Mexico. We will try to explain. In 1826, Mexico and Columbia meditated the invasion of Cuba, and intended to give the slaves there that freedom which they were conferring on their own. The slave-holding south was alarmed—the project was abandoned at the instance of this Union—but it might be renewed. Accordingly the Van Buren, who, in 1820, had instructed Congress not to receive Missouri with slavery, addressed Cornelius P. Van Ness, the U. S. minister at the Spanish court, Oct. 22, 1829, bidding him urge on Spain to make peace with the Southern republics of America lest they should aid in freeing Cuba from slavery! "Considerations (said Van Buren) connected with a CERTAIN CLASS of our population, make it the interest of the southern section of the Union that no attempt should be made in that island [Cuba] to throw off the yoke of Spanish dependence; the first effect of which would be ~~the~~ the EMANCIPATION of a numerous slave population, which result could not but be very sensibly felt upon the adjacent shores of the United States." In the H. of R. Mr. Floyd of Va. said, "I would rather take up arms to prevent than to accelerate such an occurrence" as freedom to Cuba; and Van Buren, when writing to A. Butler, the U. S. agent in Mexico, cautioned him to oppose "the baneful spirit [of emancipation] designed to be introduced and propagated in the island of Cuba."

Van Buren's letter to Poinsett, Oct. 16, 1829, freely admits that the people of Mexico were filled with prejudices of the most incurable character against that minister. He was accused of "intermeddling in the domestic affairs of the republic," of setting up a political sort of freemasonry, of denouncing the established religion, and of being the enemy of the Mexican people. Was it friendly, was it wise in Van Buren and Jackson to recall this man, when the sister republic would no longer endure his presence, and hastily promote him to the head of the department of war? The state legislatures of Mexico had expressed an abhorrence of his conduct, and insisted on his removal. Jackson recalled him when he became intolerable to Mexico, to exhibit, as Van Buren's secretary, his scheme of a 200,000 standing army, which certainly was no help towards Van Buren's reelection in 1840.

In Mr. Polk's message to Congress, Dec. 1845, he rebuked those European nations who wanted, as he said, to check the extension of the republic, thus: "The United States, sincerely desirous of preserving relations of good understanding with all nations, ~~cannot~~ cannot in silence, permit ANY EUROPEAN INTERFERENCE on the North American Continent; and should any such interference be attempted, WILL BE READY TO RESIST IT AT ANY AND ALL HAZARDS. ~~Existing~~ Existing rights of every European nation should be respected; but it is due alike to our safety and our interests, that the efficient protection of our laws should be extended over our whole territorial limits, and that it should be distinctly announced to the world as our settled policy, that no future European colony or dominion shall, with our consent, be planted or established on any part of the North American continent."

Here, Messrs. Polk and Marcy have dared any European power to aid in placing a monarch in Mexico on a constitutional throne, and negotiating a treaty with him, offensive and defensive, as this country did with France 68 years ago. How did they talk twenty years since? As to Marcy, look into the Argus.

In 1825, Messrs. Clay and Adams had proposed to send W. B. Rochester and others to represent the U. States in a Congress of American republics at Panama. To this, in the Senate, Van Buren led the opposition; and the burden of his song, as usual, was, that it was unconstitutional. "We are, (said Van Buren) at that Congress, to stipulate in some form, and I care not in what, that we will resist any attempt at colonization by the powers of Europe, in this hemisphere, or within our own borders, if you please; and that, in the event of any interference on their part, in the struggle between Spain and the Spanish American States, we will make common cause with the latter in resisting it." Such a course he denounced [see his Life by Holland], and laid it down as a principle (p. 264), that if we confederate to maintain governments like our own, by force of arms, we imitate the Holy Alliance of Europe; and he was "against all alliances, against all armed confederacies, or confederacies of any sort."

Thus much for Van Buren—now for Polk:

In the house of Representatives, April, 1826, Louis McLane gave it as his view that in ex-

tending our commercial relations with foreign nations, we should keep clear of entangling alliances, and moved a resolution, as the "opinion of this house that the Government of the United States ought not to be represented at the Congress of Panama, except in a diplomatic character, nor ought they to form any alliance, offensive or defensive, or negotiate respecting such alliance with all or any of the South American republics; *nor ought they to become parties with them, or either of them, to any joint declaration for the purpose of preventing the interference of any of the European powers with their independence or form of government, or to any compact for the purpose of preventing colonization upon the continent of America.*"

The democratic party all voted for McLane's resolution; and among the most decided friends to McLane's principle, not to oppose European colonization in America, were found James K. Polk, and his foreign secretary, James Buchanan. Their votes are on record.

Mr. Polk's creed was democratic then, and it is democratic now, and it was then just the opposite of what it is now—and that is true, pure, unadulterated Van Buren democracy, which like O'Gimlet's finger-post, or the city weathercock, may be turned any way you please, or say yes and no in the same breath. In 1826, Mr. Polk said, that by voting for McLane's resolve, we [the house] have declared, that our policy, now as ever, is neutrality; "that we will form no alliance with the South American republics; nor shall we 'become parties with them, or either of them, to any joint declaration, for the purpose of preventing the interference of any of the European powers with their independence or form of government,' or 'to any compact for the purpose of preventing colonization on the continent of America.' These are sentiments, said Mr. Polk, to which I most heartily subscribe." No doubt he did—but Cuba might become free, and it was not then fully resolved upon to have Cuba annexed, Texas annexed, California annexed, Mexico annexed, all to the south, and with slavery in each of them. Missouri had got through with difficulty, as a negro-importing state—and these American republics, for which Polk, Buchanan, McLane, and Van Buren would do nothing were all anti-slavery, heretical, not of the true church. Now, however, when the 'peculiar institution' is to be strengthened, O'Gimlet turns round, and Polk democracy, like Sir Francis Head to the Yankees, some nine years since, cries aloud, "Come if ye dare!"

Last January, Senator Allen of Ohio, who, like Cass, understands electioneering in the west, moved a strong resolve, in favor of the Polk Van Buren democracy, and warning the folks in Europe to look out for breakers, if they approached this coast with any more of their colonies. Senator Cass supported Allen as a matter of course. If we go behind Polk and Van Buren's 'colonize if you please' principle of 1826, we soon arrive at Mr. Monroe's views. In his message of 1823, he declared "that we should consider any attempt on their [the powers of Europe's] part, to extend their system [colonization or monarchy] to any portion of this hemisphere, as dangerous to our peace." Was not this in strict accordance with the views of Adams and Clay in 1826, and of Polk now, though he opposed it then? The N. Y. Sun took Polk's latest view six months in advance of his message, and so did its editor, Noah, in his other paper, the Messenger of June last. When Polk was proposed for President, Noah spoke of him with contempt, as a third rate sort of person; but Noah, Marcy, Webb and Polk go hand in hand now for "more slave territory. We can't have too much."

Mr. Guizot, minister of France, by a late speech, and the French legislature by a vote, have shown, that in case of war between England and this country, France would remain neutral, unless some convulsion were to change the essence of its government. Mr. Guizot is a friend of education, science, the continuance of peace, and the mental and moral elevation of man.

The correspondence of the National Intelligencer of Sept. 13, 1836, tells us, that "not a solitary step has been taken to meet the just expectations of the Mexican minister. Men are openly recruited, armed, and marched through our country, not (as in the case of the English auxiliaries in Spain) to sustain the actual government of Mexico, but to aid a few thousand American citizens and adventurers from Europe in making war against that government! Professions, therefore, are a mockery of the common sense of mankind." We have seen that the Polk—Van Buren democracy had no sympathy with Mexico, Columbia, and the South American republics, which really sought freedom—we have seen Jackson and Van Buren intriguing in Spain to keep the yoke around the necks of the immense black population of Cuba. So too in Canada, secret encouragement was given at first, and from Nov. 6, when the revolt broke out in and near Montreal, to January, when the Caroline had been sent over the Niagara Falls, Van Buren did nothing; but no sooner was it made apparent that the struggle might be a protracted one, or a failure, than Van Buren and Marcy were found among the persecutors of the poor exiles. On Nov. 21, 1838, Van Buren issued a proclamation against the second Canada revolt, with a

"Whereas disturbances have actually broken out anew in different parts of the two Canadas: And whereas, a hostile invasion has been made by citizens of the United States, in conjunction with Canadians, and others, who, after forcibly seizing upon the property of their peaceful neighbor, for the purpose of effecting their unlawful designs, are now in arms

against the authorities of Canada, in perfect disregard of their own obligations as American citizens, and of the obligations of the Government of the country to foreign nations: Now, therefore, I have thought it necessary and proper to issue this proclamation, calling upon every citizen of the United States neither to give countenance nor encouragement of any kind to those who have thus forfeited their claim to the protection of their country; upon those misguided or deluded persons who are engaged in them to abandon projects dangerous to their own country, fatal to those whom they profess a desire to relieve, impracticable of execution without foreign aid, which they cannot rationally expect to obtain, &c. . . . And I hereby warn all those who have engaged in these criminal enterprises, if persisted in, that, whatever may be the condition to which they may be reduced, they must not expect the interference of this government, in any form, on their behalf; but will be left reproached by every virtuous fellow-citizen, to be dealt with according to the policy and justice of that Government whose dominions they have, in defiance of the known wishes and efforts of their own Government, and without the shadow of justification or excuse, nefariously invaded."

Compare this proclamation against the comrades of Von Shoulitze, Woodruffe, Abbey, George, Lount, Matthews, Cardinal, Buckley, Chevalier, Damais, Doane, Duquette, Honshman, Moreau, Leach, Lynde, Peeler, Perley, Phelps, the Sanguinettes, and Swete, all of whom were cruelly put to death in cold blood, with Jackson and Van Buren's Mexican and Texan policy, where the object was to cover by a pretended revolt the robbery of 400,000 square miles of God's heritage, that it might yield gain to idle, covetous, heartless slave dealers, and, worse still, enable them to control the government of this glorious republic for the purpose of perpetuating the most cruel scourge that can desolate the family of man. This proclamation encouraged the convict-driver of Van Dieman's land to redouble his cruelties—it showed no generous feeling for the injured. How could it? There is not on earth a more heartless, cold, calculating enemy of free institutions than M. V. Buren—there perhaps never will be.

Some years ago, Mr. Calhoun offered a report on the U. S. mail, in which an effort is made to show that northern laborers are but little better off than negro slaves. In reply, Dr. Channing writes to Mr. Clay, thus: "Is it possible that such reasonings escaped from a man who has trod the soil of New England, and was educated at one of her colleges? Whom did he meet at that college? The sons of her laborers, young men, whose hands had been hardened at the plough. Does he not know, that the families of laborers have furnished every department in life among us with illustrious men, have furnished our heroes in war, our statesmen in council, our orators in the pulpit and at the bar, our merchants whose enterprises embrace the whole earth? What! the laborer of the free state a slave, and to be ranked with the despised negro, whom the lash drives to toil, and whose dearest rights are at the mercy of irresponsible power! If there be a firm independent spirit on earth, it is to be found in the man, who tills the field of the free states, and moistens them with the sweat of his brow."

Although, in a report by Col. Young, in 1839, adverse to anti-slavery politics, and sustaining what is called the Atherton gag in Congress, he spoke strongly against what he called the boiling cauldron of abolitionism, its misguided fury and ferocious spirit, inebriated abolitionism, anti-masonic and abolition phrenzies, and the hopelessness of southern slave emancipation while northern agitation continues, yet it would seem that he is firmly opposed to Texan annexation, with slavery as her dower. In a discussion in the Senate of New York on the 27th of January last, Col. Young said he was opposed to the admission of Texas as a slave state, and that Governor Wright had said he was opposed to it. Mr. Hard remarked, that believing Col. Young to be against that wicked measure, he and his whig friends had been anxious for his return to the U. S. Senate (in place of Dix), as that would have prevented annexation. That had Governor Wright, and his *peculiar friends*, been honest and sincere in their professions of hostility to it, Young might have been returned—that they could have secured that result—but that Wright had so managed that the *hunkers* got both senators (that Polk might carry annexation), and Benton (*hunker*) had been put in Young's office. That both sections of the democracy had supported Wright, who had had it in his power to have prevented the spread of slavery by securing the election of Young, but that, had he acted up to his professions, it might have stood in his way to the presidency, in the minds of the slaveholders, and that he had interfered to the contrary, and sent a message to his friends to prevent a caucus which would have carried it into effect. Mr. Beers said that it was considered (by Wright) had policy to send a senator to Washington opposed to the Texas measure. No doubt! Read Van Buren's annexation letter, and say if he is really opposed to it. Read Vache's invitation to Van Buren to attend the ball of the "kindred spirits determined to sustain the government in its claim to the TEXAS and Oregon territories," and his answer, approving of their object—and remember, that while old Spain, in 1829, occupied Tampico, with 4,000 troops, intent on reducing Mexico, Van Buren was then in the market offering the Mexican rebels cash for Texas. Again, on 2d of Sept. last, we find him addressing J. D. Kellogg, for the public eye, from Lindenwald, and assuring him that he considers every obstacle that may be offered to the completion of the Texas spoliation "unwise and highly inexpedient," and that

if these states should be involved in war with Mexico in consequence of annexation, he (Van Buren) cannot doubt but that Polk would be supported "by the hearts and hands of the whole people." All this might have been looked for from the man, who, in the teeth of the constitutional provision, that Congress may make all needful laws for the territory of the Union, assured North Carolina, when seeking a re-election, that Governor Dodge's slaveholding in Wisconsin, and Judge Doty's in Iowa, was legal, and could not be interfered with! Intoxicating liquors, slavery, covetousness of other men's lands, what curses they are! Florida was bought for six millions to please slaveholders, and is now a slave state. We had an Indian war there, to protect slavery—"a war [says Horace Greeley] provoked and commenced by our people, originating in land-stealing, abominable frauds and slavery, and which we steadily refused to terminate on any terms which did not require the utter expulsion of the Seminoles from the territory. The reason for this was the proved impossibility of cherishing Slavery in the neighborhood of Indians, as the negroes ran away to the Indians and were harbored by them. So we drove the savages to desperation, pursued them through the swamps and everglades, shot some of their women and children, and starved many more, until we compelled the remnant to submit to exile. The cost of these various wars and purchases to the people of the United States has not been one farthing short of fifty millions of dollars over and above all they have received for Florida lands, to say nothing of very many valuable lives."

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ON

## CANADIAN ANNEXATION AND INSURRECTION.

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*The Canadian Insurrection in 1837 and 1838.—It injured Van Buren and his Friends.—Brinkhoff, John Adams, Franklin, Bleecker, Randolph, Pitkin, Felix Grundy, President Monroe, Calhoun, Hull, Smyth, Southwick, Macon, Widgery, Wells, Clay, Ritchie, and the North American Review, on Canadian Annexation.—Parnell on Canadian Independence.—Eustis, Desha, Swartwout, and Wheaton, on taking Canada.—Were the Canadians justified in resisting in 1837 and 1838?—A brief reply.—Lord Durham's Report on that question.—His affliction details of Colonial Oppression.—Lord Goderick's reply to my threat of Revolt.—Sir F. B. Head.—Durham harshly treated for telling unpleasant truths.—Would the Conquest of Canada be an easy task, and ought it to be attempted?—Error of the Men of 1837.—Letter, Col. W. E. Moore.—Letter, General G. M. Keim.—Letter, Geo. Dawson.—Letter, Col. R. M. Johnson.*

THE insurrections, in the Canadas, in 1837 and 1838, and the movement in Maine, in 1839, affected very unfavorably the foundations of Van Buren's power; and, if it were essentially necessary, I think I might produce conclusive proof, that, by exciting the suspicion of the slaveholding south, and the indignation of vast multitudes in the free north, east, and west, his management of public affairs, connected with or arising out of these insurrections and frontier movements, were, independent of the question of the currency, most embarrassing to his administration, and, in 1840, the cause of his political failure.

There must have been powerful causes at work, to turn a majority of 26,000 for Van Buren, in 1836, into a minority of 146,000 in 1840, to induce New York to set aside a president born on the banks of the Hudson, in 1840, by a majority of 13,000, in order to place in his stead a native Virginian, after having given her suffrage for the former, in 1836, by a majority exceeding 28,000, to induce every northern frontier county, without a single exception, to cry out, in Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Ohio, Pennsylvania, New York, Vermont, New Hampshire and Maine, in 1840, "Away, away, with Van Buren!" while Georgia, North Carolina, Tennessee, Louisiana, and Mississippi, in the south, betrayed by their votes equal impatience. Endorsed by Andrew Jackson, endowed by nature with great ability for intrigue, ever ready to contract with the leaders for the subservience of their followers, an experienced, ambitious and unprincipled politician, possessed of power for twelve long years, with presses and profligates at command, the national revenues in the hands of his chosen partizans, and 60,000 offices, besides vast contracts at his control.



This was his position when he was defeated by General Harrison, who had no official patronage at all in his gift, and no other office in his possession but that of clerk of a law court in Hamilton county, Ohio. Harrison's civil and military qualities and character were as well known, and remembered, in 1836, when he received but 73 electoral votes out of 294, as in 1840, when he obtained 174, but Van Buren's reputation had deluded multitudes in 1836, who, in 1840, knew him by his works. Even in 1840, after having condemned him in many things, I, being ignorant of nine-tenths of his early history, believed that much that appeared inexplicable would at length be cleared up, and those who had infinitely better means of knowing, assured me that such would be the case. Colonel Johnson, whose generous heart prompts him to favor freedom, endorsed Van Buren in the most emphatic terms. Disliking Van Buren personally, owing him no favor, a sufferer by his partiality and injustice, poor but at heart independent, I supported him in 1840, while I denounced, through the press, that extension of slavery's horrors, of which it is now evident to all that he was the willing instrument of the south, to carry it into effect. Calhoun did indeed kill him with kindness. Virginia voted for the New Yorker, and New York for the Virginian; and besides Virginia, Van Buren got 25 votes from the slave states, including eleven from Calhoun and M'Duffie for S. Carolina, and from the free states just twelve, in the place of 140 only four years before! His Mexican and Canadian policy, the profligacy of his expenditures, the wide-spread distress and ruin caused by the blow up of his banking and financial schemes, his cringing course toward the slave power, the corrupt and dishonest agents he employed, his double-faced game with the tariff, through Hoyt, Butler and others, and the want of sympathy and respect which he and his friends manifested for real democracy and free institutions; these, added to his militia law scheme, and the bad reputation he had with those who had known him long and well, crushed him to the ground. If he has the materials to show to the world, that one solitary aspiration for the welfare of the millions, who had raised him to high honor among men, ever came from his selfish and sordid soul, it is time that he took a thousand piastres from his hoarded stores, and employed some other than Benjamin Franklin Butler to revise Holland's romance for a more authentic record of his doings. I thought well of him and his while I dared to do so; and if here I have said anything in error to his prejudice would, for the honor of human nature, and of the institutions of a people placed as the vanguard of rational freedom, most gladly admit it.

During the discussion, in Congress, of the resolve to notify England that the joint occupancy of Oregon must soon cease, Mr. Brinkerhoff remarked, that it had been said, and he believed it, that the battle for Oregon, if it came at all, must be fought in Canada, and "he was glad that Britain had an assailable point here, where we would reach her with effect. Take Canada, and Oregon would fall into our hands as a matter of course." There is much of this sort of language afloat now, but very few remember how much more of it there was in 1811 to 1815. Washington wanted Canada. John Adams desired Laurens to make an effort to get it in 1782. Franklin's writings show that he was most anxious to attach it to the Union. As far back as 1759, and 1760, we find him urging England to get and keep it in the same interest as the other colonies. Congress took the same view, as witness the Canadian clause in the constitution of 1778. The Washington National Intelligencer, then the organ of Madison's administration, said, November, 1813, "We may not obtain possession of these territories [the northern colonies] next summer, but eventually they must be ours." The editors go on to state, that the Canadas embrace and command the outlet and entrance, and share the whole extent of the mighty St. Lawrence, one of the two great waters of N. America, and the natural channel of import and export of many millions of men—that the conquest of Canada "was in vain attempted by the heroes of the revolution"—but that once gained they could bid defiance to England—that Quebec guards the St. Lawrence more effectually than any other fortress in a like position in the world—that the transportation of the means of offensive war to the frontiers would not be difficult—that 100,000 troops might soon be collected on the St. Lawrence—and that "on our own exertions and united efforts alone depends the time when it [Canada] shall be ours." Not many months after, the same paper said, "when we entered into the war, the people, and we amongst them, and perhaps the government too, made too light of the conquest of the adjoining provinces of the enemy."

Among the opponents of the war were Harmanus Bleecker, Geo. Tebbetts, Garret Wendell, W. A. Duer, James Emott, Jesse Oakley, and Elisha Williams. In April, 1815, they addressed the public in these words: "Another object of the war was the conquest of Canada, and its session was more than once intimated to be an indispensable condition of peace." In the H. of R., Dec. 10, 1811, JOHN RANDOLPH of Va., opposed the notion of conquering Canada, thus: "What a horrible retort might not be made on the Southern and Western slaveholding states! How was the Chesapeake to be protected? He wished the house to consider the chances of failure and count the cost, to think of the blood that would be spilt, and the empty coffers from which the cost is proposed to be defrayed." Mr. Pitkin, H. of R., "had no wish to see the heterogeneous mass of Canadian population represented on this floor, nor to add Canada and Nova Scotia to the republic." That was honest. I like it. To say, "We dont want any connection with you, is much better than to invite by laws, and then insult the stranger thus asked to come, by Philadelphia riots, and New York native corporations."

On the 9th of Dec. 1811, FELIX GRUNDY, a member of Congress for Tennessee, and on the committee of foreign relations, declared, in his reply to John Randolph, on the question of augmenting the forces of "that he would drive the British from North America, and deprive them of the Canadas; and would receive the French refugees as adopted brothers." Although a southern man, he was willing and desirous to have the Canadas. They were necessary to balance the increasing weight of the southern and western states, by the accession of Louisiana. If this weight is not balanced in this way, there is reason to fear oppression by the government." Another version of his remarks, in the N. Y. Ev. Post, reads thus: "I am waiting to receive the Canadians as adopted brethren; it will have beneficial political effects; it will preserve the equilibrium of the government. When Louisiana shall be fully peopled, the northern states will lose their power; they will be at the discretion of others; they can be depressed at pleasure, and this nation may be endangered—I therefore feel anxious not only to add the Floridas to the south, but the Canadas to the north of this empire." Mr. Grundy was Van Buren's attorney-general, and perhaps one of the best men of his party. President Polk was his law student. Grundy was the son of an English emigrant. In Oct. 1814, COLONEL MONROE, afterwards president, said, "we must not be content with defending ourselves—different feelings must be touched, and apprehensions excited in the British government. By pushing the war into Canada we secure the command of the Indian tribes, and command their services." In the session of 1812, before the war, JOHN C. CALHOUN said in Congress, that "So far from being unprepared [for war], he believed that in four weeks from the time that a declaration of war would be heard on our frontier, the whole of Upper and a part of Lower Canada would be in our possession." GENERAL HULL said to the Canadians, July 12, 1812, "I come prepared for every contingency—I have a force which will look down all opposition." Four months after General Smyth said, "In a few days the troops under my command will plant the American standard in Canada." Generals McClure and Wilkinson spoke with equal confidence; but in the fall of 1813, the latter officially reported to the secretary at war, that "The whole male population of Canada are universally and actively hostile to our designs of conquest upon that country." Solomon Southwick, in the Albany Register, then the official journal of this state, Nov. 30, 1813, asks the cabinet, "Are you afraid to take Canada lest it might create a preponderating influence against the Virginia dynasty? Is there a secret understanding on the subject?" At all times, to the hour of his death, Southwick continued to assert that the indisposition of pretended patriots in the slave states was the true cause of the failures in Canada; and considering the superannuated, eccentric, and feeble old men often placed in command, and the sentence of death against Hull, which was a mere waste of time and money, as far as punishment went, he had some cause so to speak. New York was opposed to the war. She voted against it in Congress, and the Assembly at Albany was against it. The East, with an unprotected commerce afloat, was against it; and a powerful southern minority steadily opposed it. Nathaniel Macon voted for the war, but he did not like it. In Jan. 1810, he said in Congress, that "setting aside the affair of the Chesapeake, France and Britain were equal aggressors. Ought we to sacrifice our property which floats on the ocean for two such countries as Canada?" Massachusetts voted in Congress against war, 8 to 6—New York, 11 to 3—Connecticut, 7 to none—Rhode Island, 2 to none—New Jersey, 4 to 2. Mr. Horsey of Del. said that "if all the states which had voted for war had shown themselves as hearty as Kentucky, we would have long since overwhelmed Canada, where the people were united in resisting us." Daniel Webster, then from N. H. said, Jan. 3, 1814, "that if the cause had been one which the people had espoused with ardor, and been united upon, Canada, to the walls of Quebec, would have been ours in thirty days."

Dr. Eustis, War Secretary, said, in 1812, "We can take the Canadas without soldiers; we have only to send officers into the province, and the people, disaffected to their own government, will rally round our standard." In the fall of 1813, the National Intelligencer said, "Since then our enemy forced us to war, and compelled us to territorial reprisals, for her oceanic outrages, and still persists in refusing a recognition of our violated rights, we trust our readers will generally agree with us, that the Canadas once ours, they shall be, as these states have been, forever divorced from British sovereignty." The present American Envoy at Berlin, Henry Wheaton, who has been recalled, doubtless to occupy an important trust here, in case of war, was editor of the National Advocate in 1813, and no paper in the Union was more decided in its tone, in favor of taking and keeping Canada forever. At Tammany Hall, on the 25th of Nov. anniversary, General Dearborn being present, Collector Swartwout's brother, John, gave as a toast, "War, stern, unrelenting war, till the haughty foe acknowledge our rights to the waters of the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi." On the same day, the Independent, Veteran Corps of Artillery of the city of New York, drank, as their 10th regular toast, "Florida and the Canadas—necessarily ours by conquest or purchase," as their 11th, "Cuba, Texas and Mexico; voluntarily ours as free states of the Union"—and as their 1st, "The destiny of our country, brilliant and co-extensive with our national boundaries, the Atlantic, Pacific, and Polar Star." And in the Nat. Intell. of Oct. 17, 1812, it is noted that

\$100,000 were voted to the President, "for the purpose of taking the Floridas." Joseph Desha, of Kentucky, in Congress, Jan. 23, 1810, said, "We ought to take Canada and Nova Scotia, and expel the English from N. A.—the militia will do it. Indeed we have but to hold out to the colonists that we mean to release them from their chains, and they will almost take it themselves." Colonel R. M. Johnson was also for war and the conquest of the northern colonies. At a public dinner in Buffalo, Oct. 25th, 1813, at which Henry Clay's relative, General Peter B. Porter, presided, and at which General Harrison and Commodore Perry were guests, the 12th regular toast was, "A free navigation from Quebec to New Orleans by the lakes"—the 17th, was "The inhabitants of Canada—we fight not to conquer them, but the policy which made them our enemies. May they soon be united to the American Republic." On the 31st of Dec. 1811, Mr. Widgery told Congress to "give New England authority, and she'll take Canada without putting you to any trouble." On the Land Bounty Bill, in the U.S. Senate, Feb. 1814, Mr. W. Wells of Delaware said, that although disaster had attended its progress, "Canada is still the fond object of our wishes," but that there would be great difficulty in getting and still greater in keeping it. Mr. Grosvenor of Columbia Co. N. Y., in Congress, Dec. 1814, quoted from Mr. Clay's speech in Congress, on the eve of the war, as follows: "I am not, sir, in favor of cherishing the passion of conquest, but I may be permitted to conclude by declaring my hope to see, ere long, the New United States, if you will allow me the expression, embracing not only the old thirteen states, but the entire country east of the Mississippi, including East Florida, and ~~and~~ some of the territories to the north of us also." Grosvenor's language was eloquent and impassioned against any other than a war for defence. He condemned annexation on the north, and said that the conquest of Canada had been "avowed in all the gazettes of the government, in the speeches of those members who declared the war, and in the proclamations of the generals who had conducted it, nor had it been disavowed by the executive." The *Richmond Enquirer*, then edited, as now, by T. Ritchie and those he trusted, and speaking, no doubt, the language of Jefferson, declared in Feb. 1814, that "Whenever Canada nods to her fall, Great Britain will be just, and not till then shall we obtain any security for the rights and prosperity of our countrymen, the honor and independence of the country." Some fifteen years later, the *North American Review* said, "Most ardently it is to be wished, that the happy example which has so prosperously attached to our Union, on the south, the French colony of Louisiana, would effectually point the way to an equally auspicious junction of the French colonies of the north. . . . What a noble accession would it constitute to our republic." Again, in 1832, Sir Henry Parnell, a member of the Whig government, in his work on Financial Reform, took ground in favor of cutting the connection. He said that "With respect to Canada, including our other possessions on the continent of North America, no case can be made out to show that we should not have every commercial advantage we are supposed now to have, if it were made an independent state. Neither our manufactures, foreign commerce, nor shipping, would be injured by such a measure." Many persons would be inclined to differ with the baronet on this question. Though an Irishman, he represented in parliament my native city, and in argument, in private, I have seen him go still farther in favor of independence to the north. If thrown off by England, which is a very unlikely event just now, the colonies could not, I fear, sustain an independent character; and I trust they will take warning by the signs of the times here, when applause and high station is reserved for our Van Burens, Butlers, Walkers, Barkers, Lawrences, Marceys, Morrises, Wetmores, Polks, Cave Johnsons, Houstons, Wrights, Casses, and Woodburys, and seek no change but that which education and gradual improvements can secure to them. Railroads, canals, revenue laws rightly framed, highways, and the Primer, properly taught, are patent and powerful auxiliaries to annexation, and withal cheap, and useful to ourselves.

Why did Canadians revolt in 1837?—I have read the Declaration of Independence, of 1776, carefully, and there is no one cause of revolt stated in it, but what was applicable to the condition of Canada, in 1837. The British Parliament, by a solemn act, appointed the Earl of Durham, one of England's most eminent nobles, and the son-in-law of the prime minister, Earl Grey, to go to Canada as its supreme governor, and inquire whether any real grievances that would warrant revolt had existed. His report is on record; and so dark are the recitals, that, had it been possible, its worst features would never have seen the light. His opportune sincerity embittered those whom his statements condemned. Premeditated insult met him on his landing in Britain. The presses of the offended party ceaselessly calumniated him. The royal court is said to have slighted him. His feelings were wounded. His health gradually declined, and but a few short months elapsed, ere John George Lambton, the 16th in lineal descent from Robert de Lambton, a proud baron of 1513, though surrounded by all the comforts which 500,000 dollars of a yearly income can produce or bestow, had gone to his last rest. I was not personally acquainted with him, and only saw him once in my life, at the house of his relative Mr. Ellice; but I remember that he was for many years a co-worker with the indefatigable Hume and Lord Althorp in the House of Commons, in denouncing and exposing oppression and wasteful extravagance; that he opposed the fettering of the press, and the de-

tested corn law of 1816, and earnestly urged a far more thorough reform than was obtained in the popular representation in 1832. Perhaps Van Buren has been guilty of more heinous offences than his celebrated invitation to the autocrat of Canada, erewhile the envoy of England's queen at the court of the autocrat of Siberia.

Lord Durham officially stated to the Queen's ministers, that it would almost seem as if the object of those who framed the Canadian system of government "had been the combining of ~~the~~ apparently popular institutions with an utter absence of all efficient control of the people over their rulers," that the government was irresponsible, and its motives and actual purposes shrouded in mystery from the colonists; that a "family compact," a small body of intriguing men, retain "a monopoly of power and profit," and that even a native of Britain or Ireland, if not one of this combined faction, is "less an alien in a foreign country" than in Canada; that every seventh farm in Upper Canada had been bestowed to uphold one small denomination of christians—that the Irish Catholics, though very numerous, had been excluded from a share in the government—that settlers from the United States had been harassed, and the titles to their lands called in question—that parliamentary elections of high officers of government had been carried by outrageous violence—that the orange societies, oaths and processions which caused so much ill blood in Ireland, had been greatly encouraged in Canada by the executive—that the administration of justice was impure, and that a colonist feels that his link in the empire is "one of remote dependence"—that blocks of the public lands had been granted to favorites who had, in many cases, never seen nor settled on them, and that they "place the actual settler in an almost hopeless condition"—that emigrants from Britain are ill treated by the Toronto authorities, and retire to the U. S. in disgust—that many parts are without roads, mills, post-offices, and churches, the people getting poor, education neglected, and the valuable lands set apart for schools by orders of the Duke of Portland 40 years ago, ever since withheld from that useful purpose—that the U. S. frontier is a picture of prosperity, while that of Canada is the reverse—that unless the system of government is changed, the people would not long support British rule—that Governor Head had procured the return of a House of Assembly, the members of which were elected under such circumstances "as to render them peculiarly objects of suspicion and reproach to a large number of their countrymen"—that "in a number of instances, too, the elections were carried by the unscrupulous exercise of the influence of the government, and by a display of violence on the part of the tories, who were emboldened by the countenance afforded to them by the government; that such facts and such impressions produced in the country an exasperation and a despair of good government, which extended far beyond those who had actually been defeated at the polls"—that the legislature thus corruptly elected for one year, had prolonged its existence other three, "in defiance of all constitutional right," and "Such are the lamentable results of the political and social evils which have so long harassed the Canadas; and at this moment we are obliged to adopt immediate measures against dangers so alarming as are rebellion, foreign invasion, and depopulation in consequence of the desertion *en masse* of a people reduced to despair."

England's queen and parliament constituted Lord Durham an umpire between revolted subjects and the authorities. This was his report. Yet was my valuable property scattered to the four winds of heaven—myself declared an outlaw—and at the end of nine years, I do not find enough of nobleness of soul in the great country, or its rulers who caused the wrong, to reverse that outlawry, because I do not choose humbly to beseech a minister, whose predecessor better deserved impeachment than some whom England's annals mention as having been so treated. I am, I believe, the only political outlaw of 1837, belonging to Upper Canada.

In a secret despatch, Lord Durham to Lord Glenelg, dated Quebec, Aug. 9, 1838, says: "My sole purpose is to impress upon your Lordship my own conviction, which has been formed by personal experience, that even the best informed persons in England can hardly conceive the disorder or disorganization which, to a careful inquirer on the spot, is manifest in all things pertaining to government in these colonies. Such words scarcely express the whole truth; not government merely, but society itself seems to be dissolved; the vessel of the state is not in great danger only, but looks like a complete wreck." And again, Sept. 24th, Lord Durham writes:—"Nor shall I regret that I have wielded these despotic powers in a manner which, as an Englishman, I am anxious to declare utterly inconsistent with the British constitution, until I learn what are the constitutional principles that remain in force when a whole constitution is suspended; what principles of a British constitution hold good in a country where the people's money is taken without the people's consent, where representative government is annihilated, where martial law has been the law of the land, and where the trial by jury exists only to defeat the ends of justice, and to provoke the righteous scorn and indignation of the community. I should indeed regret the want of applicability in my own principles of government, or my own incapacity for applying them, had the precise course which I should think it imperative on me to pursue in a land of freedom and of law, proved to be the only one that I could adopt in a country which long misgovernment and sad dissension have brought to a condition that may fairly be described as one of constituted anarchy."

With records like these on the journals of parliament, is it noble, is it just, is it according to the English notion of fair dealing, to proscribe a man from visiting the place of his birth, and the graves of his children—to hold up that proscription for nine long years—to require concession from the injured? Did I not for many a long year, in the legislature of Canada, oppose all wasteful extravagance, lend an active help to forward the public business, to expose dishonesty, to shame partial judges, to remove real grievances? Did I not, through a fearless press, amid endless prosecutions, with the plaudits of community, stand up for constitutional right, and to the last declare we would ask no more? Did I not carry to England the petitions of a majority of all the male population of Upper Canada; and while others, with not a tithe of the popular influence I possessed, were courting power for place, which I never stooped to do, did I not warn Lord Goderich, now Earl of Ripon, five years before the outbreak, what it would end in, if justice was denied and the colonists scorned? In that nobleman's reply to my statement, a document of great length, and possessing much sound reasoning, and which, had not its promises been disregarded by his successors, there would have been no insurrection in 1837, he says, "Mr. Mackenzie has concluded this paper by predictions of bloodshed and civil war, and a dissolution of the connection with this kingdom. He may well suppose that such a prospect would be regarded by his majesty's government with a degree of concern and anxiety to which it would be difficult to give any adequate expressions. But against gloomy prophecies of this nature, every man conversant with public business must learn to fortify his mind. They have ever been the resource of those who endeavor to extort from the fears of government concessions, in favor of which no adequate reasons can be given." Does Lord Durham's Report contain no adequate reasons? Did my remonstrances, yet on file in the colonial office, contain none? Did the continued proofs of public confidence which I obtained while in England, and on my return to Canada, contain none? *Had I been desirous of exciting a wanton insurrection would I have gone to London thus to warn the colonial office to prepare for it? Would I have remained there 18 months, earnestly and anxiously urging these improvements in the commercial code—in the postage system—in the communications between Halifax and Britain—and in the municipal concerns of the Canadas, which were so much required by all parties? So far was I from being ultra in my views, that I frankly told Lord Howick and Mr. Stephen, that if they would give us a man of business habits as governor, in exchange for the old military hero who had so long been controlled by "the family compact," so justly condemned by Lord Durham, we would try to get on without that full measure of self-control which our memorials required, so far as it was opposed to the colonial system. On my return to Canada, a committee of a new legislature, on which I served as chairman, went fully into an examination of the condition of the colony. The result of our labors was an octavo of some 500 pages; and, armed with that volume and the baron of Glenelg's instructions in reply, Sir Francis Head dropped down among us in mid winter, as a reformer, than which a more indiscreet and unwise choice never was made by any administration—neither have I a doubt but that Lord Melbourne was as sensible of his unfitness when he sent him out, as he seems to have been when Sir Francis had set the colonies on fire, through the troubles of 1837. He began by exhibiting in Upper Canada part of Lord Gosford's instructions, which he had been directed to keep secret—their publication stopt the supplies in Lower Canada, and dashed the cup of popularity from Lord Gosford's lips, for they showed insincerity at head-quarters. Head's conduct as governor, slandering the United States, encouraging orange societies, quarrelling with the advisers he had chosen, but never once consulted, stating falsehoods and getting convicted of so doing, was such that supplies were refused to him also, and he had to set every semblance of popular rule at defiance, in*

\* I am sincerely sorry that a single individual remains outlawed or banished from Canada, or held in confinement in Van Dieman's Land, relative to the insurrection. England was so clearly in the wrong, by the horrible misrule she suffered to exist, that when she saw men like me turn round and do our very utmost to pacify the frontiers, after being plundered of everything, she should have taken the risk of returning to their families the innocent victims of her carelessness. I am very cool now; and yet, although I have a packet of most important papers in the hands of a friend for safe keeping, relative to Canadian affairs, I think it too early to write an account of the events of 1836 to 1838. I have preserved some 200 letters of the Navy Island correspondence, but it is not yet a fitting time to give such matters to the world. So strong is my present conviction of the impropriety of adding any inflammatory materials to the Oregon blaze that, although the worthy printer of my "Sons of the Emerald Isle" pressed me to allow him to finish it, I have stopt after the second number, rather than continue *just now* these exciting relations of ancient misrule. I never have played willingly into the hands of the enemies of real reform anywhere, and will not now. The following note was addressed to me, by that true and long and well-tried friend of poor and rich, Joseph Hume, when I was last leaving London.

To W. L. Mackenzie:

"BRYANSTON SQUARE, June 24th, 1833.

"DEAR SIR: I cannot allow you to leave this country without expressing my sense of the great advantage the people of Upper Canada have derived from your exertions which have been unwearied and persevering since your arrival; and, I may add, comparatively successful in obtaining many alterations from Lord Goderich in orders respecting the future Government of Upper Canada. I am sorry to observe by some of the proceedings of Mr. Stanley, that he is rather disposed to promote, than to punish the men who have been removed from Upper Canada for improper conduct, and thereby to encourage misgovernment on the part of the public officers of that Province, which Lord Goderich's late proceedings were calculated to prevent.

JOSEPH HUME."

order to deceive his superiors in England through a mock legislature, obtained on the principle which Lord Durham too truly described when it was too late to recall the past. Sir Francis writes to Lord Melbourne after this fashion: "On my arrival in Upper Canada I found myself not only bounded on the one side by Lower Canada on the eve of a revolt, and on the other side, by the United States, whose GOVERNMENT, as well as people, were secretly using their influence to exterminate from the continent of America monarchical institutions, but I found myself exposed to and opposed by a republican house of assembly." After my return from England I had nothing whatever to do with either government or people in these States; and they had no part in causing the revolt; nor did the native Americans in Canada take the laboring oar in it. If this country had secret emissaries I never knew of it, nor do I believe it. The revolt in 1837 began Nov. 6, in Montreal. That of 1838 never would have begun at all, had Lord Durham been kindly treated by England; but his whig friends allowed him to be denounced in the House of Peers, for an act of kindness and humanity towards eight Canadians sent to Bermuda; and in the House of Commons sanctioned the insult his enemies had prepared elsewhere. His faults and foibles were many—I may not deny that. But he had a manly soul, was harshly treated, meant right, would have conciliated all parties had he been let alone, and his indiscreet removal was the signal for new troubles, in which I had no part whatever, although for several years, I confess it with regret, I would gladly have witnessed war on this continent. Calmer reflections have since returned—and in the spirit in which I remained so long in Europe, ever anxious to avert the causes of war do I now write this statement. It is a pleasant thing to see the statesmen of Britain at length pursuing that liberal policy which even a Hume, a Roebuck, and a Buller cannot find fault with. What honest heart on this side the Atlantic, would darken the dawns of a better day to mankind, with the bitter and bloody scourge of war, as if there were not pains and privations enough in the world which are unavoidable, without adding to them a renewal of those deadly struggles for power and dominion, which in the 25 years preceding 1815, caused "countless thousands to mourn" for the inhumanity of civilized man more savage than the tenant of the forest?

I have not a wish left to see Canada incorporated with this Union. If it obtain a direct representation in the British Parliament, on the sagacious plan proposed by the far-seeing Franklin, and renewed by Hume in the House of Commons, it may remain connected with Britain for ages. Should that not take place, its annexation to these northern states is an event of no remote probability. At present, the chances are, that an invasion of Canada from this side (although, considering the facility of transportation of men and materials, it might prove rather more successful than it did in 1812), would end in a failure, or its equivalent. The clergy generally in Canada are unfavorable to a change—and although in 1837 and 1838, many left them to join in the movement, yet I have never since seen one who was thus engaged eight years ago, that did not confess his disappointment on witnessing the working of the political machinery in gear here, and which we had all so much admired. Of the population of the colonies there undoubtedly is a large majority at this day who are hostile to an annexation to this Union—and there are no scarcity of states on this side the St. Lawrence, quite as steadily opposed to an amalgamation with the Canadians. The more I see of the baleful effects of southern slavery, in retarding education and marring useful republican legislation, the more averse am I to witness more of the free north come under its destructive operation.

Those who participated in the Canadian insurrections some years since, were, I think, in error—not because there was no good ground for revolt—not because there was not enough of disaffection—no, nor yet on account of the impossibility of success, for it did seem to be at one time within our easy grasp—but because the reasonable probability of a happy termination was less strong than that of premature failure. Lord Sydenham, with whom I used sometimes to converse at Whitehall, when in London, did many tyrannical things in Canada, but he began to trust the people, was experienced and practical, and set up those elective local or county legislatures among them which answer to the boards of supervisors here. He wrote to his brother in England, "I would willingly give land to settlers, but there is, alas! none to give, except what is rendered valueless by the neighborhood of those cursed landjobbers who cut off all access to it." And again, "I know that as much as I dislike Yankee institutions and rule, I would not have fought against them, which thousands of these poor fellows the [family] compact call rebels did, if it were only to keep up such a government as they got."

The American people, in two wars, have assuredly got glory enough. If they were desirous to establish the fact that they are brave in battle, whether by land or sea, it is so well known as to be undisputed anywhere. But were it otherwise, would that be a reason for destroying commerce, setting the whole world a fighting, killing vast numbers and wounding many more, demoralizing society, creating mammoth national debts, and embarrassing a whole people for an age to come, and all about some barren desert contended for by those who have already land enough for twenty times their number!

For many years, in Upper Canada, I gave all my energies to the task of instructing the people in the principles of popular government, so far as I knew them. To comprehend the ardu-

ous character of the course I pursued, the reader would require to have resided in these times, in the colony. Many there were who covertly endeavored to bring about a change. I went straight ahead. A residence here has fully satisfied my own mind, that I went too fast and too far—that the ideal difference is much greater than the reality, and that no one is called upon to encourage bloodshed in 1846, on the banks of the St. Lawrence, in order that Congress may have longer sessions and more work, by the extension of such legislation as they bestow on the ten miles square to the larger area of the two Canadas.

It has often been said, here in New York, that I was a party to the Short Hills Invasion—the Prescott affair, under Von Shoultz, Birge, &c.—the Windsor or Detroit inroad—and the Lower Canada insurrection of 1838. I was not consulted in, nor a party in any way to these enterprises, nor has any one that was concerned ever said so. Noah, in the Sun, Messenger, &c., insists that I injured the Canadian cause by cowardice, and perhaps I did. I do not find that *any party* in Canada have ever said so, however. Sir Richard Bonnycastle, of the Royal Engineers, Toronto, in a book lately issued from the London press, plainly, and in the most distinct terms, charges me with having murdered Colonel Moodie of the British Army, in cold blood, and even gives my alleged reasons for so doing! Colonel Moodie, accompanied by Capt. Stewart of the Royal Navy (an old officer who was at the battle of Aboukir), and Lieut. Crewe, rode up to the *rebel* lines, dashed past the first line of sentinels, and fired a pistol at the second, opposite Montgomery's Hotel. Refusing to surrender, he was fired at in return by the sentinel, as ordered by the officer on guard, and died of the wound—Crewe and Stewart were then made prisoners. Stewart swore to a narrative of the facts, which appeared in the Toronto newspapers. About an hour before that, I had left for Toronto, with a guard of four horsemen (one of whom Capt. Powell shot dead)—we arrested Capt. Powell and Major A. McDonnell, and while I was on my way back, with McDonnell in charge, as he states in his published narrative, a gentleman rode past and told us that Col. M. had been shot or wounded. On our arrival at the hotel (Col. Lount being then in command there), I went instantly to see the dying man, and he told all present that his own imprudence had caused his death. I never saw him before in my life; and as his death was an open, public act, seen by many, and as I was at the time far distant, in charge of McDonnell, a more wanton lie was never told, and that too by a neighbor whom I had never wronged, and who must have known that the tongue of man never uttered a more wanton or malicious falsehood. The Queen wrote a letter to the Colonel's widow, condoling with her as was natural; but where can Bonnycastle find a shadow of proof to his London story? Certainly not in Upper Canada.

[No. 314.] Colonel W. E. Moore, of Kentucky, assistant Editor of the Washington Globe, to W. L. Mackenzie, 162 Nassau st., New York.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Dec. 12, 1838.

Dear Sir: \* \* \* Should — come on, let him have a letter for me, and he will find a friend with the will, if not the means, of seconding his views. Of course you are aware that Mr. Papineau is here. \* \* \* There are other parts of your letter I do not like. You must know that the *ONLY PARTY in this country which really sympathizes with the Canadian patriots is the democratic.* The Whigs, as a party, are opposed to you in principle; we are with you in principle, in feeling, in heart, and soul; but circumstances, call them selfish, self-interest, if you please (we call it our first duty to our country), have thrown us into a false position, but that only for a time. Much as we admire the man of our choice, placed by us at the head of the government, yet how did every democratic press in the country receive his proclamation? How has it received part of the annual Message, relating to Canada? WITH DEEP, DEEP MORTIFICATION. AT HEART THERE IS NOT A NORTHERN OR WESTERN DEMOCRAT, from the summit of the Alleghanies to the bosom of the Father of Waters, west, and thence east along the feeders of the St. Lawrence to the Penobscot, who does not regret it; but we repose in the assurance that such documents were called for by the existing state of relations between the two countries. Yet that part of the message, as well as the proclamation, elicited the general praise of the whig press, from Mr. Gales downwards. While condemning every other portion of the message, this, most of them can laud. I can assure you that there is a magazine of burning patriotism now buried in the bosoms of the democracy, that wants but a single spark to set it in an active flame. Let the poor Prescott prisoners be massacred in cold blood, and it will light up a torch in this country that all the influence and power of both governments will be unable to smother or quench. But what would you have us do now? Surely we must not forget our high moral obligations as a government, and we, the people, are the government in reality. We are at peace with England; why should our government go to war with her, or take steps to hurry herself blindly into such a catastrophe? It may be that our executive may have exhibited too much solicitude to preserve peace; but peace is the natural position of a republic, especially of an extended and diversified one like ours, WHERE ACQUISITION WOULD BE A CURSE, and glory but a poor return for the loss of blood and destruction of prosperity. It would be difficult to explain myself in a few hurried

lines, but the democratic party in this country stand in this position; *their prayers, their sympathies, their purses, if they were rich enough (their personal services too,* which would not be withheld on a reasonable prospect of success), are for the patriots, and yet they will sustain their government in a firm, dignified, but not truckling adherence to neutral obligations. We have NOTHING to GAIN by a war with Great Britain, however successful it might terminate, and this is not the age for republics entering a contest for the establishment of abstract, though correct, principles elsewhere. We of the democratic party throughout the Union, however, are with you as citizens, and shall continue to be so. The federalists will oppose you, in public and in secret, by sneering and by slander, in a word, by every trick, till they see the bones of the last victim bleached on the plain, and they will blast his memory afterwards. Excuse these hasty thoughts. I have written with corresponding candor to your own; but I have felt that your letter did my party injustice. Happily, it will not be long ere your convictions will assent to all I say; for, depend upon it, to the democracy alone can you look for support. I shall be glad to hear from you. Your friend, W. E. MOORE.

*Keim, Paynter, and Ingersoll's Interview with Van Buren about Mackenzie's Imprisonment.*

[No. 315.] To Messrs. William Gilmore and Robert Christy, Secretaries of the Democratic Union Association, Philadelphia. WASHINGTON, December 28th, 1839. Gentlemen:—On behalf of a resolution of the Democratic Union Association, for Messrs. Paynter, Ingersoll and myself to call upon the President of the United States and request his attention to a memorial relative to the pardon of William Lyon Mackenzie, it becomes my duty to say that we have fully discharged the desire therein expressed. The President, who is at all times anxious to gratify the desires of any portion of the people, regrets exceedingly, that in the present juncture of pending negotiations with Great Britain, it would be improper to interfere with the action of our courts of justice, and therefore at present could not decisively move in compliance with your wishes. Every possible means have been exerted to make the confinement of Mr. Mackenzie a nominal one; and to gratify his every wish, save his release. My own private views are, that if the friends of Mr. Mackenzie would appeal to the magnanimity of the present representative of the British provinces in North America, *by his request*, he would be released, and relieve the question from the embarrassment in which it seems involved.

\*GEORGE M. KEIM.

[No. 316.] George Dawson, Editor of the Rochester Democrat, to W. L. Mackenzie, care of Dr. Cyrenius Chapin, Buffalo.

ROCHESTER, Dec. 14, 1837. Dear Sir:—Allow me, as one who admires the sublime stand yourself and your associates have taken against tyranny, to tender you my sympathy. I have watched with intense anxiety the progress of events in Canada, and the intelligence of your revolt was received with irrepressible satisfaction. Before open hostilities were avowed in the Upper Province, that circumstances might hasten such hostilities, was my daily prayer. I knew that she *deserved* to be free, and believed that if she resolved upon freedom, it could be achieved. My acquaintance with you in my boyhood, and the tales of persecutions that have followed you since that period, have been listened to and treasured up. I knew your wrongs, and earnestly prayed for their redress. I looked to you as a leader, and from my knowledge of your character, expected that you would, sooner or later, assume a position at once sublime and noble. Nor have my expectations failed. I have seen your arm raised to strike the first blow for Liberty. Would to God that its descent had not, to some extent, been foiled! But I still look upon the Sun of the Canadas as but emerging from the morning clouds. The day cannot be far distant when it shall shine resplendently in the ascendant.

In writing to you, I have been requested by several of our citizens to invite you to visit this city, if you could do so with safety, and consistently with your arrangements. We are to have a meeting on Saturday evening, as you will see by my paper, which I send you; and it would afford me much pleasure to provide you with the hospitalities of my house. Please write me.

Yours sincerely,

GEORGE DAWSON.

\* General Keim told me himself that the above was a true copy of his private letter to the Association. His extraordinary advice, or hint, must have been given in consequence of what Van Buren had said to the three Philadelphia congressmen. I was advised to appeal to Lord Sydenham or Sir George Arthur's magnanimity, in Canada; and the president of the United States would be quite ready to pardon in New York, if it met the views of the knight or baron that might be governing for the time at Toronto! This, of course, I did not choose to stoop to do, and therefore had to suffer other five months' imprisonment—but the very day the Baltimore Convention met, Van Buren was made to see that my confinement had been a very great political blunder, and I was instantly released, although the following note shows that he had not intended to take such a course.

NOTE.—John Norvell, Senator, U. S., to Morgan L. Gage, Michigan.—WASHINGTON, Jan. 3, 1840.—Dear Sir: In reply to your letter in relation to the case of William L. Mackenzie, I am only enabled to say to you, that upon receiving the petitions for his pardon, as I am informed, they were sent to the District Judge and the District Attorney of Western New York, and that their report on the subject was such as to prevent the exercise by the President of the power of pardon on the occasion.

JOHN NORVELL.

† Smith Thompson and N. S. Benton.

‡ False, altogether false.—W. L. M.



[No. 317.] Col. R. M. Johnson, Vice President U. S., to John Fegan, Esq., Philadelphia.

CITY OF WASHINGTON, 11th May, 1840. My dear Sir:—Your highly esteemed favor has been received, respecting the confinement of Mr. Mackenzie as prisoner, &c., in the jail at Rochester. I feel as deeply as man can feel the misfortune of that patriotic man. I consider his misfortune and his suffering very much like the hard fate and cruel destiny of many unsuccessful patriots before our time; and although the laws of nations and the laws of the land may have condemned him and legally consigned him to prison, I think that the demand of justice is satisfied, and I should not hesitate, with my views of the subject, to liberate, if I had the power; and I presume that I shall do, and have done, all I can to effect this object. I am confident, however, that the President [Mr. Van Buren] has acted from his conviction of a sacred duty to do as he has done; but I hope that he may feel himself justified, without injury to the diplomatic relations of the country, in exercising the power of pardon in this case. In my delicate position, having no power, and exercising only that reasonable influence which my situation gives me, I do not wish to take any prominent agency in this matter, as it would not do good, and might do harm; but at this place, as far as it is correct and proper, I will do what I can to promote the object in view.

Respectfully,

Rh. M. JOHNSON.

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## AN ACCOUNT

OF THE

# BALTIMORE CONVENTION,

## VAN BUREN'S DEFEAT,

AND THE

## NOMINATION OF POLK AND DALLAS.

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"As bees on flowers alighting, cease their hum,  
Settling on places, democrats grow dumb."

*Polk's Friendship for Van Buren.—Heiss and the Union.—The Globe on Polk.—Ritchie, Heiss, Polk, and Cass.—Significant Votes.—Delegates rewarded.—Marcy's Position and Prospects.—The Syracuse Nominations.—How Cass lost the Game.—Croswell and Dickenson's Views.—Butler's Nashville Journey.—Van Buren Threats in the Democratic Review.—Walker wheels Butler round to Texas, condemns Van Buren, and nominates Wright!—Flagg set aside.—Marcy's Tact.—Bancroft on both sides.—The Two-third Rule.—Butler on Hard Cider.—Van Buren for Polk, Dallas, and Texas.—Cass and the Cherokees.—Col. Young enraged.—He heads the Texas Ticket.—O'Sullivan on Human Cattle (not Polk's Negroes).—George Mifflin Dallas.—Old Dallas and his Bank.—His Son a U. S. B., V. B. Man.—Dallas and Wilkins on the Public Lands.—Milage of Senators.*

ARE there those who believe Polk friendly to Van Buren? Let me undeceive them. When Polk and Ritchie and Walker saw and read the secret correspondence of Hoyt which I sent on to Washington, in May, and the discovery, and anticipated publication of which so delighted them, would they one and all, as also those of their friends who got copies, had they been friendly, have kept the secret from the Van Burens, Flagg, Butler, Wright, and Dix, and allowed the guilty to be startled by the sudden apparition of my first pamphlet in September last? Who can believe it? Polk and Jackson's paper, the *Nashville Union*, kept the name of Van Buren

at the head of its columns as the candidate of the party for Baltimore, while it threatened any Tennessean who would vote for him there. Harken to Hogan and Heiss! *They* "We do not believe Mr. Van Buren will receive one vote from the Tennessean delegation. If he does, that delegate who votes knowingly against the wishes of his constituents, will be marked hereafter, as *an* man unworthy of their confidence." Why did they keep up Van Buren's name over such remarks as these? The Texas letter was seized on as a pretext to get rid of a man whom certain leaders no longer wanted. Had Polk and Van Buren been on the very best of terms, although the latter yielded to the former, would language like the following have found its way into the official journal, (*Blair's Globe*), on the 19th of Jan. 1844?

"I care not how honorable a man may be, if he is a coward he cannot maintain his honor; and hence it is such a man is disqualified for the office of V. President. Now, sir, Col. King has never been insulted day after day; and, above all, he was never caught roughly by the arm [by Wise] when escaping from the Capitol, pulled round and told that he was the 'contemptible tool of a petty tyrant!' I pledge my head, if he is ever so treated, he will resent the insult in the proper way. Will 'A Tennessee Democrat' do the same in regard to Gov. Polk? What are the facts in regard to Gov. Polk? He has been twice repudiated in his own State by large majorities—defeated by an inexperienced politician; and it is not pretended that his name would add one particle of strength to the ticket in any State of this Union."

There was a clear understanding between Ritchie at Richmond, and Heiss at Nashville, to go for Cass if Van Buren could be set aside, and for Polk in preference to either. This was independent of Texas. Ritchie had made up his mind to have the printing of Congress. He was connected with B. Greene, who had a very deep interest in Texan scrip and lands. He lived in a state that raised men and women for sale and traffic, into perpetual bondage, as if they were cattle, through the home slave trade. If Van Buren obtained power, Blair would have his interest; the north, with its Bryants, Sedgwicks, abolitionists, &c., would compel V. B. to throw cold water on annexation, or oust him; and Virginia went for the detestable gains of her human shambles. Moreover, Van Buren's chance was very doubtful. That had been proved in 1840. In the summer and fall of 1843, the *Richmond Enquirer*, in the form of letters to the editor, had said much in favor of Cass, and the Nashville Union, [Hogan and Heiss] copied liberally, "by request." The spring elections of Connecticut and Virginia went against Van Buren; Tyler and Calhoun pushed on annexation, and coaxed Ritchie. The *Richmond Enquirer* and Calhoun's Charleston organ became more and more harmonious and united; and on the month of the Convention, Ritchie gravely rebuked Blair for censuring Calhoun, and told his friends that the Calhoun party were with them, and that they had the same views. Ritchie said, that Clay was "an electioneering demagogue, and would prove an arrant dictator," and that Texas must be had now, and not waited for 70 years. Before the Convention met, Heiss's paper, the Nashville Union, plainly foretold that Polk would be chosen there, not as Vice President, but as President, although no public journal or meeting in the Republic had named him for the latter office. When the Convention met, Ritchie's son, William F., was elected its principal secretary, and Virginia and Tennessee went cordially together for the rule that two-thirds of its votes would be required to secure a nomination, thus defeating Van Buren's nomination at the first ballot. Virginia [Ritchie], Tennessee [Polk], Mississippi [Walker] and Georgia, went together steadily during the first seven ballots, for Cass, not giving Van Buren a single vote. On the 8th ballot, Tennessee left Cass for Polk, and in the middle of the 9th, the N. Y. delegation gave way, the farce closed, and the vote for Polk was unanimous! The result was, that although Jackson was warmly attached to Blair, he had to make way for Polk's friends—and the printing of Congress, which a company of mechanics offered to do, as well as Ritchie does it, and \$30,000 a year cheaper, was the fit reward of the intrigues of the Nashville Union, and his new partner of the *Richmond Enquirer*. Was there a bargain? Is it even probable that Jackson really desired the election of Van Buren? Polk knew that Ritchie was an original enemy of Jackson's claims, but he also knew his influence in Virginia. He seems to have agreed with the principal, Ritchie, and the agent, Virginia, followed of course. If no one bargained for a reward, it is marvellous how they all got it. Polk had the White House; Ritchie and Heiss, the printing; Woodbury, the Bench; Cave Johnson, the Post-office; Bancroft, the Navy; Marcy, the War office; Gillet, [anti-Cass] the Registership; Butler, his old berth; Mason (from Tyler's cabinet), the Attorney Generalship. Tyler gave his influence, as president of the U. S. and Texas was annexed. The Van Buren section wanted Coddington for Collector here; but the Marcy section, with the aid of Hoyt's letters, (about the opportune appearance of which there is yet a secret untold) put in Lawrence. The scheming at Baltimore, in the Convention, began with prayer and praise; after which the clergyman, with very good taste, read to them the 101st psalm, "*He that worketh deceit shall not dwell within my house: he that telleth lies shall not tarry in my sight.*"

I would advise some active and honest editor to take a list of the Convention and compare it with Polk and Walker's appointments, with the names of the directors of the pet banks,

with the N. Y. Custom House, beginning with Peter Crawford, and with Oliver Lee & Co. pet bankers, Buffalo, and if he does not obtain presumptive proof of a base and mercenary bargain to elect James K. Polk, and of the fulfilment of its personal and pecuniary conditions, too, I shall be most agreeably mistaken.

Those who have known William L. Marcy long and well, assure me, and I believe it, that he is an adroit, managing man—more so, perhaps, than Van Buren; cautious, but under no control of principle. In the War Department, Marcy expects to make a fortune (for somebody), out of the vast contracts and patronage in his gift. He went into the scheme of Canadian annexation—advised his friends on the frontier—was privy to his wife's brother's junction with us at Navy Island—on the very best terms with certain influential Canadians—came to Buffalo during the troubles in January, 1838, and spoke strongly in favor of the go-ahead policy to certain friends of the Canadians. Walworth and Croswell, and Porter, (then Register), took the same view. When Van Buren saw that the affair was a failure, or likely so to be, he advised Marcy, Croswell, &c., to wheel about, and they did so. The British parliamentary papers show that Marcy hired emissaries, and was really active in procuring information for the Canadian authorities, and the Journal of Commerce rightly said, Jan. 10, 1838, "We have the BEST AUTHORITY for stating, that there is a good understanding in regard to the Canada troubles, between the cabinet at Washington and the British minister," Fox. In his present position, in case of war, there would be a suspension of cash payments, the banks would lend their worthless paper to the government, and live in clover—the war bureau would be the leading department of the administration—the influence of its head would be immense; and he might look with good hope to the reversion of Polk's chair, although I am told he flatters Walker and Polk, by telling them that war would assuredly secure it either to the one or the other. The Sub-Treasury, *if worked again, Hoyt fashion*, would be a real gold mine.

On the 5th of September, 1843, a State Convention met at Syracuse, W. L. Marcy, president—79 for Marcy, 40 for Young. The plan was, to name at once, 34 delegates, to represent the State at Baltimore in the Presidential convention, and it was Marcy's wish to have a majority of them composed of politicians whom he could control, so as to appear to support Van Buren, but in reality to go for the candidate who would pay best—say for Cass; or for Polk, if Cass proved unavailable. Failing to get that majority, Marcy was dropped as one of the State delegates, and Young taken. A committee to choose delegates was appointed, and the choice of a delegate for each congressional district left to the member of that committee for that district. Oliver Lee, the Buffalo [Polk pet] banker, Erastus Corning, Daniel S. Dickinson, J. W. Brown, Henry K. Smith, John C. Wright, Nathan S. Roberts of the canals, Thomas B. Mitchell, and John Stryker, were, I believe, strong Marcy delegates; but when the 36 assembled at Baltimore, B. F. Butler and Samuel Young headed the Van Buren section, and they were the most numerous; that cause alone is stated to have prevented Marcy and his friends from giving the vote of New York to Cass on the 7th ballot, which, with the influence it would have carried, would have secured to Cass the nomination. On the eighth ballot, Georgia, Tennessee, the Bancroft section of the Massachusetts delegation, Woodbury's interest (New Hampshire), Walker's folks (Mississippi), and two from Pennsylvania (personal friends of Buchanan) went for Polk—on the 9th, all parties took him up; and Calhoun's men, Pickens and Elmore, who were in the secret, played their parts in the drama, going heartily (not a doubt of it) for "Polk and Texas, Texan scrip, and down with liberty and the ways of seventy-six."

The New York delegation, so far as the Croswell, Marcy, and Dickinson section were concerned, are generally believed to have desired to throw Van Buren overboard, and to have secretly canvassed against him, and told other members of the Convention, that so much could be said to his discredit, that if nominated, all would be a failure, and New York State lost; which was probably true. Why did Butler and the majority, on the opposite side, prevent the nomination of Cass from Michigan, and call forward Polk, whom his editor, Heiss, knew and had already announced as the nominee, though he was 700 miles distant? In May, 1844, Dr. Beekman, banker, Kinderhook, a friend of Van Buren, and now a senator, was on a visit to Albany; and he reported on his return, that Marcy, Dickinson, and Croswell were undermining him and deserting his camp. Van Buren wrote to Butler immediately, and the latter set off on his well known mission to Nashville, armed with instructions to tickle Jackson's vanity, by asking him to come forward a third time as a candidate, and thus preserve the party from ruin. This he well knew that Jackson would not do; but the Boston Post, as instructed, declared that his health, *just then*, had not been so robust for years; and in the Convention, May 28th, a member proposed him, but it did not take. Van Buren's retreat could not be thus covered. At Nashville, a secret arrangement was made, that if Van Buren could not be nominated, Polk should be, in preference to Cass. Is this the reason why Butler was appointed to a \$20,000 office here, by Polk, the moment he had the power? What is the tenure by which he now holds it? Butler, in convention, wanted to take the lead in proposing Polk, when the time had come to drop Van Buren, but Hubbard was before him; and the man whom Jones, a whig, had defeated in Tennessee, at the then next previous election for governor, by a plurality of 3,833 out of 112,781 votes, thus became President of the Union, with-

out even a township nomination, and in the teeth of instructions by 16 state conventions to support another. Van Buren never got over 12 votes from the whole of the slave states. In-rigue had been his element, and his own pupils now outshone their master.

The Democratic Review for June looked (as a last resource) to a junction of the free north and west, and the abjuration of the slaveholders, if no bargain could be made with them. The reader will at once see that Butler, and not the Regent (O'Sullivan), must have been the writer of the following paragraphs, which are BY AUTHORITY:

"It is possible, very possible, that he [Van Buren] may not be nominated—that many of his own personal friends within its (the Baltimore Convention's) members, not loving Cæsar less but Rome more, may be the first to cast a reluctant and sorrowful vote against his name. If the Convention should come to the conclusion, on a broad survey of the *whole* ground, that the influence of this new question [Texas] is really and truly such as to destroy or endanger the hope of his election—that any other candidate, worthily fulfilling the condition of being a true and trusty democrat, can bring more favorable auspices into the contest with the common foe—be it so. **THOUGH WE HAVE NEVER BEFORE ASSUMED THE RIGHT TO SPEAK FOR MR. VAN BUREN, YET ON THIS OCCASION AND THIS POINT WE DO NOT HESITATE TO ASSERT,** that he will himself, in that event, be found foremost among the first, and truest among the true, in support of the decision of the Convention."

The writer next specially addresses the slave states, THE SOUTH, telling them the consequences that would follow their deviation from the decision of the party, when delivered at Baltimore. These are his words:

"Why, there will be a burst of indignation from the NORTH for which you are little prepared. They will abjure you and your CAPRICIOUS, IF NOT TREACHEROUS ALLIANCE, and leave you to sustain yourselves by yourselves, against all the forms of foreign attack, which will then be a thousand fold multiplied and embittered. No son of yours need then indulge a vain aspiration for that high honor for which the votes of Northern Democracy are threefold more necessary than those of Southern Chivalry. The great free North and the great free West will then take the matter of President-making into their own steadier and trustier hands."

On the 23d of April, 1844, in the correspondence of the N. Y. Evening Post, I find it remarked, that "If the cause of our disasters, as many of our best and most constant advocates of republicanism seem to think, is the want of ~~a~~ a new name at the head of our ranks, we are willing, as individuals, to abandon our first choice, and to rally with equal ardor to the standard of Cass, Johnson, or anybody else."

Judge Douglass of Illinois has recently proclaimed the important fact, that the Texas and Oregon resolution adopted at Baltimore, was drawn up by R. J. Walker, and offered to the Convention by his brother adventurer, Benjamin F. Butler, as one of their claptraps for President making. Van Buren opposed to Texas, and his man, Butler, taking the lead for it! The Resolution is in these words:

"Resolved, That our title to the whole of the territory of Oregon is clear and unquestionable; that no portion of the same ought to be ceded to England or any other power; and that the reoccupation of Oregon, and the re-annexation of Texas, at the earliest practical period, are great American measures, which this Convention recommends to the cordial support of the democracy of the Union."

Looking at the corrupt and mercenary character of Butler, we ask the reader if his position as district attorney here, is not presumptive evidence that when he thus shifted round to become Walker's catspaw, there was an understanding, the conditions of which Polk hastened to fulfil? Walker was Van Buren's most determined enemy at Baltimore; Butler his professedly warmest friend. He went to Baltimore with Young, to oppose annexation. Why did he there become Polk's organ for denouncing as traitors all who would not consent to it? Walker vehemently denounced Van Buren because he *durst not* go for annexation. Why did he propose to the Convention that Silas Wright, who professed the very same creed as Van Buren, and had voted against annexation in the senate, should be the candidate for Vice President? and why did the knaves, who had voted down Van Buren on that score, vote up Wright at Butler's nod? Was there any principle there? Butler's resolution on Texas, as adopted, implied a censure on Benton, Wright, and Van Buren, for not going straight with the party?

The understanding, when Polk left Nashville, was, that Plagge, our Comptroller, should be put at the head of the treasury; but Walker and others influenced him so that he decided that the member of the cabinet for N. Y. should be Marey, for the department of war. Marey, I am well informed, is much more practical than Bancroft, whom he manages, and thus controls in a large degree, the navy. He may out-general Van Buren yet, although it is but a lottery. He was re-elected governor of this state in Nov., 1836, with nearly 3,000 majority. In the winter of 1837, the party were omnipotent. Nine months after they were

entirely routed. E. Larned, Marcy's relative, is president of one of the copper companies on Lake Superior. They are all in Marcy's department. He also locates the lands. S. C. Frey, a brother-in-law of Mr. Calhoun, a late M. C. from Mass. wrote me last Nov., that when the insurrection broke out in Canada, in 1837, Mr. Wills, senator from St. Lawrence county, was requested to see Gov. Marcy on the subject; that he did so, and immediately wrote to Morristown to ———, "Tell your Canadian friends that they may rest assured that Gov. Marcy will interfere no farther than the laws of the country compel him, and that they have his best wishes for their success." "With the example of neutrality law, as administered in the case of Texas, and Jackson's unmeaning proclamations [Frey writes me] we interfered; but soon found that our rulers were far more anxious to extend the area of slavery than that of freedom; and that our laws had one aspect and operation on the banks of the St. Lawrence, and quite another on the borders of slave-freeing Mexico." When the time comes, Mr. Marcy and his friends will have facts that may be as inconvenient to hear, as if given now.

George Bancroft, like Marcy, has "principle in proportion to his interest." A northern man, he set up for Congress in 1834, with an address to suit the meridian of Massachusetts, of which a sample follows:

"Slaves are capital; the slaveholder is a capitalist. Free labor will be the first to demand the abolition of slavery; capital will be the last to concede it. We would not interfere with the domestic regulations of New Orleans or Algiers, but we may demand the *instant* abolition of the slave trade in the District of Columbia, and should assist free labor to recover its rights in the capital of the country. \* \* \* \*"

GEORGE BANCROFT."

Bancroft was formerly a schoolmaster, his associate being Joseph G. Cogswell of N. Y., he was originally much opposed to Jackson, but conformed, as he did at Baltimore, and now does in the Polk cabinet. He is a sensible speaker, but no orator; and stuck to Van Buren till matters were otherwise arranged. His best performance is his history. In his eulogy on Old Hickory, delivered at Washington, he offered a specimen of anti-climax, thus:

"And Jackson returned to his own fields and his own pursuits, to cherish his own plantation; to care for his servants; to LOOK AFTER HIS STED."

Only five entire states, Maine, New Hampshire, Ohio, New York, and Missouri, voted against the two-third rule. It was evident that Van Buren was believed to be odious among the people, everywhere; yet, had Ritchie said the word, Van Buren would have had the nomination, such is the power of leaders to combine for the spoils, in the way that will promote their interest. Walker was strong against Van Buren; and Rantoul, whom Tyler wanted to make secretary of the treasury, spoke against Butler, and for the two-thirds. Marcy said little, but set others forward. Van Buren got 146 votes at first, and went down gradually to 99. McNulty, the ex-clerk of Congress, was strong for Van Buren. Frazer of Pa., who was in Buchanan's confidence, canvassed and made speeches for Polk; and Cave Johnson announced for Blair and Rives that they would go for the nominee, be he who he might. Senator Allen, of Ohio, S. Medary, B. Tappan, Jacob Brinkerhoff, and Dr. Alex. Duncan, were for V. B. Senators Hannegan [the son of an Irish emigrant], and Haywood, were for Cass. In reply to Walker, Butler said "he was very sorry, indeed, to find his friends, Messrs. Walker, of Mississippi, and Saunders, of N. Carolina, referring to the precedent of 1840; the log-cabin, hard cider, coon hunting precedent of 1840. He could stamp them under his feet (he was understood to say, stamping violently on the floor as he spoke)." Walker rejoined that Butler's was the finest specimen of tall vaulting he had seen of a long time. Walker, in 1840, was a Van Buren delegate to Baltimore.

I was present at a large meeting in the Park, N. Y., on June 4th, to respond to the nomination of Polk and Dallas, and heard a letter from Van Buren read, which had been addressed to Gansv. Melville and others, from Lindenwald, June 3, 1844:

"I have known Messrs. Polk and Dallas long and intimately. I have had frequent opportunities for personal observation of their conduct in the discharge of high and responsible public duties. The latter has by my appointment represented the country abroad with credit and usefulness; they are both gentlemen possessed of high character; of unquestioned and unquestionable patriotism and integrity; able to discharge the duties of the stations for which they have been respectively nominated, with advantage to the country, and honor to themselves. Concurring with them in the main, in the political principles by which their public lives have been hitherto distinguished, I am sincerely desirous for their success."

At a similar meeting held in Faneuil Hall, Boston, Mr. Bancroft said: that man who would agree to a mean submission to England, as to Oregon, let him turn aside and not vote for Polk—that as to Texas, Polk would not be found a lackey, taking his cue from St. James's; that there would be no war with Mexico; and that the convention "looked with one heart to Young Hickory of Tennessee. Startling was the effect when the delegation from Maine announced its vote for James K. Polk! Cheering, most cheering followed the plumper from

New Hampshire. And then, ere the final result was announced, came the unanimous vote of Massachusetts, and in succession, the unanimous vote of every state." General Cass's success in Georgia and Alabama is accounted for by a reference to his efforts to harass the poor Indians. Half the *Globe* of March 31, 1834, is filled with his strictures on the Supreme Court for its honest decision of the Georgia question. He concludes, "First, that civilized communities have a right to take possession of a country, inhabited by barbarous tribes, to assume jurisdiction over them, and to 'combine within narrow limits,' or, in other words, to appropriate to their own use, such portion of the Territory, as they think proper. Second, that in the exercise of this right, such communities are the judges of the extent of jurisdiction to be assumed, and of Territory to be acquired." He then argues, that this power of judging rests with the States, the legislatures of which may subject Indians, who have not yielded up their sovereignty, to what laws they please. As Van Buren was of Jackson's opinion, and as Jackson, Butler, Woodbury, and all the cabinet were of one mind (for so saith Cass), the removal of the Cherokees, and the bloodhounds set upon the Seminoles was surely glory enough! The Indians were driven westward, just a hundred years from the time when John Wesley had landed at Savannah, a missionary of Christ to convert them. That teacher of teachers got a lesson there. A grand jury of the colonists indicted him as a law-breaker, and the magistrates pronounced his departure a flight from justice! Ninety years after, and with the express permission of the President of the United States, Samuel A. Worcester went to preach to these Indians, was arrested for so doing, ordered for four years to the penitentiary of Georgia, and only released when the Supreme Court of the Union had, through Mr. Justice McLean's excellent and logical argument and decision, pronounced a barbarous law and the action thereon, null and void.

Colonel Young, at Baltimore, was true to Van Buren, and opposed the canvass for Polk as long as he could. A letter from a friend at the Convention, to his friend here, says, "Col. Young is quite in a rage, and even hints that the friends of the other candidates have conspired to defraud V. B. Every delegate from Pennsylvania was pledged under hand and seal to vote for V. B., but several of the most active of them visited Buchanan previously, at Washington, who told them to support a motion that would be made for a two-third rule, and after that do as they pleased. Twelve out of five-and-twenty did so, and when V. B.'s day had gone past, arrangements were made to bring forward the Texan candidate. Young declares that Cass, Calhoun, Woodbury, Walker, and even Johnson, are among the conspirators; and that the democratic platform, of fidelity to instructions, is knocked from under our feet, the party cleft in twain, and Texas and its abominations, tied round our necks like a millstone. Texas is to be acquired by propagandism and incorporation, the principles which drove Europe into arms against the ambitious and reckless spirits in the French republic. By encouragement, secret sometimes, avowed when it was thought best, Italy, Switzerland, the Rhenish provinces, the Tyrol, Belgium, &c. were induced to revolt against the existing powers. Tyranny used the form and sacred name of liberty to induce these countries to exchange one set of masters for another—the imperial decree went forth, and liberty and annexation, of the true Texan stamp, went hand in hand. Where are annexing principles to terminate? At Cape Horn? At the north pole? Shall we annex Cuba, St. Domingo, Jamaica, the whole West Indies, *en passant*, with slavery as a sort of shade or veil to liberty's brightness, and all to uphold our 'peculiar institutions'? If we try, I fear that the example of France will keep good throughout." Young's passion cooled. He headed the electoral ticket which gave the votes of N. Y. to Polk and Dallas, and they owe to New York not only their nomination, but also their election; nor could Van Buren, in 1836, have been elected without New York. He richly deserved his fate in 1840 and '44.

Van Buren's friend, O'Sullivan, in the party journal here, the Democratic Review, let the cat out of the bag, and confessed that the leaders considered public virtue *just* all a humbug. I quote the number for April, 1843: "Since the election of 1840, we have pretty much ceased to speak of, or confide in, the 'intelligence of the people.' . . . We confess we could hardly forbear exclaiming in vexation and contempt, 'well, after all, nature will out; the poor devils, if we but let them alone, will make cattle of themselves, and why should we waste our time and substance in trying to hinder them from making themselves cattle?' . . . If we wish to secure to ourselves and our posterity the blessings of freedom and good government, we must procure stronger guarantees than popular suffrage and popular virtue and intelligence. . . . Suffrage rests for its basis, as a guarantee of freedom and good government, on the assumed intelligence and virtue of the people. Now this may be very beautiful in theory, but when we come to practice, this virtue and intelligence of the people is *all a humbug*." When the election of Polk and Dallas had put our slanderers into power again, their *Review* wheeled round, and hoisted up the millions from their place with the cattle to the old perfectional standard of 1829.

A brief sketch of the life of George Millin Dallas of Philadelphia would induce many readers to conclude like me, that what is called democracy, the democratic party, is, so far as most of the leaders or chiefs are concerned, an agreement to hunt together after public

plunder, or to divide it among the initiated when obtained, by a sort of scale previously agreed on. Dallas, the champion of the U. S. bank in 1832, was Van Buren's choice, as ambassador to Russia, in 1837, and the selection of the leaders at Baltimore, in 1844, for Vice President of the U. S., with the cry of eternal hostility to a National Bank! If I cannot put such men to shame, I can and dare express for their mean conduct that contempt which a true republican ought to feel.

George M. Dallas was born on the 10th of July, 1792, at Philadelphia—is the eldest son of Alexander James Dallas, a lawyer of Scotch extraction or birth, who came to America in 1783, became Secretary of the U. S. Treasury last war, died in Jan. 1817, and is spoken of by Col. Duane as artful, ambitious, one of the worst of the public men of that age. While at the head of the Treasury, Oct. 17, 1814, he thus describes the effect of the pet bank system, which, equally aware of its viciousness, his son George and M. Van Buren united in 1834, to re-establish.

"The multiplication of banks in the several states has so increased the quantity of paper currency, that it would be difficult to calculate its amount; and still more difficult to ascertain its value, with reference to the capital on which it has been issued. But the benefit of even this paper currency is in a great measure lost, as the suspension of payments in specie at most of the banks has suddenly broke the chain of accommodation. That previously extended the credit and the circulation of the notes which were emitted in one state into every state in the Union. It may in general be affirmed, therefore, that there exists at this time no adequate circulating medium common to the citizens of the United States. The monied transactions of private life are at a stand; and the fiscal operations of government labor under extreme inconvenience. It is impossible that such a state of things should be long endured."

With the above official statement, addressed to J. W. Eppes, chairman of the Ways and Means in Congress, he sent the plan of a new National Bank as the remedy, and his plan was, 1st, that it should be chartered for 20 years, with power to place its branches anywhere through the states, 50 millions capital, 100,000 shares of \$500 each—2d, that corporations, companies or individuals might subscribe for 30 millions, and the United States government be a partner, holding 20 millions of the stock—3d, that of the 30 millions, four-fifths, or 24 millions, should be paid in certificates of public debt, and 6 millions in specie, the payments to be at stated periods—4th, that the U. S. should pay its 20 millions in stock, (obligations to pay at some future time), and the bank lend the United States government 30 millions of dollars at 6 per cent interest!—5th, that neither the capital, the notes, nor the deposits or dividends should be taxed, either by the U. S. or any state, and that no other bank should be chartered by Congress—6th, that there should be 15 directors, of whom the President of the U. S. should choose five, one of whom to be the bank president, and the ten to be chosen annually by the other stockholders, voting in proportion to their shares, by proxy or in person—and 7th, that the bank paper should be a good payment in all payments to the United States. At the same time, Mr. Dallas proposed a tax of 30 cents a gallon on all home distilled whiskey, gin, &c., 5 cents per lb. on tobacco and snuff, 3 cents per lb. on home made leather, 7 per cent on home made paper, \$300,000 on lawyers' processes, \$250,000 on conveyances and mortgages, and 100 per cent. addition to the U. S. direct taxes, as the Customs revenues, which even a Jesse Hoyt could not reduce below ten millions, did not exceed four in war times. I mention these things to remind the prosperous that a war now would be their greatest enemy.

George M. Dallas was taught law by his father, went to Russia as Albert Gallatin's secretary in April, 1813, in his 21st year, married Miss Nicklin, the daughter of a Philadelphia merchant, and was appointed in Feb. 1817, Solicitor to the United States Bank. In 1824, he went for Calhoun as President—was mayor of Philadelphia in 1828, and in 1829 appointed by Jackson the U. S. District Attorney for Pennsylvania, the legislature of which sent him to the U. S. Senate in 1831. In 1832 he was entrusted by Nicholas Biddle with the petition of the U. S. Bank for a new charter for 15 years, which charter he reported, as chairman of the Senate's committee, and was throughout its unwearied and willing advocate. He declared the institution to be very useful, even *indispensable*—he made many speeches in its favor, affirming, Jan. 20, that the bank was "enacted under the influence of the purest motives, for admirable purposes." He voted with Clay and Webster to put down a proposition requiring the consent of the States to the establishment of branch banks—he voted against Benton's amendment which went to prevent foreigners from holding stock—and against Marcy's reserving to Congress the right to repeal the charter, and to the states to tax the bank; also against White's requiring the bank to pay 3 per cent. on deposits. The bill passed June 11th, Dallas voting for it. July 10, Jackson vetoed the bill, and declared it unconstitutional; but with Clay and Webster, Dallas, on the 13th, voted against the veto, and that the bill was constitutional and ought to pass. W. Wilkins, his brother-in-law, voted with him; and on July 7, 1836, he wrote his memorable letter, in which he said: "Of the Constitutional power of the National Government to create a BANK I did not then, nor do I now *entertain a doubt*. Of the ability of Congress to create such a BANK as would be a safe machine of finance and a serviceable agent in preserving a sound currency, I THEN WAS, and STILL AM, CONVINCED." His opposition to the scheme for converting the U. S. Bank into a State Bank, evinced great judgment and foresight. Even the United States Gazette now condemns that act. As a State Bank it sought to monopolize the cotton trade of

the south, and failed. It obtained the state stocks of Michigan and Indiana, and pledged them in London for more than they were worth. "The United States Bank, by a suspension of specie payments, had forfeited its charter. Its effects were about to pass into the hands of Receivers, when a Van Buren Governor [Porter] and Senate interposed, and not only saved its life and legalized a protracted suspension, but allowed the stockjobbers to receive dividends while the Bank was paying its debts in irredeemable paper!" So saith Weed. The Schuylkill failed at the same time, and such was the *morality* of the legislature and Gov. Porter, that they allowed the Pennsylvania banks to divide 6 and 7 per cent. as profits, when they were openly bankrupt. If the misery caused to thousands by the sinking of 36 millions of capital in the Schuylkill and U. S. Banks could be seen by the people, no such departures from the laws of trade and currency would again be allowed.

The Baltimore Convention which nominated Polk and Dallas resolved, that they were opposed to the distribution of the proceeds of the public lands among the states. On July 3d, 1832, in Senate, Dallas and his brother-in-law, Wilkins, voted for Clay's bill to distribute the proceeds of the public lands among the states, and that not by instructions, but as their unbiased opinion. Clay, Ewing, Bell, Webster, Frelinghuysen, Poindexter, and Dickerson were on the same side, and the bill passed. So, too, on Internal Improvements, Dallas went with Clay in 1832, against Benton, Van Buren and Jackson—and, in 1837, Van Buren made him his Russian ambassador, offered him a seat in his cabinet in 1839, and in 1844 wrote to the citizens of New York, that he approved of him as the candidate of the *anti-bank* party for the office of Vice-President! In 1833, Wolf appointed Dallas attorney-general of Pennsylvania. In Senate, in 1832, Dallas voted against inquiring into Van Buren's conduct and in favor of his appointment as ambassador to England. To be true to Van Buren and his confederates, and able to serve the leaders, was the real test in 1837, and something akin to it is the test now. The decision Dallas gave, as Vice-President, in March, 1845, that those who framed the law for paying mileage to senators intended to place it in the power of the President of the U. S., by calling a new session of the Senate to-morrow, as a successor to that which closes to-day, to pay the senators over \$30,000 for travelling many thousand miles to and from Washington, when not one of them had left the city or travelled the first mile, was so iniquitous that I set him down at once as little better than a cheat in democratic politics. When the session terminated, March 3, he decided that the senators, not one of whom had left Washington, were entitled to mileage or travelling charges to and from their homes, however distant, though the new executive sitting began within ten hours of the close of the old!! Such outrageous conduct encourages men in less elevated stations to act dishonestly. Ashley of Ark. got \$1680—Barrow of La., \$1840—Johnson, \$1840—Sevier of Ark., \$1680—Atchison of Mo., \$1336—Breese and Semple of Ills., \$1480 each—Jarnagin of Tenn., \$1200—Woodbridge of Mich., \$903—Bagby and Lewis of Ala., \$960 each—and so on for the others. Had this man not been a profligate pretender, he had not received the support of Van Buren. I think it was one of Bennett's Herald correspondents who exposed this iniquity in detail. He stated that Daniel C. Dickinson, not satisfied with receiving pay for two journeys never performed, tried hard to be paid for three! How painful it is to have to write in this way of a man who was voted for by millions of men as the V. P. of the republic!

V. P. Dallas is an excellent speaker, a man of prepossessing and dignified deportment, and winning, courteous manners; and has the reputation of being a good scholar. He is tall, spare, and has an intellectual look, with a high, narrow forehead, thickly covered with long silvery locks.

#### THOMAS RITCHIE.

The Editor of *The Union*, at Washington, is about seventy years of age—tall, thin, spare, and rather bent—has a long, thin face, with a fine, bright eye, and a very prominent nose, but has lost his teeth. His gait is quick, restless, and somewhat tremulous; he is neat in his dress, fond of talking, and unwearyed in industry; possesses tact, talent, great knowledge of men and things; is a lively old gentleman, affable, courteous, polite; an editor of 42 years' standing, having commenced the Richmond Enquirer in his native state, on the 19th of May, 1804, and left it with his sons, William F. and Thomas Ritchie, Junior, in the summer of 1844, when he removed to Washington to take charge of Polk's new paper. Mr. Ritchie entered active life as a teacher or usher in Richmond, was married on the 7th of February, 1807, to Miss Isabella, daughter of Dr. William Foushée, sometime postmaster of Richmond, and who died in 1821, aged 55. In 1807, Ritchie was an enthusiastic advocate of home manufactures. That year, in December, Mr. Monroe and family returned to Richmond from abroad, and at a Virginia Welcome given to him, the governor being in the chair, the sixth regular toast was, "American Manufactures, the true support of genuine independence"—received with three



cheers. Next first of June, a meeting was held at the capitol, Richmond, the governor presiding, and Ritchie secretary; when his (Ritchie's) father-in-law proposed that a committee should be named "to digest a plan for the establishment of manufactures," and the governor named the late President Monroe, William Wirt, Peyton Randolph, George Hay, &c. The meeting also resolved with one accord to appear at the next 4th of July dressed in articles the manufacture of some of the states. In 1829, Ritchie and his *Enquirer* had veered round to a nullification of protecting tariffs—now he is for just enough of a tariff to keep the wheels of government well greased. Mr. Ritchie's family is large and well educated, and his daughters are married into wealthy and respectable Virginia families. I can easily imagine the immense influence which an active, energetic politician, all life and soul, all bone and sinew, would exercise over an agricultural people he had been intimate with for half a century, by referring to the position I found myself in, some ten years ago, though on a far less extensive theatre of action.

Ritchie has always been what is called a democrat, but of the truckling, time-serving kind. Leggett told him, through the *Evening Post*, that he was a political hypocrite and trickster—John Randolph, that he was a man of "seven principles; five loaves and two fishes"—the elder Duane (Sept. 1816) described him as the "self-convicted sycophant and tool of party"—Brooks of the *Express* represents him as a very able, but narrow, contracted, selfish bigot—and Horace Greeley (June 3, 1845,) sums up his politics as follows:

"When it was Democratic to assail Gen. Jackson as utterly unfit for Civil or Political trust, no man assailed him more fiercely than Thomas Ritchie. But when, a few years thereafter, it became Democratic to commend Gen. Jackson as the paragon of Statesmanship and trustworthiness, no man laid it on thicker than Thomas Ritchie. In 1828, it was Democratic to advocate One Term only for a President, and Mr. Ritchie was very earnest for that. In 1832 and 1840, it was Democratic to support a President for a *Second* term, and Mr. Ritchie did his utmost on *that* side. In '29-30, it was Democratic to advocate the Nullifying doctrines of Calhoun and Hayne, and declare them the very counterpart of 'the Resolutions of '98,' and Mr. Ritchie did this very thoroughly. In 1832-3, it was Democratic to *condemn* Nullification as utterly inconsistent with orthodox Democracy, and Mr. Ritchie did *this* quite effectively. In 1834-5, it was Democratic to praise the Pet Banks System, and nobody did it more heartily than Mr. Ritchie. In 1838, it had become Democratic to go the whole Hog for the Sub-Treasury and denounce the Pet Banks; and though this was the hardest dose he had had yet, Mr. Ritchie gulped it down for Democracy's sake. Nobody was more ardent than Mr. R. in support of Van Buren while 'Democracy' smiled on him; nobody did more to crush Mr. V. B. when Southern 'Democracy' turned against him. Nay, more: our paragon of Democrats can be on both sides of a vital question at the same time when the interests of 'Democracy' require it—can advocate Dorrisism for the North and stand fast by Slavery in the South—can sympathize with the victims of 'Algerine' tyranny in Rhode Island, but breathe not a whisper of dissatisfaction at the Constitution of his own Virginia which not only denies any vote at all to a poor white man while it allows his rich neighbor a dozen, but actually vests the Political Power of the State in about one-third of its Legal Voters."

Ritchie can scold, fret, and be as abusive as John Van Buren when he likes—can sneer at Noah as "the Swiss mercenary"—mock John Tyler, as being on his return to the path of democracy "now that he knows the whig party"—and hold up Jackson as a tyrant and a murderer, a curse and a blessing.

One of his subscribers thus addresses him, Sept. 25, 1838:

"I like to show my colors sometimes. I went with you for the gun-boats, and against them, under Jefferson, and for the war, and against the gun-boats, under Madison. I followed you and Jefferson against the bank, ditto to you and Madison when he went for the bank. I read your paper and supported Monroe when you and he went against Jackson, and I turned against Adams, tooth and toe-nail; and went for Jackson when you did the like. I loaded my fowling-piece when they began to talk about light-houses in the skies. I went for the proclamation, and against the proclamation in spots, and, after that, I resolved not to split the party for anything, and swallowed the removal of the deposits, the protest, the black lines, and last, though not least, Mr. Van Buren and Col. Dick Johnson. But I confess I'm bothered now. I want light, and would like to know, when it is convenient, whether I must go for principles without men, or men without principles?"

Ritchie has been often chosen printer to the Virginia Legislature, and he pretended great independence of office in 1829, because his strictures on Jackson had left little hope of his getting anything valuable then in that quarter. His letters, page 214 to 216, show his views for the public eye. He is poor, lives in splendor, is a speculator, bets high, though not on General Jackson [see page 240], and advocates, through his Union, the turning out of the most upright public servants, if they are not as slavish to party and leaders in power as spaniels to the whip. "A Benjamin W. Greene of Richmond (says Blair's *Globe*) commenced without any capital except his assurance," became a great speculator and jockey, dealt in Texas lands and everything; and when Dabney disappeared, a defaulter for hundreds of thousands, Greene was arrested as having had a large share of the spoil, and sent to jail, but not kept there long. Ritchie, his friend, sympathized with the evil-doers; Mallory, a confederate, was arrested, but he, too, had backers. One thing is certain, Ritchie's pecuniary embarrassments were increased

by these explosions; and his errand at Washington, like Marcy's, is to patch his pantaloons, or, in other words, make money, by monopolizing the printing of the executive, the departments, the Senate, and the House of Representatives; and charging some \$50,000 to \$75,000 more for doing it than regular printers, bred to the business, could fairly exact. In other words, he and his partner are getting some \$65,000 a year, over and above an honest compensation, that being their share (in part) of the spoils of party, with the principle of plunder for its grip and countersign, as per last settlement at Baltimore.

When Major Lewis and Mr. Polk quarrelled, Lewis had published a letter from Jackson to him, dated April 8, 1815, which showed that he was much displeased with Polk for discarding Blair. He says, "The Globe is to be bought; by what political clique, and to subserve what interest? Is the renegade politician \* \* \* \* \* to have an interest! Who would trust him in politics or for money?" Some say the seven stars meant General Simon Cameron of the Senate; others strangely affirm that it was intended for Thomas Ritchie! One thing is certain. All other prints taken together, scarcely combined half the enmity and bitterness toward Jackson that was manifested by Ritchie and his backers through *THE ENQUIRER*, from the moment they knew that he [Jackson] intended to compete with the dynasty of Virginia for the imperial purple. [See Burr's letter, No. 296, page 259.]

In December, 1818, Jackson was violently attacked in the *Enquirer* as having set the U. S. government at defiance in the last war, and insulted it.

"I do not intend to follow him through the war he conducted against the Creeks in 1813-14. I mention the bloody massacre of Talapooze, only to express my grief for it; shame and abhorrence. \* \* \* The historian admits, that the general well knew they had ample reason for their desperation; and the general himself tells the world, in his official despatch, that, after the pursuit, or rather hunt (literally with fire and sword), and the carnage had continued till darkness covered and concealed his miserable victims; after he was apprised, that of their thousand warriors not half an hundred remained; after a whole night to cool and reflect on, the next morning the hunt and slaughter *'were resumed, and sixteen'* (all that could be found), *'of the enemy slain, who had concealed themselves under the banks.'* Yet I will not urge that as a peculiar reproach against General Jackson, which I rather regard as a stain upon my country. History will record that his bloody deeds were received by his countrymen with general applause, while the clemency of colonel Pearson was regarded with contempt and resentment. *Truly, sir, American avarice of Indian lands is equal to Spanish avarice of Indian gold.*"

Ritchie next reminds Jackson that he had got a grant from these poor crushed Creeks; that he (Ritchie) was sorry to say that which might affect his [Jackson's] private character, but that the transaction was such a one as the U. S. Senate had absolutely refused to sanction. He accuses Jackson of wanton tyranny at New Orleans in proclaiming martial law; adding, that "The ready resort to violent measures in all situations of difficulty is generally the result of weakness of understanding and wickedness of heart combined." That Jackson "rests his defence upon the tyrant's plea, necessity"—but that, "During the arduous struggle of the revolution, martial law was never once proclaimed. Amidst the distraction of a civil war, when refugees and Tories were embodied in the service of the enemy, and their friends and kindred dispersed over the country, General Washington, though for a time clothed with almost dictatorial powers, never proclaimed martial law. When General Green was flying before Lord Cornwallis through the Carolinas, and his enemy was deriving almost as much aid from the Tories as he could obtain from the Whigs of that country, he yet never proclaimed martial law."

Ritchie's journal proceeds to accuse Jackson of continuing this extraordinary rule "during his ninety days' tyranny," when war had ceased, and of trampling on the freedom of the press, and on the institutions of his country, of insulting a judge on the bench, banishing him, exposing his function to contempt. "He demanded [says the *Enquirer*] leave to abuse and vilify the judge! The written defence he offered, being rejected by the court, was printed. I should smile at its sophistry, if I were not alarmed at its audacity, and disgusted at the impudence with which he pleads, as his protection from summary punishment, the very constitution and laws he had so long and so recklessly trampled under foot; and denies his own plea of necessity as a proper foundation for the known settled practice of our courts of justice in cases of contempt. He was fined a thousand dollars. In the course of the hearing he interrupted, insulted and browbeat the judge on the judgment-seat." The *ENQUIRER* goes on to describe the deaths of Arbuthnot and Ambrister as wanton, cruel, unmanly murders. "Thus, sir, has an American officer [Jackson] destroyed the lives of two of his fellow-creatures, without any rightful power, without any adequate motive, and with such indecent precipitancy as hardly to give time for prayer in the interval between judgment and death. Humanity bleeds at the recital; and national pride sinks in the American heart, oppressed with the load of shame and grief. He has abrogated the known laws of nations, and promulgated a new code of his own, conceived in madness or folly and written in blood; he has, in fine, violated all laws human and divine, and violated them with impunity."

On the extracts just quoted from the *Richmond Enquirer*, I need offer no remarks—but any one who will look carefully upon the course taken by Jackson towards Calhoun, must be sensible that Ritchie, as the author (or publisher, if some friend of his was the anonymous writer) of them, was, to the hour of Jackson's death, looked upon as his malignant slanderer. Yet Messrs. Polk, Walker, Marcy, Cave Johnson, Bancroft and Mason hasten to turn out of office a person in whom Jackson fully confided, and to place in his stead Ritchie, whose press had represented him to his countrymen as an inhuman monster, unfit to live—until his popularity became boundless, and had then meanly swallowed every offensive and violent expression, and become his most fawning parasite!! All this Polk and his confederates did, as an annoyance and vexation to the old warrior, shortly before he breathed his last—and yet they, one and all, upheld the slave to praise Jackson in death!! A strange proof this of their sincerity! Hating, like Crawford, the emigrant, as he does, also, seemingly, the New Englander, Ritchie supported Crawford and the caucus, with Van Buren in 1824; and said of Jackson, "We would deprecate his election as a curse to our country." This is the democrat (!) on whom some \$50,000 to \$75,000 a-year are bestowed, by Polk and Walker, and Marcy and the party! This is the independent patriot who would not be the hanger-on of power, and who disliked to see editors rewarded by and becoming the stipendiaries of the Executive! 'Tis a waste of time and words to ask what are Ritchie's wishes or principles, for is it not evident by his past career, that he is a plausible pretender to patriotism, with art enough to keep up appearances before the people, and ever ready to sell his influence to the highest bidder? [See Nos. 147 *a*, 179 *a*, 179 *b*, and 239, in pages 201, 214, 215, and 240.]

Mr. Ritchie's old friends, the Virginia planters, breed slaves as an article of commerce; and Texas is a great mart for their unchristian traffic; his family and connections are also deeply interested in Texan lands and scrip. He was, therefore, with Calhoun, ready to risk war rather than not add Texan senators to the Senate, and secure the power of slavery as omnipotent in the government. To his wholesale slanders, through Mr. Polk's *Union*, intended to injure me with the American people, I offer no reply here; and as to the dreadful tragedy in which his son was such a conspicuous actor, and which resulted in the death of Mr. Pleasants, he probably could not prevent it, and doubtless suffered much pain from it.

Greene of Richmond, according to Dr. Mayo, page 119, is interested in Texas lands, over \$100,000. He is son-in-law to T. Ritchie, on a bankrupt. Of course, annexation will aid him powerfully. The Tribune states, on personal knowledge, that Texas lands, scrip, &c. are exercising a powerful influence over the press.

### THE POSTAGE LAW,

Though not perfection, is one of the great and, I trust, enduring improvements of the age. President Polk has given us Cave Johnson for postmaster-general, whose narrow mind or interest in slavery made him oppose that law in Congress. Of his administration I can say but little. Those who ought to know, tell me that there are no adequate checks in his department. Is he the man to devise and apply any such? When this excellent measure was at its third reading, Colonel McDuffie of S. C., pale and in bad health, rose to oppose it, because it would be a burthen on the treasury, and President Polk sings the same song in his message. He would "limit its expenditure to its income." When it was to expend many millions to drive the Indians from Florida, for the comfort of the slave-owners, and to risk wars with Mexico, &c., by the Texas move; when it was to pay millions of revenue for armies, navies, and the apparatus of war, to support the slave system; in these things Cave Johnson and James K. Polk willingly assented. Is not intelligence for all, as well worthy a small and temporary protection as the others? Is not intelligence a defence? Is not knowledge power? And is not cheap postage of letters and papers a great means of increasing knowledge? The cost of northern postage is almost doubled to pay for carrying the mails to the different localities in the south, where few receive or send letters except a few great slave-holding families. Our postmaster here has an income far beyond the intention of the law, or the heads of departments at Washington. His duties are very plain, and he has an army of auxiliaries. Why should a man at Richmond, Cincinnati, Buffalo or Rochester get a box for \$1 or \$1½, and be obliged to pay \$4 here? Is this uniformity? Are not the boxes a great convenience to the post-office? Why tax the small traders here four dollars, or deprive them of a right, in order to put an enormous perquisite, perhaps \$10,000, into an officer's well-filled wallet? McDuffie is about 55 years old—debilitated—much broken down—small—homely, with strongly-marked characteristics of his Celtic origin. He declares that slavery is the chief corner-stone of republican institutions—has a clear and logical mind—is not eloquent in the popular sense. His language is neither ornate nor imaginative; but, in argument, he is clear, logical, and perspicuous. Morris's income must exceed \$14,000 a-year.

Silas Wright is erroneously termed an anti-slavery man. That is a mistake. When invited in the summer of 1837 to a public dinner at Burlington, Vermont, he wrote in his answer, that Vermont was the home of his family, and that he left it, at the age of twenty, for New York state, in 1815 (when he came to study law at Sandy Hill)—that Van Buren was

the right-arm of Tompkins, last war, when he sustained the Union; that "those FANATICS (the abolitionists) are already attempting to agitate the public mind as to the evil of slavery in the abstract," although "they knew well that any attempt to abolish slavery in the district of Columbia, while it exists in the surrounding states of Maryland and Virginia, cannot have the effect to give freedom to a single slave, but would compel their transfer to new masters in the slave states." Wright is opposed to the one term principle for the presidency. He wrote to Ohio, Dec. 1842, that "the political fate of her [N. Y.] vice-presidents has been satisfactory to her republicans, because they were permitted to serve out the time anticipated by their friends. . . . Not so with the Presidents, they have been permitted to present. He [V. B.] served but one term," &c. Wright voted for the Ashburton treaty; and at Herkimer in 1828, prepared the resolve for Throop's nomination. He went Jackson as a sad necessity. The harsh correspondence in 1819 between Scott and Jackson is not forgotten. On the 4th of July anniversary dinner in 1820, at Albany, Van Buren presided, and one of the regular toasts was—"Major-Generals Peter B. Porter and Winfield Scott—they were among the first, and the last, and the best in the field." Jackson's services were not even noticed, nor his name mentioned, not even as a volunteer. Just eight years later, Van Buren was intriguing for Jackson all over the Union. Here is a specimen:

Mr. Van Buren to C. A. Wickliffe. "NEW YORK, July 8, 1828.

"My Dear Sir,—I have received yours at this place, and thank you for it. You may assure your friends in Kentucky, that the vote of this state will be stronger for General Jackson than his most sanguine friends anticipated. Of three-fourths *there is not the slightest doubt*. I care not who you show this letter to, *but keep me out of the newspapers*. In haste, your friend,  
M. VAN BUREN."

The same to T. P. Moore. Same date.—"Our friends abroad may calculate *with absolute certainty* on at least three-fourths of the votes of this state. *There is no doubt of it*. Nothing short of the death of our candidate can, I think, prevent it. If Barry [W. T.] succeeds in your state, the administration will find it extremely difficult to keep their troops in the field in this. . . .  
M. VAN BUREN."

I find Thomas P. Moore amongst the Polk appointments of last month—as Indian Agent on the Upper Missouri. The above letters to him and Wickliffe, were intended to operate on the election of the Governor of Kentucky. When President, Van Buren, after making a show of unwillingness, ratified the Seneca Indian Treaty, illegally, for he knew that two-thirds of the Senate had not voted for it. The way in which the Indians are treated renders it anything but surprising that they should thirst for vengeance. Van Buren visited Tammany Hall in March last. M. V. B. at Tammany Hall! Mike Walsh in prison!! and Butler, Price, Swartwout, Hoyt, Dabney, Greene, Levis, Boyd and Hawkins, *not in prison!!!* Is this arrangement Wright?

#### COMMON AND CHANCERY LAW—VAN BUREN ON THE CONVENTION.

It was with reason that Lord Coke exclaimed, "Miserable, miserable, is the slavery of that people among whom the law is either unsettled or unknown!" And that it is unsettled in America, any one who has looked at the conflicting decisions of our courts will readily acknowledge. We cling to the feudal jurisprudence of England, and refuse to reduce the rules by which men are to be guided in society to scientific arrangements, with good laws, and the examples beside the precept. We speak of giving thirty millions for a steam navy—much better would it be for us to call together from all parts of the Union, aye, of the earth, men famed for their learning of law, and ask them to solve the questions, Whether it is possible for youths to become acquainted with law enough to entitle them to plead for their neighbors, without requiring a library of thousands of volumes, filled with the conflicting decisions of jurists, the statutes, ordinances, and real or supposed usages of the old world and the new? Whether it is impossible to obtain for the magistracy of this republic, a clear, concise, popular, yet upright code, which its 3500 judges and justices might comprehend and apply in lieu of the common law of England, much of which, according to a learned recorder of New York (who has since exchanged the duty of charging juries for that of discharging mail-bags), is unknown, never having been either written or printed?

A mysterious prescription by the faculty of medicine, said to be in daily use, is: "R.—Pulv. Pip. Rub.; Hyd. Chlor. Sod.; Acid. Acet.; Mel. Desp.; Aqu. Fluv., M. Ft. Garg. sig.; Sum. p. r. n." Even this "pip. rub. sod." is not so metaphysical as our anglo-democratic law, for Drs. Mott or R. Nelson could tell that it is an advice to "take red pepper, salt, vinegar, honey, and water, mix and make into a gargle," often useful enough in fevers and sore throat; but in common law, even the learned professors cannot agree either as to the modes or remedies of procedure to get the good of them. Clinton vainly recommended a legal code in 1825, to a bucktail legislature; Brougham, Romilly, Bentham and Mackintosh are among the advocates of a system or code of rules founded on a natural arrangement of those actions which are the subjects of legislation. Major Green, of the Boston Post, truly remarks, that

"A citizen may study the Revised Statutes and all the state laws till he can repeat every section, and yet he knows nothing of the offences for which he may be tried and punished, until he finds out what the laws of England are, and what the judges may think proper to apply to any case, when they can find no ready made law at home. Even the progress of civilisation and common sense in England is not allowed to be applicable to our condition here. An absurd, barbarous, tyrannical law, which may have been repealed and driven from the community in Great Britain, as unjust even in a monarchy, is nevertheless good enough law for the free citizens of the United States!"

The wretched condition of the common law, in force here, was clearly shown not many months since in the case of O'Connell and others. They were tried in the principal common law court of Ireland for a penal offence, kept three months in the penitentiary, pronounced to be criminals by the learned judges and crown lawyers; and then their prison doors were opened; they were entreated to accept of freedom; the twelve judges of England, with one accord, and on oath, had declared that that part of O'Connell's indictment which the whole of the Irish judges had pronounced to be good, at common law, was bad, and no law at all; and that O'Connell and his companions were held in unlawful duration. So also said the House of Lords; Lord Chief Justice Denman declaring that the trial was a "mockery, a delusion, and a snare." I felt the force of his reasoning, for I was twelve months confined as unlawfully at Rochester as O'Connell was at Kilmainham—but for the poor there is but little justice anywhere. So expensive is an appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States, that my friends found it impossible to raise the money.

When a railroad is laid out we try to make it as straight and level as possible. Should not our law-road be straight also? Lawyers are men of as warm, generous, and kindly feelings as others—they are equally honorable—but if society shall continue to honor legal talent where it snatches a villain of the deepest dye from merited punishment—if Governors and Judges shall continue to act under an imperfect system—if the art of the Attorney must be learnt, with all its technicalities and barbarous "pip. rub. sod." pedantry, by the American scientific pleader—if the student must set up shop, buy an expensive library, and if he then, in nine cases out of ten, finds it impossible to exist as an *honest* expounder of royal law, is it wonderful that, Butler like, he joins some stock-jobber to jockey the people through a sham bank; or Hoyt like, cringes to power till he can perch himself in a collector's office, there to embezzle wholesale, and fee a legal regiment for defence, out of the plunder? Governor Wright in his message last January, told the Legislature that "the fewest and simplest laws consistent with the security of the great objects to be attained, and the lightest burthens which their enforcement will permit, must be the best and wisest execution of the trust" they had accepted. Look at their debates and proceedings for the result, and say if a remedy is not required? The merchant, farmer, landlord, tenant, tradesman, mechanic—all suffer in turn, and often very severely, by our defective law system. Governor Wright's indicator, the *Atlas*, mocks us with its substitutes for an effectual cure. It is men learned in the law, studious, experienced, and practical, that New York must look to for a code—and if we were to pay millions for it, never did any people make a wiser purchase.

As to the Chancery Court, I never had anything to do with it until the publication of my last book. I opposed its introduction into Upper Canada, as a member of the legislature, not because I thought the system complete without it, but because I did not believe its substitution of secret examinations in lawyers' offices, for open ones before the world—its practice, exceedingly arbitrary and artificial, depending on rules made by its administrators, and upon no general principle of law—its questionable barriers as to what cases are doubtful, obscure, and therefore fit for equity courts—its control over money, property, everything, with chancery judges exported from London, not for their fitness, but in payment of debts political, would be an improvement. Here, Verplanck, and other enquiring minds, have sought to give an adequate remedy for constituted abuses, but have failed—and the danger is, that some quack will, Van Buren like, prescribe a nostrum even worse than the charlatanerie that now obtains.

What is wanted is a code of law, a system whereby one judge, presiding in one court, can do all—with rules of practice, not of his dictation, but framed and adapted for his guidance by the community. Common Law is built on *old* precedents—equity also professes to be guided by what has been done. If the one can be codified, why may it not include the other? If our laws are scientifically arranged and equitable, why have other conflicting jurisdictions with unconfined powers? If they are loose and confused, are not life and property thereby endangered?

"Equity, as a separate system," says Verplanck, "can hardly be said to have worked well anywhere. Its uncertainty, its immense powers, and still more, its delays and expenses, have always been a subject of public complaint. Its mode of taking testimony has been pronounced by high professional authority to be the very worst ever devised; dilatory, expensive, and opening a door to the grossest perjury, and the vilest frauds. Its advantages are, that its powers are great and undefined—its process strict and searching. So, too, are those of an arbitrary judge in a half-civilized country, a Mandarin or a Cadi."

Hoyt has astonished this community by swearing that the letters published in my former pamphlet are genuine, and asking the profits of publication. With profits I had nothing to do. There have been appeals, bills, demurrers, injunctions, hearings, and decisions. I cared for one thing only; and that was to get the facts before the people. Were their attention well directed to the Court of Chancery, a change for the better might take place speedily. Walworth, the Chancellor, I had seen before, when he called at my office, inquiring for his friend Speaker Papineau—McCoun I had not seen, and only heard of him in the old duel case of Eckford, Decatur, &c., and when he took the circuit judge's place in 1831, on the equity side. I think the interference of McCoun, as far as copyright was concerned, was a violation of several important provisions in the U. S. Constitution, and that his decision in the Mitchell case (Wetmore vs. Scovell) forms a curious contrast with the course he took in mine. Being very poor, I keep on the defensive—but had I been involved in such a case twenty years ago, the folks in Canada are my witnesses, that I would have done battle for the right most cheerfully. The permanence of this government depends on its justice, and if the manly electors of New York will but wake up to the importance of the crisis, the world may yet bless the hour in which the greatest State in the Union called together the Convention of 1846.

In 1769 to 1773, private and secret letters were written by great men in Boston to official characters in London, against the people. Lieut. Gov. Oliver wrote "that some method should be devised to *take off* the original incendiaries, whose writings supplied the fuel of sedition *through the Boston Gazette*." Secret assassination was tried accordingly; Mr. Otis, King's Advocate, a bold liberal, was attacked in his own house with bludgeons, and left for dead. Governor Hutchinson said, "The union of the Colonies is pretty well broke; I hope I shall never see it renewed. There must be an abridgment of English liberties in the Colonies." Judge Oliver wrote how to harass the Americans, adding, "By such a step the game will be up with my countrymen." Such letters as these induced the king to refuse wise counsel; Dr. Williamson, an eminent American, then in London, got hold of the letters; he gave them to Franklin, who enclosed them to Speaker Cushing, in Boston; Samuel Adams and John Hancock read them to the Legislature of Mass.; they were published; the Assembly petitioned their King to remove the slanderers; the privy council met, and Wedderburn insulted Franklin; his speech was published in the London papers, and says Franklin, "It was the ton with all the ministerial folks to abuse them [the Yankees] and me, in every company and in every newspaper." The King, Feb. 7, 1774, ordered the Boston petition to be dismissed "as groundless, frivolous, vexatious, and scandalous;" stopt Franklin's salary as Colonial Agent; took from him his office of Postmaster General; and the government backed Whately in oppressing this man, whose memory the proudest monarch might envy, with a suit in Chancery before the McCoun of that day, to get back the letters and the profits [!] he had made by publishing them. Franklin could not stand this accumulation of persecution. "My finances (says he) are not sufficient to cope at law with the treasury here." He returned to America.

In his speech before the Lords of the Privy Council, Wedderburn [Lord Loughborough] said; "Nothing then will acquit Dr. Franklin of the charge of obtaining them [the secret letters] by fraudulent or corrupt means, for the most malignant of purposes; unless he *stole* them from the person who *stole* them. I hope, my lords, you will mark and brand the man, for the honor of his country, of Europe, and of mankind. Private correspondence has hitherto been held sacred in the times of the greatest party rage, not only in politics, but religion. He has forfeited all respect of societies and of men. Into what companies will he hereafter go with an unembarrassed face, or the honest intrepidity of virtue? Men will watch him with a jealous eye; they will hide their papers from him, and lock up their escrutoires. He will henceforth esteem it a libel to be called a man of letters, *homo trium literarum*!"—*Franklin's Memoirs*, vol. i, p. 219. He concluded by comparing the great philosopher and patriot of the Western world to Zanga, in Young's *Revenge*. "I ask, my lords, whether the revengeful temper, attributed by poetic fiction only to the bloody African, is not surpassed by the coolness and apathy of the wily American."

A bill from the Assembly of this state was sent, in 1818, to the Senate, for concurrence, which proposed to free those who had dealings in small sums, from the chicanery, delays, and enormous costs imposed by trading attorneys, by allowing a single justice to try cases of \$50 and under, whether the action was against an individual, a privileged lawyer, a company, or the officer of a court—authorizing any citizen to explain the nature of the claim or plea of any other citizen—and annulling and putting an end to that odious monopoly of pleading and defence by which privileged attorneys had reaped enormous gains from a pillaged people—so far as debts under \$50 were concerned. This attempt to introduce practical democracy was regarded by Van Buren with horror. He was eloquent against the bill—condemned its principle—wondered how justices, ignorant of the law, could decide cases of debt—and when he found the bill would pass, moved [see senate journal, page 187] to add to the bill the following clause:

"And be it further enacted, that it shall not be lawful for any person, NOT A LICENSED ATTORNEY OR COUNSELLOR OF THE SUPREME COURT OR COURT OF

COMMON PLEAS OF THIS STATE, or who shall not be actually engaged in the regular study of the Law, TO APPEAR AND ADVOCATE ANY CAUSE ~~FOR~~ FOR ANOTHER BEFORE A JUSTICE OF THE PEACE."

Here Van Buren's party deserted him—the bill allowed those who wanted attorneys to hire them, and it did not force the poor man, who felt he had been wrongfully prosecuted for \$5 he did not owe, to hire an attorney's apprentice to state his case for a fee of other \$3, when his neighbor the machinist, carpenter, or printer, was ready to do it truly and correctly for nothing. Van Buren's monopoly clause was voted down. Yeas, Van Buren, &c., 6. Nays, Sam. Young, &c., 18.

The bill also provided that cognovits or confessions of judgment, for \$100 and under, might be taken before a single justice of the peace, whose fee should be 25 cents. (It was \$12 in U. Canada when I first settled there!) Judgments were to be a shilling, and so on. Van Buren, Van Vechten, and Young addressed the Senate against the bill; it would injure the profession, render law too cheap, and encourage litigation. The bill passed, 18 to 11. See pages 195-6 of senate journal. Among the ~~3~~ NAYS on the final vote were Van Buren, Hammond, and Samuel Young.

On June 12, 1819, it was proposed in Senate to allow county courts to try all cases which do not affect life; but if it was a case involving the state prison for life, one of the judges must be a councillor of *three years' standing*. Ross said if the lawyer held the rank of councillor it was surely enough; he would move to strike out the words "three years' standing." Young and other 9 went for that, but Van Buren defeated them.

On 6th of April, 1819, in Senate, Hammond reported a bill to prevent lawyers from taking too much for foreclosing a mortgage, over and above printer's bill, affidavit, and conveyance recording, &c. Van Buren moved to give the attorney \$25. Lost. Young proposed \$20. Carried. But the bill was got rid of. In 1821, the convention made some improvements.

Now, 1846, we are on the eve of another convention. To it Crosswell was not very friendly, and Van Buren and Wright could scarce conceal their vexation when the honest Democrats and Whigs coalesced in its favor. Here is Van Buren's letter, addressed to Peter Cagger, A. bany:

"Lindenwald, May 19, 1845. Dear Sir: \* \* \* \* I had, however, allowed myself to hope that these amendments, and especially that which would make the State secure against the abuses of the power to borrow money, from which it has itself so severely suffered, and by which so many of its sister States have been overwhelmed, might, by perseverance, be obtained in the mode provided by the constitution, before any material inroad was made upon the cherished, and as it was supposed, well established policy of the State in regard to its finances and public works. For that reason, and on account of what I believed to be a well-grounded apprehension of the bad effects that might result from the disturbed condition of portions of the public mind, upon points not heretofore involved in the political issues upon which parties have divided, I have been very decidedly in favor of a postponement of the Convention movement, and that preference has been unreservedly expressed to the few who did me the honor to ask my opinion upon the subject.

"Whether I would have retained and acted upon that preference if I had been a member of the Legislature and witnessed the passage through both its branches of a bill, which would, if it had become a law, have caused so sudden and so injurious a revolution in what was hoped to be the established policy of the State, upon a point of prominent importance, is very doubtful. As matters stand, my advice to the meeting and to the Democracy of the State, is to bury their past divisions, and to do all in their power to carry the great measure of a Convention to a successful and safe result, by united counsels, and vigorous, but temperate and discreet efforts. I am, dear sir, very respectfully and truly yours.

M. VAN BUREN."

Look at the conduct of the legislature, at its language, at the opinions of members touching the public press and each other—and say, Is it a supervising eye placed on an eminence, and seeing all around? Is it a mill for grinding good laws, if sparsely fed with complaints and memorials? Or is it the tumult of contending factions, silencing the more patriotic? Say which; and then ask yourselves, whether, if laws devised, examined and improved by the best legal talent in N. Y. state, need revision, how much more those laws which were never laid before any legislature, and which are only the opinions of judges dependent on arbitrary kings during the dark ages of English history? "Our laws and decisions (said John C. Spencer, in the Assembly of N. Y., Jan. 6, 1820) are numerous and complicated, and it necessarily devolves upon the judges to expound them; and if the gentleman dislikes the laws, and the mode of expounding them, he might adopt the recommendation of the late Governor Plumer, of New Hampshire, and propose to have the whole British common law reduced to a code. Let the gentleman from Delaware [General Root] devote himself to the subject, and reduce the whole of our multifarious laws and numerous decisions into a code at once, and render them clear and consistent." In his notes on De Tocqueville Mr. S. takes another view.

#### MOSES Y. BEACH ON TEXAS. INFLUENCE OF THE SUN.

The Sun, a penny paper of considerable influence and large circulation in New York, was commenced, as Mr. Beach states, "on the 3d of Sept. 1833, in a small back room in an obscure part of William street," with an edition of 500, and of the size of a sheet of letter paper; "the entire strength of the establishment, intellectual, physical, and mechanical, consisted of one man and one boy." The sale paid expenses, and left profit enough to buy them a sup-

per. The present owner, M. Y. Beach, states, that he served his apprenticeship to a cabinet-maker in Hartford; worked long and hard, late and early; and now owns three banks and his newspaper. I was his neighbor in 1838, and noted that he looked carefully after his business. At that time, as now, the paper professed decorum of language and independence of party. Mr. Beach is not much of a writer himself, but he employs those editors, and those only, who will faithfully express sentiments in unison with his own. In 1836 he had the genuine American feelings of the honest and faithful class whose patronage has raised him to wealth, and who were delighted, no doubt, at the independent, republican tone of his cheap and useful sheet. He took a bold stand then against Texas with slavery, and censured with great severity the attempts of Polk, Calhoun, Houston, Jackson, and McDuffie, to crush freedom in the north, by extending the curse of slavery to the south, in violation of treaties, not made with a powerful monarchy, but a weak, confiding sister republic. I add (to Mr. Beach's honor be it said) his commentary on Samuel Houston's letter to Dunlap at Nashville, asking aid to dismember Mexico.

[From the New York Sun, by Moses Y. Beach, 1836.]

"In the earlier days of our republic, when a high-minded and honorable fidelity to its constitution was an object paramount to every mercenary consideration that might contravene it, an avowed design of this kind against the possessions of a nation with whom the United States were at peace, would have subjected its author, if a citizen, to the charge of high treason, and to its consequences. When Aaron Burr and his associates were supposed to meditate the conquest of Mexico, and attempted to raise troops in the southern states to achieve it, they were arrested for treason, and Burr, their chief, was tried for his life. But now, behold! the conquest of a part of the same country is an object openly proclaimed, not in the letters of General Houston alone, but by many of our wealthiest citizens at public banquets, and by the hiring presses in the chief cities of our Union. The annexation of a foreign territory to our own by foreign conquest, being thus unblushingly avowed, and our citizens who are integral portions of our national sovereignty being openly invited and incited to join the crusade with weapons of war, it becomes an interesting moral inquiry—what is there in the public mind to excuse or even to palliate so flagrant a prostitution of national faith and honor in these days, any more than in the days that are past? The answer is ready at hand, and is irrefutable. An extensive and well organized gang of swindlers in Texas lands, have raised the cry and the standard of 'Liberty' and to the thrilling charm of this glorious word, which stirs the blood of a free people as the blast of a bugle arouses every nerve of the war-horse, have the generous feelings of our citizens responded in ardent delusion. But, as the Commercial Advertiser truly declares, 'Never was the Goddess of American Liberty invoked more unrighteously;' and we cannot but believe that the natural sagacity, good sense, and proud regard for their national honor, for which our citizens are distinguished in the eyes of all nations, will speedily rescue them from the otherwise degrading error in which that vile crew of mercenary, hypocritical swindlers would involve them. The artful deceivers, however, have not relied upon the generosity and noble sympathy of our fellow-citizens, for they insidiously presented a bribe to excite their cupidity also. They have not only falsely represented the Texian cause as one of pure, disinterested liberty and justice, as opposed to perfidious tyranny and cruel oppression, but they have themselves assumed something more than the liberty which they basely and hypocritically advocate, by impudently promising a fertile paradisaical piece of Texian land, *a mile square*, to every American citizen and foreign emigrant who will sally forth to capture it from the Mexican republic. Induced by one or both of these objects, many hundreds of our enterprising citizens left their own ample and unobjectionable country to unite with Irish, English, and other foreign adventurers in a war, from the fullest success of which only some six or eight Land Companies, who have fraudulently and audaciously monopolized the Texian territory, would gain an important benefit. And to this shrine of ostensible liberty have many hundreds of our gallant youth been treacherously sacrificed—sacrificed by a mercenary treachery, compared to which that exercised by Santa Anna, in defence of the Republic of which he was President, was innocence and patriotism. The object of the colonizing land agents of the South was to make this prolific province their own, and the field of a new and lucrative negro slavery. To this they still tenaciously adhere; and if they can induce a strong force of our American youth to shed their blood for the unjust and avaricious cause of slavery, under the name of Texian liberty and independence, they will undoubtedly secure their object. We doubt not the ability of our gallant countrymen to exterminate any number of Mexicans that can be brought against them; but in fighting for the union of Texas with the United States, which is the avowed meaning of 'Texian Independence,' they will be fighting for that which at no distant period will inevitably dissolve the Union. The slave states, having this eligible addition to their land of bondage, with its harbors, bays, and well bounded geographical position, will ere long cut asunder the federal tie which they have long held with ungracious and unfriendly fingers, and confederate a new and distinct slaveholding republic, in opposition to the whole free republic of the North. Thus early will be fulfilled the predictions of the old politicians of Europe, that our Union would not remain a century—and then also will the maxim be exemplified in our history, as it is in the history of the slaveholding republics of old, that liberty and slavery cannot long inhabit the same soil."

It is creditable to Beach that he is wealthy, the owner of three banks and a powerful journal. But, I ask him to explain, why *The Sen* of 1846 claims to be the originator of that disgraceful act which it denounced in 1836, as the object of that vile crew of "mercenary, hypocritical swindlers," traitors to their country, bent upon dismembering the republic? Mordecai M. Noah, who is hired as principal editor of the *Sen*, by Beach, now, was in 1836, (as editor of the *Star*), for Texas and slavery; he has not changed, but why is Beach, the independent mechanic, become the confederate of those who drive a detestable traffic in the south, and seek to add us northerners to their plantations of bondsmen? Why is the Beach who once saw a dissolution of the Union in Texan annexation, now ready to grasp at all Mexico? Why is it thought essential now (June 11th) to say, "We are and always have been in favor of the Annexation of Texas, and never at any time entertained the impression that Mexico had any rights in Texas, or could recover that country by the force of arms. We never believed that we were doing injustice to Mexico," &c. &c., when old subscribers, myself among the number, know that *THE SEN* thought that those who took Houston's course deserved the traitor's fate? The question has not changed—slavery and robbery are what they were when Houston's



"mercenary treachery" was odious in Beach's sight. It is asserted, and I believe it, that Beach, had he not been first silenced, and then brought quite round, could, through *The Sun*, have prevented annexation. I do not overrate the power of his press when I say this; and as it is hinted, both privately and publicly, that those mercenary motives, that desire for Texas land, and still more, to give new value to Texas scrip, which Beach ascribed to others, finally seduced himself, and caused him to turn and follow Marcy, Houston, and the slave traders, heedless of the injury he did to his own class, and the good cause of freedom, which he once highly valued, I ask him to explain the above paragraph, as compared with his present course.

It is right that I should here state, that I do not know that Mr. Beach has, or ever had, any pecuniary inducement to change his course—but as his editors are merely the tools or instruments he works with, and thrown by when they do not suit him, I am warranted in asking why he has thus used the vast power placed in his hands, for temperate and patriotic purposes, by a confiding public.

An account of the Lehigh Bank was written for this work, in connexion with the case of Van Buren's friend, Daniel M'Cook, a delegate to the Baltimore Convention of 1840, and now in trouble at Harrisburgh. It seemed to be the better course, however, to await the result of pending proceedings, and not attempt to prejudge, through a publication likely to be extensively circulated, a case of which a jury will sooner obtain all the facts.

### VAN BUREN AND THE BANK OF HUDSON.

Report of a Committee of the House of Assembly of New York, on the bankrupt Bank of Hudson, Feb. 3, 1823.

The committee to whom was referred the report of the Attorney General, [Talcott,] with accompanying documents, relative to the Bank of Hudson, Report, That the documents accompanying said report, appear to be an examination at length, by James Powers and Robert Dorlon, Esqrs. commissioners appointed to inquire into the affairs of the Bank of Hudson. The examination and report of the commissioners, is, in itself, an elaborate production, embracing *many, if not most of the prominent transactions relating to the affairs and management of this institution, for many years; also its situation at the time of the failure thereof.*

That it discloses a scene of wild speculation, ruinous and improvident management, on the part of many of its officers, regardless of their own characters, and the ordinary or strict rules of banking institutions; a summary view will in part be given.

Losses have been sustained by large amounts of paper having been placed in the hands of agents (who gave no security,) for the purpose of forcing it into circulation, by exchanging it for paper of other banks. Discounts apparently have been made for large amounts, without a competent number of the board being present: and as it appears from the minutes, in some instances, notes have been entered as discounted or renewed, without the directors being present. Notes for large amounts have been suffered to lie over, without either payment or protest, thereby discharging the endorers from their liability. Notes have been discounted for large sums, (in violation of a rule for the government of its officers,) having but one endorser, and in one instance a note for \$10,000, was discounted without any. One of the cashiers gave no security for the faithful performance of his duty; and although worth but \$5000 in real estate, agreeably to his own statement, frequently endorsed for the officers of the bank, to a large amount, and at one time, we perceive his name upon paper, to the amount of \$25,000, himself the only endorser. By the report of the commissioners, it appears that there was due to the institution, at the time of its failure, from certain of its officers, the sum of \$143,794, and the probable loss, upon loans to said officers, will be \$100,000. And from extracts from the statement showing the present and probable state of said institution, it appears that stock paid in and entered to account, is \$110,000; and that the notes of the institution, unredeemed or unpaid, are \$68,264: And that the total loss, as estimated upon closing this concern, will amount to \$176,852.

By the accompanying report of the Attorney General, it will be observed that he is of the opinion that the charter of the bank has been forfeited; and that sufficient proof may be obtained, to make some of its officers liable to account, in their individual capacity, for a considerable amount of debts due the institution; believing that the public good and justice require, for the purpose of preventing similar practices, and for guarding the rights of the community, the adoption of vigorous and efficient measures, against those who have wantonly trifled with the trust committed to their charge; but as some doubts exist in the minds of your committee, whether individuals who have made themselves liable, have the ability to pay, they have therefore thought it advisable to give the Attorney General discretionary powers in commencing suits in behalf of the state. The committee would therefore ask leave to introduce a bill.

T. S. MORGAN, Chairman.

BANK ELECTION. [From the N. Y. Evening Post.]—HUDSON, January 18, 1814. At a meeting of the Stockholders of the Bank of Hudson, on the 10th inst., the following gentlemen were chosen directors for the ensuing year: John C. Hogeboom, Alexander Coffin, Gayer Gardner, Robert Jenkins, Joseph D. Monell, Richard M'Carty, Thomas Jenkins, Wm. P. Van Ness, George Monell, Seth G. Macy, Thomas B. Cook, Ralph Barker, Martin Van Buren. Robert

Taylor and Moses I. Cantine, directors on the part of the State. At a meeting of the directors, John C. Hogeboom was re-elected president, and Gilbert Jenkins, cashier.

### THE SURPLUS REVENUE.

In Throop's message, Jan. 1830, he asserts that there are prudential reasons for continuing the duties on imports to a greater extent than the wants of government require, the surplus to be divided among the states. Jefferson, in Nov. 1808, wished the surplus revenue to be applied to the purposes of education, and the improvement of roads, rivers, and canals. Jackson, in Dec. 1830, advised that surplus funds might be divided among the states for objects of internal improvement; and, in 1832, seemed anxious to confine the land sales to actual settlers at about 10 cents an acre. In August, 1836, when vast sums had been paid for choice lands by the public, and these lands thrown into market and bought by speculators with the public revenue entrusted to the Treasury banks, Van Buren took ground against distribution; and in 1841 Walker and Buchanan tried to mortgage the whole of the land revenue for the balance of debt Van Buren had created in his efforts to expel the Seminoles from Florida. Calhoun and McDuffie have held opinions on revenue as wide asunder as the polls. McConnell of Tennessee proposes in Congress to give each settler on the public lands a free grant—the old Canadian system, and better than ours—but the national reform plan is an improvement, for it secures farms to the industrious for ever—it is, in the spirit of the law of nations, which, as Vattel tells us, “will not acknowledge the property and sovereignty of a nation over any uninhabited countries, except those of which it has really taken actual possession, in which it has formed settlements, or of which it makes actual use.”

In John C. Calhoun's speech, in Senate, Feb. 5, 1840, *Globe* report, he thus described the surplus revenue, and land-buying mania:

“With the increased rise of prices began the gigantic speculations in the public domain, the price of which, being fixed by law, could not partake of the general rise. To enlarge the room for their operations, I know not how many millions (fifty, I would suppose, at least, of the public revenue) was sunk in purchasing Indian lands, at their fee simple price nearly, and removing tribe after tribe to the West, at enormous cost; thus subjecting millions on millions of the choicest public lands to be seized on by the keen and greedy speculator. The tide now swelled with irresistible force. From the banks the deposits passed by discounts into the hands of the land speculators; from them into the hands of the receivers, and thence to the banks; and again and again repeating the same circle, and, at every revolution, passing millions of acres of the public domain from the people into the hands of speculators, for worthless rags. Had this state of things continued much longer, every acre of the public lands, worth possessing, would have passed from the Government. At this stage the alarm took place. The revenue was attempted to be squandered by the wildest extravagance; resolutions passed this body, calling on the Departments to know how much they could spend, and much resentment was felt because they could not spend fast enough. The deposit act was passed, and the Treasury circular issued; but, as far as the currency was concerned, in vain. The explosion followed, and the banks fell into convulsions, to be resuscitated for a moment, but to fall again from a more deadly stroke, under which they now lie prostrate.”

Among the various schemes of public plunder, got up by Van Buren and his friends, I may name the Mississippi Land Company, got up to buy the Indian reservations. Amos Kendall's connection with it was very discreditable. The *Courier and Enquirer* truly remarks of another vast monopoly, just like the Canada Land Companies under monarchy, “The history of the American Land Company is yet to be written; it would have been written long since had it not been for the application of the Gag Law by Mr. Polk's packed Committee of suppression and concealment, in 1837.”

Of it the *Albany Evening Journal* says: “The American Land Company was formed in 1835. It overshadowed the Republic. Such a combination of wealth and power had never before existed among us. The highest officers in the General and State Governments were stockholders in this gigantic Monopoly. The Articles of Association were drawn up by the Attorney General of the United States, who was himself a stockholder, and whose brother was the President. Its agents were sent abroad through the new States and Territories to monopolise all the valuable public lands. The Land Offices were subsidised. The surplus revenue, then in the pet banks, was at the service of these speculators. Millions of dollars were invested in Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, Mississippi, &c. The Stockholders in this overgrown monopoly were selected from the men in power. Vast political and pecuniary influences were combined. Standing at the head of the Albany stockholders, were Messrs. CROSWELL and BURR, editors and proprietors of the State paper. Then came JOHN VAN BUREN, the son of the President of the United States. SILAS WRIGHT, JR., a Senator in Congress, through whose influence the deposits were placed within the reach of ‘speculators,’ was a stockholder in the monopolizing American Land Company. And yet these very men filled the country with their croakings against ‘speculation.’”

Now is the time for its history. Who will detail it? Wright, Butler, and Van Buren had their custom house officers, to collect the taxes at the custom houses—their banks in which to deposit the cash, charging no interest—they and their friends were the directors, and they borrowed out the people's millions at New York, Philadelphia, and Boston, bought immense tracts of the most valuable of the people's lands with their own money, at the very lowest price—and sold them back to actual settlers at five, ten, fifteen, and even twenty times what they had cost. This was Van Burenism in 1836, and it is unchanged.











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